The Teaching of History and Civics

Henry E. Bourne

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THE TEACHING OF HISTORY AND CIVICS IN THE ELEMENTARY AND THE SECONDARY SCHOOL

BY

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American Teachers Series

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To

MY FATHER AND MOTHER

Preface

It is the aim of this book to aid teachers of history, and especially those who have not had special training in historical work, better to comprehend the nature of the subject. Until they have considered the development of history as a way of portraying the experience of mankind, and know something of the methods by which it seeks to reach the sure basis of fact, and until they have seriously studied the problems of historical instruction, they cannot feel a large interest in the subject, and consequently cannot inspire their pupils with such an interest. The first part of this book has been written to set them on the way toward a better comprehension of these aspects of history. The second part offers a review of the general field, which may guide those who require such help intelligently to study its many phases. While this review is constructed on the basis of the programme suggested in the first part, it may serve almost equally well where the programme in use includes only sections of the field, or distributes the matter in a different way. In the bibliographies prefixed to each chapter and in the notes will be found the

names of the books chiefly consulted, or useful in a further study of the subject.

Special acknowledgments are due to Miss Agnes Hunt, instructor in history in the College for Women of Western Reserve University, for substantial assistance in the preparation of the chapter on the History of the United States, and to Professor Edward G. Bourne, of Yale University, for many valuable suggestions and for assistance in reading the proof. They are, however, in no sense responsible for opinions expressed, nor for any errors that may appear.

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PART I

THE STUDY AND TEACHING OF HISTORY

The

Teaching of History and Civics

CHAPTER I

THE MEANING OF HISTORY

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Interest in the Past.

No subject in the school curriculum touches deeper-rooted or stronger interests than history. Ever since the dawn of civilization men have sought to pry into the secrets of the past. They began by listening to the Homeric bard or the wandering minstrel. As their intellectual power has increased, they have become unwearied in the search for memorials left by former generations. They have also constantly renewed the attempt to interpret more intelligently even those events which happened so long ago as to lose all immediate bearing on the present. But this unquenchable curiosity is not irrational; it is based on the instinctive feeling that the world in which we should live is not bounded by the narrow limits of our own experience, and that much of that which lies about us — our religion, our laws and institutions — can never reveal to us its full meaning save through an adequate understanding of its relations to what has gone before. "Nothing in the world is intelligible apart from its history, and man must be of all things the least so, because he is of all things the most complex, variable, and richly endowed."[1]

In order to explain the meaning of the word history, it might seem sufficient to define it according to the accepted usage among scholars. But aside from the fact that scholars are seriously divided upon the question what history is, and what

[1] Flint, 1–2.

is its proper field of investigation, the effort to reach a satisfactory comprehension of the subject will be more successful if a sketch be given of the development of the idea of history. From this it will also appear what forces have furthered historical work and what have brought it to a standstill.

Meaning of History.

History is an important branch of literature, and its development, like that of literature in general, has been profoundly influenced by social conditions and by political events, by the progress of civilization and by its decay. The double meaning of the word history sometimes causes this fact to be lost sight of. Students seem to feel that their only business is to understand the series of events, and that it is not of consequence for them to know how these events have been conceived by great interpreters, except in so far as such knowledge will extend their own understanding of the events under consideration. But the observant student cannot pass through the secondary school, or the early years of college, without noting the large place the Greek and Roman historians occupy in his course of classical reading. The first Latin prose that he reads is history, and so, also, the first Greek prose. Indeed, it would be hardly an exaggeration to say that the historians remain the principal authors at even a more advanced stage of his work. The names themselves are impressive: Cæsar, Xenophon, Sallust, Herodotus, Thucydides, Livy, Tacitus, Suetonius.

History as Literature.

Although the classical historians have in some respects never been surpassed, there was nevertheless in their view of the world at least one serious defect, and this influenced their writing. They never could forget the contrast between themselves and the Barbarians, so that they were unable to conceive the development of mankind in its unity. What is now called "Universal" history was beyond them.[1] Christianity must first proclaim that there was neither Greek nor Jew,

Classical Historians.

[1] Bernheim, 24.

Barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free, before history could become truly comprehensive.

But this broadening of sympathy came too late to be of immediate consequence in historical writing, for with the decay of literary taste, the enfeeblement of the imagination, and the loss of critical power, a change came over history. This change was hastened by the destruction of the Roman Empire and by the establishment of a ruder social order by the German invaders. It is not easy to mark the place where the transition is made from classical to mediæval historical literature. Indeed, Professor Freeman contends there is no such place.[1] But he acknowledges that in the West at least one change of great importance did come. Literature passed into clerical hands, so that Gregory of Tours, an historian upon whom we depend for much of our knowledge of the earlier Frankish period, was primarily interested in the Church, and little in art or literature. From this time on, with a few exceptions, like Villehardouin, Joinville, and Froissart, historical writing was done by the clergy, and, generally, in the monasteries. It was in the form of annals, or of chronicles which followed almost as slavishly the succession of years. The annals often contained stirring accounts of what was going on in the political world, but mingled with these were references to marvels "such as the birth of a two-headed cow, or the falling of meteors, or the miraculous conversion of heathen."[2]

Mediæval Writers.

Historical work has been affected by events far less portentous than the decay of classical civilization. This is well illustrated in the history of Germany. With the accession of Otto the Great in 936, Germany escaped the eclipse that darkened the rest of Europe after the disintegration of Charlemagne's empire. The Germans have been wont to leave to French history the proofs that the tenth century was a dark age, and to assert that it was one of the most

Effect of Great Events.

[1] Freeman, Lecture V.

[2] E. Emerton, *Introduction to the Middle Ages*, 61. See also Gairdner, Balzani, and Masson, *The Early Chroniclers of Europe.*

brilliant in their own annals.[1] The tradition of the Empire had passed to them, and with this a clearer consciousness of the world and a desire to set forth the deeds of their leaders in connection with the experiences of other peoples. And their study of history was made the more fruitful because not yet had the reading of the classical authors ceased, and because they still possessed genuine sources of information for the history of the more recent past. In the latter part of the thirteenth century the Dark Ages for Germany began. The fall of the Hohenstaufens, depriving Germany of her international position, threw history back upon merely local interests, from which it was not again to be drawn away until the Renaissance.

Mediæval Writers.

Gabriel Monod, a distinguished French critic, declares that these writings were not, in the strict sense of the word, history, for the chroniclers fixed their attention less upon the past than upon the present, eager to hand on the memory of the affairs which they had observed.[2] They could not conceive of the past as a distinct object of study, and they had little appreciation of the differences which have distinguished one period from another. Moreover, the greater number of them desired not so much to tell the story for its own sake as to illustrate some theory, either the redemptive process in connection with the events of their own time, or the continuity of empire from Augustus to the Franconian or Suabian emperors. Although they often strove to be impartial in their investigations and wrote with vigour and artistic effect, they dealt with their sources of information without critical or imaginative power.

Frequently they embodied in their writings whole passages from their predecessors, so that the result is rather a mosaic than an independent narrative. Consequently one of the first duties of the scholar is to discover the paternity of their statements.[3] Even Einhard, who had so great a subject as Charle-

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[1] Wegele, 12.

[2] *Revue historique*, I. 5 ff.

[3] Langlois and Seignobos, 97–98. For example, an unusually popular

magne to deal with, and whose capacity is proved by the remarkably interesting biography which he wrote, attempted to borrow the garb of Suetonius and to drape the gigantic limbs of the Frankish king with old Roman clothes.

In spite of their defects there was one new element that the mediæval writers added to history. The fortunes of the State had hitherto furnished the thread of unity running through the narratives of the historians. Now the Church was added, bringing into the foreground another set of vital interests, and greatly broadening the scope of the subject.[1]

Renaissance.

With the Renaissance history not merely recovered all the ground that had been lost by the decay of Roman society, it did more: in a sense never quite true before it became a branch of literature and a science of investigation. The discovery of antiquity, made through the revived interest in the study of the classical writers, led to a better understanding of the age which was just drawing to a close. The contrasts between the two periods helped toward a closer determination of the characteristics of each. Some of those contrasts were not apparent to the men of the Renaissance, but they saw enough to realize that one was not a barren continuation of the other.

Periods.

It had been customary throughout the Middle Ages to group all the events since the beginning of the Christian era into a single period without regard to the profound changes of the fifth and sixth centuries. Historical writers followed St. Jerome's explanation of the prophecy of Daniel, and believed that the Roman Empire was the fourth monarchy, which could end only with the second coming of

English chronicle, the *Flores Historiarum* of Matthew of Westminster, is largely copied from two other chroniclers, Roger Wendover and Matthew of Paris. Hume made the blunder of quoting the same Matthew in support of one of Bede's statements, ignorant of the fact that he had borrowed from Bede the statements in question. Gardiner and Mullinger, 236.

[1] Flint, 62, asserts that this was as important an addition to history as the discovery of America was to geography.

Christ.[1] This was natural enough until the Invasions swept away the Empire. But the difficulty of longer keeping such a division of history was overcome by the force of tradition, and by the fact that the Empire lived on in the East, and in the West was restored by Charlemagne and again by Otto. Even the students of the Renaissance were unable to break away altogether from the theory. But they were the first effectively to set the example of revolt. Machiavelli began his history of Florence with the overthrow of the Roman Empire. Biondo of Forli wrote a universal history "*ab inclinatione Romanorum imperii*." It is true that not until the seventeenth or eighteenth century did the older division disappear. And yet enough had been done to reveal a new point of view.

Historical Sense.

Since antiquity, and even the Middle Ages, began to seem clearly distinct from the present, so that they could be studied objectively, there was possible a development of the historical sense. It is difficult so to describe this quality of the true historian's way of thinking that it will be comprehensible to those not practised in historical studies. It is not a sixth "sense," nor a "faculty"; it is simply a feeling that the past can be rightly interpreted only when the student lays aside his own prepossessions, and seeks in the past itself the means of understanding the forces which moved the men of a bygone age, and when he enters sympathetically into the spirit which gave dignity to their institutions. Such a tendency of thought could not find its full expression at once, but the writers of the Renaissance show its influence.

Development.

Corresponding to this sense for the past is the doctrine that there has been a traceable development in ideas, institutions, and the structure of society. Whether the progress has been upward or downward, or just what the nature of the development is, may be left for later discussion. And it must be remembered that such a doctrine, like the historical way of thinking, could only gradually grow to anything like its present completeness.

[1] Bernheim, 58–64. Wegele, 481–489. O. Lorenz, 228 ff.

Wherever the Reformation spread, it also powerfully stimulated the study of history. Luther in his characteristic way declared that the failure to appreciate such studies argued a veritable "tartar-like and cyclopean barbarism";[1] and not merely this, he believed he saw the hand of his old enemy the devil in it. The Reformers sought in history weapons against papal claims. They delved into mediæval literature to discover whether the jurisdiction which the Roman church asserted had long been exercised. In this way they put the doctrine of development to practical uses. Foremost among such workers were the Magdeburg Centuriators, an association of scholars formed in 1554 to produce a history of the Church on the now familiar co-operative plan.[2] Although their conception of the Church and the papacy was in a way unhistorical, nevertheless, moved by a sharp critical spirit, they tirelessly examined every stage in the growth of the papal power, and in the process added vastly to historical knowledge.

Effect of the Reformation.

The Centuriators provoked another contribution to historical knowledge. In order to repel their attack, Cardinal Baronius, who had access to the Vatican archives, composed his *Ecclesiastical Annals*, which has been called the "finest monument of Catholic erudition in the sixteenth century."[3]

In France also the Reformation stimulated historical studies. Here another force was effective, namely, the interest of the great jurists in mediæval institutions. Towards the end of the century the leading workers in the field of history were nearly all jurists, and either Protestants or members of the party known as the "Politiques," which was firmly opposed to the League and to ultramontane views in the Church.

The Jurists.

It was natural that the dominant tendencies of the time toward theological questions, and the further crippling of the

[1] Wegele, 197.
[2] This name came from their treatment of the subject by centuries.
[3] Monod, *Rev. hist.*, I. 9.

imperial power in Germany, accompanied by a growth of the separate German principalities, should give to history a somewhat one-sided tendency, pushing political interests for a time into the background. Moreover, the vigour with which the first two generations of Reformers had plunged into historical studies was soon lost. In Germany the Thirty Years' War came on, which dragged down literature and history in the general ruin. France under Richelieu and Louis XIV. enjoyed less of the old boisterous liberty but more of order, and with this an opportunity for the quiet pursuit of works of erudition.

Germany and France.

The next advance in the conception of history was not to come until the eighteenth century, and it was due to the work of Montesquieu, and particularly of Voltaire. Montesquieu was the first writer to direct attention, in his *Spirit of Laws*,[1] adequately to those general conditions and tendencies which constitute as important an element in the course of events as do single incidents or the deeds of individual men. According to a certain way of thinking, these deeper undercurrents are the very substance of history, while the rest are merely the negligible details. Such a view emphasizes still more the epoch-making character of Montesquieu's work. But on any theory of history it was a great service to point out how the development of peoples has been affected by climate, situation, and other natural causes. The German historians of the next generation repeatedly acknowledged their indebtedness to Montesquieu.

Montesquieu.

Voltaire's influence on the conception of history was, perhaps, even greater than that of Montesquieu. In 1756 he published his *Essay on General History and upon the Customs and the Character of Nations*.[2] These volumes attempted to describe and estimate the total life of the community in its various expressions, political, economic, social, moral, and religious. In his article on *His-*

Voltaire.

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[1] *Esprit des Lois.*

[2] *Essai sur l'Histoire générale, et sur les Mœurs et l'Esprit des Nations.*

tory, in the *Philosophical Dictionary*, Voltaire remarked: "One demands of modern historians . . . more attention to usages, to laws, to manners, to commerce, to finance, to agriculture, to population."[1] It was impossible after this that the rise and fall of states, the march of armies, the exploits of great chieftains, should so exclusively hold the attention of historians. A beginning had been made of what the Germans call the "Kulturgeschichtliche" treatment, or the history of civilization.

But there was at least one serious defect in Voltaire's way of conceiving history, — a defect which was characteristic of eighteenth-century thought with its stiff rationalism. He believed that human nature was always and everywhere the same. Any deviation from the standard fixed by the characteristics of this imaginary natural man was abnormal. Rousseau had the same notion when he began his book on the *Social Contract* with the words "Man is born free, but is everywhere in chains." Such ideas render history impossible. They leave no room for development, which is of the essence of history. The practical consequences of this view of things were forcibly illustrated during the French Revolution, when even intelligent men raged against the past, destroyed monuments, interrupted the labours of scholars, and thought thereby to hasten the advent of the pet creation of the rational, dogmatic spirit, — the natural man.

The Romantic School.

Fortunately another movement of thought swept into oblivion the prejudices of the eighteenth-century philosophers, so that in the end historians have more to be grateful for than to regret in considering the work of men like Voltaire. This new movement is called the Romantic School. Its writers felt a sentimental reverence for the Middle Ages, and through their work awakened an interest in a period lately despised as the scene of barbarism and superstition. But the modern conception of history owes not so much to the writers

[1] *Œuvres de Voltaire*, Paris, 1826, LVI. 30. See Morley's *Voltaire* for an estimate of Voltaire's work in history.

of this school as to other men who studied the problem of history more critically, or patiently laid the foundations of historical science.

Even before the eighteenth-century philosophers had uttered their final word on the subject, the German critic Herder began to expound and enforce the idea of development. He contended that it was always necessary to judge a period or a nation by a standard drawn from a consideration of its own characteristics, and not by some dogmatic notion of what human society should be. This idea of "becoming," which was steadily gaining control over the contemporary attitude toward historical phenomena, Hegel made the distinguishing feature of his philosophical system, and so greatly reinforced the tendency.

"Becoming."

Meanwhile, in France, historical work was altogether interrupted by the Revolution. It was not safe to offer for sale works which had been published. Even after the Reign of Terror was over and Napoleon had displaced the Directory, history was slow in starting to recover the lost ground. It is true the organizing spirit of the Emperor undertook in characteristic fashion to embody history in the new régime. He gave orders to his minister of police to provide for the continuation of a certain Millot's popular history, published in 1767, so that the picture of governmental weakness under the later Bourbons might show men the need of loyally supporting the empire! [1]

Revolution and Napoleon.

In Germany the results of the great upheaval were different. The humiliation of Germany after the Prussian defeat at Jena, awakened the slumbering sense of nationality, and when the whole people rose and drove the conqueror beyond the Rhine, the leading minds turned with new interest to the history of Germany. This changed attitude was illustrated in the case of Stein. Always attracted toward historical studies, he had in 1809 resolved to study the French Revolution

Stein.

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[1] C. Jullian, *Extraits des Historiens français du XIX*[e] *Siècle*, Introduction, IV. note 1.

in order to discover the origin of the recent troubles.[1] When victory had come, and Germany seemed to have gained once more the right to exist, his mind turned back to the beginnings of German history, and his determination to open the way for a better knowledge of this history led to that collection of the *Historical Monuments of Germany*,[2] which is one of the greatest achievements of historical scholarship.

Niebuhr.

Niebuhr had shared in the same moving experiences, he had served under Stein in the Prussian administration, and finally, as Prussian ambassador in Rome after the war, had done much to put the relations between Prussia and the Vatican on a rational basis. Such practice in the management of affairs, coming to the help of remarkable powers of mind, qualified him to do a memorable work for history. His history of Rome not merely revolutionized the theories of earlier Roman history, but also must be regarded as the true beginning of the modern historical school.[3] Niebuhr's work embodied two elements: first, a critical examination of his narrative sources of information; and second, the construction of as complete a picture of the past as possible out of this sifted material. Such work could be done only by a real "seer," and Niebuhr believed that men of unusual natural endowment and exceptional experience were required for the task.[4]

Ranke.

The story of Ranke's work for history is quite as remarkable. He early concluded that so far as he was concerned, history must not pretend "to judge the past, to instruct ourselves for the advantage of the future." In his hands it was to aim "merely to show how the past actually

[1] J. R. Seeley, *Life of Stein*, III. 438 ff.

[2] *Monumenta Germaniæ Historica.*

[3] Wegele, 1006. Macaulay wrote, Aug. 19, 1830: "The appearance of the book is really an era in the intellectual history of Europe." *Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay*, by G. O. Trevelyan, I. 195.

[4] Not long after the first volumes of Niebuhr's *Rome* appeared there was published Savigny's *History of the Roman Law in the Middle Ages*, which was an attempt to apply the same severely critical method, and to trace the course of development in the facts of an important allied subject.

took place."[1] That sounds like a simple, commonplace ideal, and yet no task can be more difficult of accomplishment, no service greater.

Many students, and not a few historical writers, carry into their work, consciously or unconsciously, a framework, a theory of events, a philosophy of history — to give the assumption a more honoured name — and their investigations amount to hardly more than an illustration of such preconceived opinions. It was an achievement, therefore, to push aside these things which had blurred the view of the object, and to learn from the plain facts what had actually occurred. Nor should the need of such clear seeing be forgotten, for it was not merely in the days when theology dominated men's notions of the world, that some were likely to see events cramped and distorted to fit into a formula. It is only by such a patient, intelligently critical method as that developed by Niebuhr and Ranke that the student can feel he is treading the solid earth.

"Seminaries."

Ranke did even more than Niebuhr in the creation of the modern school of historical writing. He not only set an example through an active career of sixty years, seeking to draw his knowledge of the past from the primary sources of information, by an unwearied study of records printed and unprinted, but he actually trained many of the men who have, next to him, most furthered historical work. This he accomplished through the "Seminary," or "practice courses," of which he was the originator. Neither his influence, nor that of Niebuhr, has been limited to Germany. English historical work has been deeply affected by it, and the present generation of American historical writers has gained its inspiration largely from German models, even in the case of those who have not been trained in the "seminaries" of some of Ranke's followers.

But Niebuhr and Ranke do not possess as much significance in the determination of the scope of history. Their interest

[1] See preface to his *Romance and Teutonic Nations*. Cf., on Ranke's work, E. G. Bourne's essay in his *Essays in Historical Criticism*.

was chiefly in its political aspects. It was left to others to further extend the idea of history, so that it should not exclude those phenomena to which Voltaire had called attention. Among the most influential in thus extending the scope of history has been Guizot, by his histories of civilization in France and in Europe.[1] The latter was early translated into English, and has been widely circulated in America. In Germany what is called Kulturgeschichte, another name for the history of civilization, has been more carefully defined by Wachsmuth and others,[2] and recently Lamprecht has attempted to write the history of Germany from this point of view. Roscher employed the historical method in the study of economics with such success as to revolutionize the subject. The result of this was the development of industrial or economic history, a branch of historical work of equal interest to both economists and historians.[3]

History of Civilization.

From even these fragmentary notes on the growth of the idea of history it is easy to see that history, or historical writing, has varied in form and in motive and in characteristic interests from age to age, being profoundly affected by the contemporary state of civilization. It is also plain that at present history, if it be understood in no narrow sense, must comprehend those phases of human experience which one great thinker after another has brought within its pale. It must remember the unity of mankind, although it is not expected to explore with such painstaking zeal the stagnant civilizations of the East, and though it may leave to anthropology or ethnography the life of the African or Australian savage. It must be ever anxious to learn how things have *come to be,* avoiding the eighteenth-century error that history is to illustrate certain eternal principles, an unvarying human nature, a set of natural rights, a closed list of virtues. And it must avoid the reproach

Scope of History.

[1] First delivered as lectures in 1829 and 1830.

[2] Jodl, 15 ff.

[3] Roscher published in 1843 his *Grundriss zur Vorlesungen über die Staatswirthschaft nach geschichtlicher Methode.*

that it is only interested in heroes, in political struggles, in the rise and fall of states.[1] To gather the elements of the idea into a definition, "History is the science of the development of men in their activity as social beings."[2]

There are many kinds of history, each taking its name from the particular phase of human activity which forms the subject, whether this be the Church or the State, war or politics, theology or scientific theory, thought or industry. And there is also a general or universal history which endeavours to combine into one treatment the total experience of civilized men.

Relation to Economics, etc.

The subjects most closely related to history are economics, sociology, politics, and anthropology. Economics and sociology study historical facts, but only in order to explain certain aspects of the life of mankind. The economist isolates one class of phenomena in order by its study to reach conclusions in regard to the economic activities of men. In the same way the sociologist wishes to discover the factors which enter into the structure of society, or the general conditions of social change. Politics is devoted to the investigation of the characteristics of the state, and anthropology takes up those questions of race and origin, of primitive civilizations, which lie quite beyond the ordinary limits of historical work. History cannot ignore, or refuse to embody among its own conclusions, the results of the investigations of these various fields. On the other hand, it cannot become identified with any one of them.

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[1] John Richard Green put the matter instructively in the preface to his *Short History of the English People*. "If I have said little," he explains, "of the glories of Cressy, it is because I have dwelt much on the wrongs and misery which prompted the verse of Langland and the preaching of Ball. . . . I have set Shakspere among the heroes of the Elizabethan age, and placed the scientific inquiries of the Royal Society side by side with the victories of the New Model. If some of the conventional figures of military and political history occupy in my pages less than the space usually given them, it is because I have had to find a place for figures little heeded in common history — the figures of the missionary, the poet, the printer. the merchant, or the philosopher."

[2] Bernheim, 5.

Professor Flint has acutely remarked that everyone, whether he is ready to call it by that name or not, has a philosophy of history; in other words, everyone has some explanation of the nature of the historical process.[1] Speculative philosophy has fallen upon days of popular indifference, and has left the task of explaining human history to the devotees of the physical sciences. When these men attempt to raise history to the level of the sciences, they are in fact simply offering a new philosophy of history. And the question whether history is a science in the sense in which this term is applied to physics and chemistry is not merely something for the learned to wrestle over, its proper answer in a measure determines what is the object of teaching history, and where, among all the facts ordinarily included in history, the emphasis should be placed.

Is History a Science?

There are serious difficulties which must be overcome before history may be regarded as a science in the strict sense of the term. While much that occurs is due to the operation of general causes, many events appear to have been brought about by the acts of individuals, acts the character of which could not previously have been predicted and which were not, in the ordinary sense of the word, the result of determining causes. It is this possibility, that the person upon whom the events wait may decide in either of two or of a dozen ways, which thwarts the scientist. The difficulty is not removed by neglecting individuals and considering larger groups. As Goldwin Smith remarks, "What we call national actions are the actions of a multitude of men acting severally though concurrently, and with all the incidents of several action; or they are the actions of those men who are in power. Whatever there is in action, therefore, will be everywhere present in history, and the founders of the new science, physical science of history, have to lay the foundations of their science in what seems the quicksand of free-will."[2]

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[1] Flint, 1.

[2] *Lectures on the Study of History*, 49.

There are two ways to remove this obstacle. The first is to deny the freedom of the will in the sense that there is anything undeterminable about its action as a further cause of events. With the progress of psychology the contestants have shifted their ground. Those who formerly insisted on the freedom of the will now explain that there is an element of spontaneity in the action of men consequent upon what affects them, or, to speak technically, in the reaction of consciousness upon external stimuli, so that no amount of investigation can ever bring these acts in individual cases under the idea of law. How Washington would decide in any contingency depended of course upon the circumstances, but it also depended upon Washington. Benedict Arnold might have acted differently. However far psychologists may penetrate into consciousness, they will not be able to state this spontaneity in terms of matter and motion. "Only a crass materialism," remarks Bernheim, "flatters itself with the hope that it will be able along the line of psycho-physics to explain sensation, thinking, and will, as mechanical functions of matter." But may not this obstacle be ignored, on the consideration that it is only the most general aspects of development that belong to history, that the deeds of individuals, great or insignificant, singly or in groups, are negligible, and that the errors introduced by such indeterminable facts, and which might prevent the formulation of a science, will, in the long run, balance and correct each other? This view has often been held by sociologists, who have professed a contempt for the sort of history that has delighted the world since the days of Herodotus. But while the historians do not deny that history should investigate the general laws and forms of historical life, they assert that its principal task is "to go down into details, to follow development into individual circumstances; to busy itself with varieties."[1] It is also contended that no man's life can be exhaustively explained by enumerating his relations to the group to which he

Solutions of the Problem.

[1] Condensed from a statement by Dr. E. Meyer in the *Historische Zeitschrift*, LXXXI. 237.

belongs. That which is characteristic of him in distinction from others, his individuality, cannot be ignored, for here is the centre of his personality. History must not be indifferent to this fact, unless it is to exclude what is most significant in the experience of men. Even if these difficulties did not exist, the immense complexity of historical phenomena, and their ever-varying character — the same complex of conditions never reappearing — would oppose a practical obstacle to the effort to make of history another natural science.

History will have for the pupil, as for the citizen, its greatest moral value when it remains faithful to the comprehensive conception of its work which has been gradually built up by those who from Herodotus to Ranke have spent their lives in its study, when it seeks to unfold before the growing imagination of the student human experience in its marvellous variety, political, intellectual, religious, social, and economic. It is such historical knowledge, as Bernheim points out, which will be the best support of public spirit against the attacks of a hollow selfishness which is pressing in on all sides for the mastery.

CHAPTER II

THE FOUNDATIONS OF HISTORICAL SCHOLARSHIP

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Original Sources.

THE historical facts which are narrated in text-books and similar works are selected from an incomparably larger mass of facts. Pupils frequently do not understand this. To them the brief paragraph or two about some great affair is a final and complete statement. They do not feel the rich and varied life that lies back of it, nor is their curiosity stimulated to further inquiry. And many older persons do not realize the advisability of consulting more than one writer's account of a subject, provided this answers the questions that lie in their minds. They never think of hunting up the original sources of information, in order to see the records themselves or to get as close as possible to the earliest impressions which the events made. In some cases this is impossible, but in others it would prove instructive. And for teachers such work is enlightening, and some of it altogether indispensable. Even if the teacher is not to study the sources, it is necessary to understand the function or value of the ordinary historical work, and, for this reason, to see what sort of a foundation it should rest upon.

The source from which the student must obtain his knowledge of events is the traces left by these events in monuments and buildings, institutions and customs, in official records, and in writings of all sorts. Sometimes nearly every trace is obliterated, save a partly defaced inscription, an old ruin, a curious tradition; or, there are such wonderful remains as the Parthenon and the Forum to guide the investigations of the historian. Again, the outlines of the event lie obscure, hidden in masses of material: documents, memoirs, speeches, newspaper despatches.

The most obvious need in each instance is that such scattered traces be collected, classified, and be made in some form accessible. This implies long-continued and scholarly labours, for there must be either a search for inscriptions and manuscripts, or a work of discriminating selection of those records and writings which are significant. It should be noted that not every scholar is competent to do such work, for the collector must possess much of the special knowledge which the study of the collection is to create, in order that he may do his work satisfactorily. Such knowledge varies with the character of the things for which he is seeking. One would not need an apprenticeship in deciphering mediæval manuscripts and in reading Greek and Latin inscriptions as a preparation for the successful study of the Reconstruction period in the United States, but this training would be necessary if one were to attempt an original study of some phase of classical or mediæval history.

Collections of Material.

The task is not completed even when inscriptions, manuscripts, or records are found. All these must be critically sifted, to determine their exact value as sources of historical evidence.[1]

[1] The letters of Marie Antoinette illustrate the necessity of separating genuine from spurious sources. Here the forger has busily worked, because of the extraordinary demand for autograph letters of the unhappy queen. Of the forty-one, now in existence, addressed to the Princesse de Lamballe, everyone has, after careful investigation, been pronounced spurious. *Lettres de Marie Antoinette*, édition Rocheterie & Beaucourt, I. Introduction, lv.

Sometimes the particular quality of intelligence required is the ability, by a process of learned and ingenious interpretation, to bring a fragment of statement into its true place in the body of previously ascertained facts.

Pioneers in American History.

The earlier American historical writers found few collections of material which might shorten their labours. Although this did not interpose so insuperable an obstacle as would have confronted them had they attempted, in the face of a similar lack, to write a history of mediæval Europe, the difficulties were great enough. It was probably because of these that Bancroft, in more than half a century of labour, covered the history of America only to the adoption of the Constitution.[1] Parkman also found that "the most troublesome part of the task was the collection of the necessary documents. These consisted of letters, journals, reports, and despatches, scattered among numerous public offices and private families in Europe and America." [2] The manuscript material which he brought together formed about seventy volumes, nearly all folios. For the letters of Montcalm to Bourlamaque he was obliged to hunt fifteen years. Were these men to begin their work now, instead of in 1830 and in 1845, they would in most cases find that they were saved the task of searching by the existence of well-edited collections.[3]

Early Collections.

Even before Bancroft's day there had been attempts to collect materials on the early history of the colonies,[4] but shortly after 1830 this work was pushed forward more rapidly. There appeared the Massachusetts and

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[1] J. F. Jameson, *History of Historical Writing in America*, 100 ff.

[2] Francis Parkman, *Conspiracy of Pontiac*, I. x. See further C. H. Farnham, *Life of Francis Parkman*, 145 ff.

[3] Much of the material that Parkman used is now easily accessible in *The Jesuit Relations*, in seventy-three volumes, edited by R. G. Thwaites, and in Margry's *Mémoires et Documents*.

[4] For example, Thomas Hutchinson had published in 1769 a *Collection of Original Papers Relative to the History of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay*, and William Hening had published in 1823 his important set of the Virginia Colonial Statutes-at-Large.

Plymouth Records, *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of New York*, the letters and papers of men like Hamilton, Jefferson, Madison, and Washington. It is true that some of this work was badly done and incomplete, necessitating the issue of later editions.[1]

Besides such collections as these there was a natural growth of a mass of official documents. From 1777 the *Journals of Congress* were printed, and after 1833 an official stenographic report of the debates began to appear in the *Congressional Globe*, later the *Congressional Record*. Besides these there were other miscellaneous public documents, printed by authority of Congress.

Facsimiles.

An interesting illustration of the manner in which historical documents have been made accessible to scholars is furnished by the Stevens *Facsimiles of American Documents Preserved in Foreign Archives*. The twenty-five volumes of this collection contain the photographs of over two thousand documents, for which nine thousand plates had to be prepared. By these plates important documents are brought to the student, so that he is not at the mercy of careless transcribers. He can study the evidence as well as if he were to cross the seas to examine the document in the archives where it is preserved. But the expense of preparing such collections will preclude the publication of many; moreover, the work of editing is done with such accuracy as to render a photographic facsimile in most cases a luxury.

Selected Sources.

The student of modern history can never expect that all his material will be brought together in some great collection, or even in several collections, because its mass is so large, and it is sought out by different scholars for such different purposes. But for the student who seeks merely adequate illustrations of the various movements, colonial and national, valuable volumes of selections are beginning

[1] Jared Sparks thought he was obliged to correct Washington's spelling and his grammatical errors.

to appear. Such are Preston's *Documents Illustrative of American History*, MacDonald's *Select Charters*, Hart's *American History told by Contemporaries*, or Hill's *Liberty Documents*.

The character of preliminary work changes the moment one turns from modern history to mediæval, or to the history of Greece and Rome. In this case a long interval separates the events from those who became deeply interested in studying them. This is true even of the larger part of the Middle Ages. Meanwhile, many records and narratives had been destroyed, others were lost in neglected monastery libraries and in forgotten archives.[1] Consequently when the men of the Renaissance discovered antiquity and began to understand the Middle Ages, it is evident that they could not hope to obtain any sound or full knowledge of either the ancient or the mediæval world until they had ransacked archives and libraries, had collected inscriptions and manuscripts, the works of historians, annalists, and chroniclers, documents of all sorts, royal, ecclesiastical, and feudal. If all these were to be properly edited for the use of investigators, the collectors must have acquired a working knowledge of what are called the auxiliary sciences, that is, the tools for historical work of this sort. In order to read the manuscripts they must know paleography, the science of the varying forms of writing during the periods represented by the manuscripts that are extant. They must also understand how to read inscriptions, or epigraphy. Another necessary science is chronology, the methods of dating used at different times and by different peoples. And even the scholars of the Renaissance, close as they stood to the Middle Ages, were obliged to learn the changing meaning of Latin words and phrases, if they were rightly to interpret documents written centuries before their own day, and yet long after the Augustan age. They could

Mediæval Sources.

[1] Archives, particularly in France, were beginning to be organized in the thirteenth century. Sometimes a genuine scholar was in charge, like Gérard de Montaigu in Charles Fifth's day. A. Giry, *Manuel de Diplomatique*, 54.

understand Cicero better than Gregory of Tours. In other words, they must become learned philologists.

Diplomatics.

When they began to appreciate the value of official records as sources of information, and to base their work upon them, and not so exclusively upon annals, chronicles, and biographies, they were obliged to learn the characteristic marks of all documents issued by royal, princely, or ecclesiastical authority in every period of the Middle Ages, for each court had its set forms, and yet documents frequently did not bear on their face sure indications of date, or origin, or even of genuineness. Ever since the Renaissance there had been an increasing use of charters and other documents by lawyers interested in establishing or defending the privileges of monasteries, churches, corporations, or individual nobles. Some of these documents were open to attack as forgeries, and it is obvious that, in a social system resting upon specific privileges and not on general legislation, there were strong temptations to manufacture privileges in order to extend jurisdiction and to win power. The evidence needed to establish the identity of documents was to be gathered by long and patient comparison of those of undisputed authenticity. Such a body of knowledge, which is called diplomatics, implies a mastery of all the other auxiliary sciences. It would have required a new miracle, more marvellous than the birth of Athena, to have produced at the very beginning a scholar full armed with all these instruments of investigation. Indeed, it took two centuries to bring them to a reasonable degree of perfection.

First Collections.

The invention of printing by multiplying books made critical scholarship more widely possible. The same years that saw editions of the Latin Bible, of the Greek Testament, of the early Fathers, and the Greek and Latin writers, saw also the publication of mediæval historical works like Jordanes, Einhard, and Otto of Freising. The Emperor Maximilian offered large rewards for the discovery of manuscripts, and sent out scholars to hunt, particularly through the libraries of cloisters. In France the jurists became deeply

interested in the study of mediæval institutions. Many documents were brought together and printed. Toward the end of the century scholars began to publish collections of the mediæval writers. But this historical work, so enthusiastically and vigorously pushed forward, was not without serious defects. Occasionally its impulse was partisan passion, and it also suffered from the lack of more systematic preparatory labours.

Work of French Scholars.

In the seventeenth century Germany was crippled by the Thirty Years' War, and France became the seat of scholarly work. Undisturbed by the religious quarrels of the preceding century, and favoured by the new monarchy under Richelieu, Mazarin, and Louis XIV., students began to lay more securely the foundations of historical science.[1]

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1 Chronology had already been explained by Scaliger in the preceding century. And now in 1678 there came a work which is still a storehouse of information on all the institutions of the Middle Ages as well as a valuable dictionary for mediæval Latin, the *Glossarium ad scriptores mediæ et infimæ latinitatis* of Charles DuFresne, sieur du Cange. It largely, though not wholly, removed the obstacle from language to the accurate study of the Middle Ages. Meanwhile the facts making up paleography, or the forms of writing, were being assiduously gathered. But the greatest achievement of the century and one which formed an epoch in historical investigation was the development of the science of diplomatics. It happened that in 1625 there had been published a history of the abbey of St. Denis, containing a series of diplomas, or documents selected from its archives. The genuineness of these was attacked by Papenbroeck, a scholar of a rival order, who, without adequate study, attempted to lay down the principles of the criticism of such documents. This attack provoked a reply from a Benedictine, Jean Mabillon, who had been called to the abbey of St. Germain des Prés to assist in writing the history of the order. Mabillon did not content himself with a mere defence of the Benedictine archives, but sought to determine the true principles of criticism. He worked six years, aided by the greatest scholars of the day. He had access to the rich collection of both abbeys, the royal library and Colbert's library, and visited collections in Champagne and Lorraine. Finally in 1681 he published his work, entitled *De re diplomatica*. Its success was immediate. He had laid a sure foundation for this department of historical criticism. Even Papenbroeck wrote Mabillon, "My only satisfaction in having written on this subject is that I furnished you the occasion of composing a work so

National Collections.

By the end of the seventeenth century the method of collecting and editing historical sources had been brought far on the way toward scientific completeness, and the time had come to make collections which should include all the monuments of a nation's early history, and to make them in such a way that, while it might be necessary to supplement them, they would not have to be remade after a generation or two.[1] The creation of such collections was necessary if there was to be any progress in the study of the Middle Ages. Without these every new investigator would be obliged to start where his predecessor began. His life would be consumed in collecting the material for study, rather than, through study of what had been brought together, in discovering the real characteristics of the vanished world. Such collections are the permanent improvements which historical scholars can leave behind them to the profit of their successors. They are like the great docks, the railroads, the

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complete." Monod, op. cit. A. Giry, *Manuel de Diplomatique*, 60-77. *Rev. Hist.*, XLVIII. 238.

[1] An earlier collection less comprehensive in scope, but which was of solid and permanent value, was the *Acta Sanctorum*, or *Acts of the Saints*, of the Bollandists. There existed hundreds of lives of men whose names appear not merely upon the calendar of saints but also among the world's greatest leaders. This material, a veritable mine of historical information, had never been critically sifted, and it contained so many narratives full of little else except miracles and marvels that this whole class of sources was rapidly being brought into contempt. After several uncritical efforts to rescue the valuable from the worthless, a Jesuit, Johann Bolland, of Antwerp, was persuaded to undertake a critical edition. The first volume of the collection appeared in 1643. Only five volumes were edited before Bolland's death, but his immediate successors carried on the work and raised it to a high level of historical scholarship. Some pious churchmen were seriously alarmed at this winnowing process applied to what seemed to them indispensable works of edification. In 1695 the Spanish Inquisition forbade the first fourteen volumes, but the pope refused to interfere with the work. Even before the Jesuit order was abolished, in 1773, the character of the work had degenerated. All efforts to carry it on were again interrupted by the French invasion of Belgium in 1792, and it was not resumed until after the overthrow of Napoleon's empire.

public buildings, by which men seek to save their followers from commencing anew. These preliminary labours appeal to the imagination because they imply a high type of scholarly co-operation, extending over a long period of time, and, also, on the part of statesmen, a recognition of the claim such work has to public support.

It is now over two centuries since scholars began to compile great collections. The work which has been done in England, Germany, France, and Italy, is especially notable, although it has been by no means confined to these countries. Italy and France were the first to begin systematically. Through the labours of Muratori Italy possessed a fairly complete edition of its mediæval writers in 1751, so that the work of reconstructing its history upon a more scientific basis could go forward.[1] In France the Benedictines, the order to which Mabillon belonged, undertook the work under the leadership of Dom Bouquet.[2] Eight folios were published before Bouquet's death, and the work was continued by the brothers of the order until the Revolution rudely stopped their labours. There is no finer example of unselfish, scholarly effort in all history than this century and a half of Benedictine work, from the days of Mabillon to the Revolution. During the same period the English government began to promote historical work, although not on so comprehensive a scale.[3]

For Italy.

For France.

[1] Muratori's *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* appeared in twenty-one folios, from 1723 to 1751.

[2] It was called *Rerum Gallicarum et Francicarum Scriptores*, or *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France.* In the latter days of the Empire the Academy of Inscriptions resumed the task. The work now numbers twenty-three large folios. Another important collection was begun in 1832, entitled *Collection de documents inédits.* In 1886, to render a few of the more important documents accessible to students and teachers, the first numbers were published of a *Collection de Textes pour servir à l'Étude et à l'Enseignement de l'Histoire.* In this the texts were not translated, but under the editorship of B. Zeller another series has been published, called *L'Histoire de France racontée par Contemporains*, in more than sixty duodecimo volumes, with all the selections translated. These are merely examples of what has been done.

[3] Thomas Rymer, the royal historiographer, was ordered in 1693 to

All efforts to begin a similar work for Germany were futile until the Wars of Liberation had given the Germans once more the sense of a common fatherland and a heritage of great traditions. Leibnitz projected a comprehensive collection, and his friends circulated plans of historical societies with the hope that princes or other wealthy men would become patrons of the enterprise, but no one "would give a pfennig." [1] Editions of individual works, and small collections, were, however, gradually accumulated, so that it became necessary to prepare "path-finders" among such a maze of authorities.

For Germany.

As has already been remarked, Germany owes the collection of her *Monumenta* to Stein, the statesman to whom she also owed, in a large measure, her liberation from the Napoleonic domination. The thought came to him in 1815, when he desired to teach his daughter Therese German history from the sources. He at once discovered that for Germany there existed no such collection as that of Muratori or of the Benedictines. He accordingly formed the design of editing one himself.

"Monumenta."

What Stein hoped to accomplish is well stated in one of his letters. He wrote to the bishop of Hildesheim, "Since my retirement from public affairs I have been animated by the wish to awaken the taste for German history, to facilitate the fundamental study of it, and so to contribute to keep alive a love for our common country and for the memory of our great ancestors." This could be done, he added, by bringing "into existence a convenient collection of original authorities,"

Stein.

"transcribe and publish all the leagues, treaties, alliances, capitulations, and confederacies which had at any time been made between the Crown of England and other kingdoms." This work, called the *Fœdera*, covered the period from Henry I. to 1654, and though it has been severely criticised, it was a collection of great value. In 1767 the English government also authorized the publication of the Rolls of Parliament from Edward I. to the beginning of the reign of Henry VII. Gardiner and Mullinger, *English History for Students*, 224.

[1] W. Wattenbach, I. 13, 14.

and by putting it "complete and cheap into the hands of the student of history." But he was obliged not simply to arouse the enthusiasm of scholars and to provoke the generosity of princes, he must launch his enterprise when Europe was in the full tide of reaction, and when the governments of the Germanic Confederation were inclined to ask the question addressed to Pertz, the young scholar who later became editor of the collection, "For what is this history to be used?" These were the days of the Carlsbad Resolutions by which Metternich sought to shackle the press and the universities. Finally, however, all obstacles were overcome, and the first volume appeared in 1826. It would be impossible to overestimate the importance of such work for history, because it did more than make the material accessible: it furnished critical editions, throwing all available light upon the sources of information used by each author, so that his testimony would henceforth possess a determined valuation.[1]

A similar work for England was planned early in the century, but owing to the untimely death of the first editor, its accomplishment was seriously delayed. Finally the government approved of a new plan, in accordance with which there was to be prepared a series entitled *Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland from the Invasion of the Romans to the Reign of Henry VIII.* The principles which were to control this publication, ordinarily called the

For England.

[1] The plan of the collection included five classes of writings: 1, Writers; 2, Laws; 3, Imperial Records; 4, Letters; 5, Antiquities. At first the governments were slow to support the enterprise. Stein did not wish to go outside of Germany, otherwise he would have accepted the offer of Alexander I. of Russia, his personal friend, to pay the expenses. After the death of Pertz, Waitz carried on the enterprise, but at length it was reorganized by the Berlin Academy of Sciences. For a more extended account of the *Monumenta*, see Seeley, *Stein*, III. 434 ff.; G. H. Pertz, *Leben, passim*. Wattenbach, 16 ff.

There is a collection for the use of students, entitled *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum*, in which the selections are not translated, and another entitled *Die Geschichtschreiber der Deutschen Vorzeit in deutscher Bearbeitung.*

Rolls Series, demanded the same careful comparison of manuscripts, faithful reproduction of the best text, and the addition of necessary critical information, which was characteristic of the German *Monumenta*. And the result has proved of similar consequence to English mediæval history.[1]

Calendar of State Papers.

The English government has also provided in the *Calendar of State Papers* a work for the modern period of nearly as much value as the Rolls Series for the mediæval period. It is composed of "calendars" or digests of the State Papers preserved in the Public Record Office. They are so detailed that the student is in many cases not obliged to consult the originals, and is never compelled to look over a mass of material not pertinent to the matter he may be investigating.

All these collections bring the earlier archives of the great European states to the very doors of students, relieving them of the burden of long pilgrimages in search of material.[2]

Inscriptions.

No one of these collections was of service in promoting the study of Greece or of Rome. Indeed collections of the Greek and Roman writers, from whose pages the history of antiquity must be learned, had been sufficiently multiplied by the humanists and their successors. Moreover, the feeling of patriotism which had led to the creation of the German *Monumenta* or the French *Scriptores* would not have impelled to a similar work for Greece or Rome had it been necessary. And yet there did remain, scattered here and there over the face of Europe, evidences of that past to which modern peoples owe so much. These evidences were the inscriptions. In the light of their study it was possible to rewrite much of the history of both Greece and Rome. Many of the stones or bronzes upon which these inscriptions had been written were still preserved. In other instances the original had

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[1] Gardiner and Mullinger, 219–221.

[2] Id. 225–227. In 1887 F. York Powell began the publication of a series called *English History by Contemporary Writers*. Those that have appeared are useful for the teacher; their titles are given on p. 253.

disappeared, but it was possible to find copies in the books or manuscripts of early collectors, although these could be used only with extreme caution, and after searching criticism, because so many forgeries had become current. Furthermore, forgers had sometimes inscribed upon stone their ingenious inventions, and these must be recognised and separated from the others.

Epigraphy.

The first serious attempt to make a general collection of inscriptions was begun in the eighteenth century, but the scholars who had undertaken the task found it too great for their powers, and stopped after copying about 20,000. In 1843 the French minister of public instruction appointed a commission to take up the less comprehensive task of collecting the Latin inscriptions. This attempt also came to nothing beyond the preparation of a wise plan for the arrangement of such sources. Meanwhile, under the auspices of the Berlin Academy of Sciences, Boeckh had begun to collect the *Corpus inscriptionum græcarum* which was completed in 1857, and which has been later supplemented. It was not until after the distinguished historian of Rome, Theodore Mommsen, then at the beginning of his career, had published his collection of inscriptions found within the kingdom of Naples, that the project of a corpus [1] of Latin inscriptions was again taken up. Its success has been due chiefly to the leadership which he brought to the enterprise. The inscriptions were sought on the monuments wherever Roman civilization had spread, in forgotten and dust-covered volumes in libraries, and among the unpublished writings of older scholars. Years of labour, incessant journeys and correspondence, were the price of each volume, the first of which appeared in 1863 and the last has not yet been published. As a result of these labours, many a gap in Greek or Roman history has been filled. Particularly is this true of the development of the Roman empire and the Roman system of administration. Inscriptions for these serve almost as do official archives for the history of

[1] Complete collection.

later states. Through the inscriptions of brotherhoods and even of individuals, glimpses often appear of the lives of the common people who have been crowded out of the pages of the more formal historians.[1]

After the preliminary labour of collecting material is done,[2] there is another task to be completed before sure historical knowledge is made accessible to the pupil or the reader. It is not enough to copy passages from the "sources," even when these are old and belong to the period when the events took place which are the subject of study. Each statement must be tested to determine its value, somewhat as an acute lawyer cross-examines the witnesses, for historical criticism is only another name for asking the right sort of question of the mute witnesses in the pages of chroniclers or biographers. A good edition or a well-made collection greatly facilitates this work, but can rarely altogether anticipate it. An editor usually confines himself to what is called "external" criticism, the task of determining the origin of the text. The critical examination of the facts contained in the text, with a view to their use, is called "internal" or "higher" criticism. It must seek the historical value of every statement by penetrating, so far as possible, into the consciousness of the author of the statement, and by finding out its psychological history. It asks not merely, Was this man in a position to know what he was saying, but also, Did he have any reason to tell his story in this way, — prejudice, pride, vanity, desire to please, the hope of personal advantage? The critic must avoid being too ingenious on the one hand, or, on the other, too credulous. It is strange that until the days of Niebuhr historians failed sufficiently to understand that in examining a narrative of facts they were not observing the facts they were seeking, but merely

Critical Sifting.

"Higher Criticism."

[1] Waltzing, *L'Épigraphie latine.*

[2] It must be remembered that only examples of the work of collecting have been given. The reader is referred to Bernheim for fuller information.

ascertaining the impression which the facts, or possibly the story of the facts, had made upon the one who related them.[1]

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[1] The need of such tools as chronology, philology, paleography, and diplomatics, and of their skilful use according to a well-developed critical method, is illustrated by the story of the Forged Decretals. During a ninth-century controversy in France between a bishop and his archbishop, appeal was made to certain papal decrees embodying strange views of church law, and exalting the authority of the clergy over laymen, and, in particular, of the papacy over the bishops. At first there was some tendency to call in question the Decretals, but Pope Nicholas asserted their genuineness, and as the papal archives undoubtedly contained copies of all such documents, this closed the matter. In the collection to which these Decretals belonged was the Donation of Constantine, according to which the Emperor, out of gratitude because he had been cured of the leprosy, gave to Pope Sylvester not only his Lateran palace, but also Italy and the west. Both the Decretals and the Donation were unhesitatingly accepted during the Middle Ages. And it cannot be said in explanation that this was chiefly due to a lack of intellectual ability. It was simply because the mediæval mind did not know how to ask questions of such documents. Dante bitterly deplored the gift, but did not dream that it had never taken place. He exclaimed, "Ah, Constantine! of how much ill was mother, not thy conversion, but that dowry which the first rich Father received from thee."

In the next century, however, a bold humanist, Lorenzo Valla, declared it to be spurious. The Magdeburg Centuriators also attacked the Decretals. With the more recent perfection of the tools of criticism, there have been discovered many curious facts in regard to the collection. Their form does not correspond to the official form of such documents in the particular papal reigns to which the compiler assigned them. This diplomatics has shown. They use a method of dating which chronology has proved to be unhistorical. Although they supposedly belong to different centuries, their Latin style remains the same, and this the Frankish Latin of the ninth century. Philology has contributed this. It has also been found that their quotations from the scriptures were from the version of Jerome, amended during the time of Charlemagne, and that they contain passages taken bodily from a Frankish council of 829. Finally, they imply the view that the theology of the ninth century was the theology of the second, and that the early bishops of Rome exercised the same wide jurisdiction as the ninth-century popes. Although there is some disagreement among the critics, it is probable that the collection originated in the diocese of Rheims between 847 and 865. Such an illustration plainly shows that the tools of criticism are not for the amusement of the learned world, but for the building of historical knowledge upon solid foundations. E. Emerton, *Mediæval Europe*, 78 ff. P. Schaff, *History*

This principle recognised the difficulty of discovering the thing itself through the medium by which knowledge of it had been transmitted. It recognised the still greater difficulty of reaching the true story of any people's early development through the fragmentary records which have been handed down. Ancient and mediæval history, from being a field easy to explore because of the comparatively few writings that have been preserved, becomes for that very reason one of the most difficult fields. The men who followed Niebuhr have been faithful to the same need of asking intelligent questions of their witnesses. It is this which distinguishes the modern historical school from its predecessors.

The Teacher and the Sources.

The teacher in the schools can make little use of collections of sources, except for later English or American history, and yet a few glimpses into the great laboratory of historical investigation should quicken his apprehension of what historical scholarship implies. In his preparation for the work of instruction he may ask critical questions of the books he uses, rejecting those which do not bear the marks of scholarly fidelity. If he learns in this way how to make a more careful use of books, his own teaching will gain in authority and interest. Occasionally also, as he uses the smaller collections of sources in teaching, he will realise how serious is the task of adequately interpreting them.[1]

The work of collecting material and the work of critically sifting it has been gradually lifting the veil from the past, and has been setting the present in its true perspective. Such work has made possible the use of history by the teacher as one of the most effective means of showing boys and girls where they stand in the long march of humanity, of revealing to them the meaning of their lives, and of giving to them some of those in-

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of the Christian Church, IV. 268 ff. Bernheim, 254 ff. For examples of critical investigation in American History, see Henry Adams' *Captaine John Smith* in his *Historical Essays*, and E. G. Bourne's *Legend of Marcus Whitman* in his *Essays in Historical Criticism*.

[1] Fling, *Outline of Historical Method*.

tellectual interests and sympathies which are a part of true culture. Furthermore, the knowledge that such work has been done, and is now being actively pushed forward, should give the teacher a stimulating sense of fellowship which comes from the consciousness of being one worker among thousands, all engaged in the common task of preserving the memory of human experience, some by collecting and editing manuscripts, others by writing books based on these materials, and still others by training the young adequately to enter by imagination into the great world which gives the present its meaning.

CHAPTER III

HISTORY IN FRENCH AND GERMAN SCHOOLS

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History in the Schools.

FROM even so brief a sketch of historical studies it is apparent with what increasing curiosity and intelligence men have turned toward history. It is strange, therefore, that this subject has been one of the latest to gain recognition as a necessary element in every adequate curriculum. In America such recognition has been granted more tardily than in France and Germany, although not more tardily than in England, where the curiously complex organization of the schools

accounts in part for such neglect. It is not so surprising in our own case, because a people with a past so brief that they are unable easily to note the slow transformation of their institutions are not forced to reflect upon the causes of striking contrasts, and, consequently, neither reach the historical attitude of mind, nor appreciate how important a part of the real world about them are the relations of this world to the conditions out of which it has come. They are inclined to look upon a knowledge of history as a polite accomplishment. This has been particularly easy for us, because of the very slight relations of our country to historic Europe and its struggles since the end of the Napoleonic wars. Possibly there is also a bit of the revolutionist's contempt for a past from which he has revolted.[1] Whatever be the reason for the tardy recognition of the subject, its importance will appear in a clearer light by an examination of its place in the school systems of France and Germany.

In the Early German Curriculum.

Although only in the nineteenth century have these countries created well-organized school systems, it is interesting to note the influences which retarded or promoted the study of history in the schools before the century opened. The effect of both Renaissance and Reformation was to concentrate attention upon linguistic studies. Luther believed in history, but he believed more deeply in language, because it was through language that the Bible was to be made an open book for the Germans. The Humanists, because of their great appreciation of the classics, easily fell into the mistake of unduly emphasizing language study as the gate to the classics. Sturm, the great schoolmaster of the age, had no place for history in his curriculum. In the latter part of the century, and again after the conclusion of the Thirty Years' War, history began to receive recognition by the "Ritter Academie," or school for

[1] In a critical review of American education, Gabriel Campayré, the well-known French writer on the history of education, etc., remarks: "Is this not because the practical American, absorbed by his care for the present and future, is indifferent to a past which he disdains, and cannot see the use of studying the Old World?" *Rep. U. S. Bureau of Education*, 1895–96, p. 1173.

the sons of noblemen, as one of those studies necessary for the training of the "gallant" man. Leibnitz believed that the admission of any subject to the " curriculum must be determined by the needs of the pupils in relation to the demands of public life."[1] Such a view was naturally favourable to the cause of history. About the same time even the Latin schools were obliged to recognise the "gallant" studies, for the sons of the aristocracy would otherwise employ private tutors in their preparation for the University. These courses were treated as additions to the ordinary courses, and were paid for separately, but it was not a long step from this to their incorporation in the regular curriculum.[2]

In France.

Little was done with history in the French schools before the Revolution. In the eighteenth century the subject was chiefly prized as furnishing necessary instruction in government to princes and fitting themes for the rhetorical essays of "les beaux esprits." The Revolutionists, although they recognised its importance, endeavoured to enslave the subject to their cause, offering chiefly the history of the Revolution itself, and, besides, enough industrial and commercial history to promote the progress of French youths in the industrial arts.[3]

Preliminary Work by Universities.

History could not, however, attain an adequate position in the schools until the scope of the subject had been well defined and the foundations of historical knowledge more securely laid. The universities had a preliminary work to perform, and this work was not merely one of investigation. Through the scholars whom they trained, they must direct the treatment of the subject, setting each fact in its true perspective and pointing out the lights and the shadows. Only after this had been done, could the schools place the subject in its proper relations to the rest of the curriculum. For these reasons history waited until the rise of the modern historical school before it could receive

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[1] Russell, 56. [2] Paulsen, 379. [3] Pizard, 5.

adequate recognition at the hands of makers of courses of study.

With the reorganization of Germany, and the gradual rise of Prussia to a position of leadership, the German school system entered upon an era of steady development. In France progress was interrupted by a succession of political changes. No history was taught under the Empire or the Restoration. Through Guizot's influence, it was introduced into the upper schools after the Revolution of 1830, only to be again driven out by the Second Empire. But when Napoleon III. was compelled to yield to liberal influences, the historian Duruy, his minister of education, introduced history successively into the secondary and the primary schools.

In the Nineteenth Century.

In order to understand the place history holds in the programmes of either France or Germany, it is necessary first to see how the schools are organized. Neither of these systems is as democratic as our own. In Germany there are two[1] principal classes of schools, each with its own constituency, and governed by an aim determined by the supposed destiny of its constituents. The People's schools, or the Volkschule, offer the children of the common people a course of study which is believed best to meet their needs and which is intended to occupy them eight years, from the age of six to that of fourteen, or from seven to fifteen. Over against these schools stand the secondary schools, which receive the children of the more fortunate, and by a course lasting from six to nine years, beginning with the age of nine, prepare them either for the university, for official, or business life.

In Germany.

Although the objects of the various secondary schools differ, they may nevertheless be grouped together because they agree in assigning a similar amount of time to the study of history, and in offering practically the same course of study, with one

[1] Strictly speaking, there is a third, the Bürger or Middle schools, but they are not so distinct from the People's schools as to require explanation here.

section of it omitted in the six-year schools. The attendance at these schools in Prussia is only about three per cent of the attendance at the People's schools. Such a fact emphasizes the importance of the work done by the People's schools, and yet it would be wrong to belittle in comparison what is done in the secondary schools, for these furnish the makers of public opinion.

In France there is a similar distinction between two great groups of schools. There are the elementary primary schools, attended by the majority of the school-going population, and the secondary schools, including the lycées and the communal colleges.

France.

As these schools each serve a different sort of children, the object of teaching history differs also in each, although its largest element in all is the training for patriotism. The motive from patriotism comes out most strongly in the case of the Prussian People's schools. It is summed up in a widely circulated work for teachers in the following words: to "display to the child the beneficent strivings and successes of our noble princely family, the great deeds of our people, in order to implant in the heart of the child love and holy enthusiasm for Emperor, King, people and fatherland." In the course of study laid out for these schools, the same emphasis is apparent. This is a course in German history, and particularly in the modern period, for if the circumstances of any school require that the course be shortened, this is to be accomplished by setting out from a later point. In the upper grades, "the services of the Prussian rulers in promoting the welfare of the people are to be especially emphasized."[1]

Aim.

Neither in Prussia nor in the other states of Germany does the emphasis placed upon the fatherland imply that the achievements of foreign nations are ignored. Dr. Rein asserts that the Germans are in no danger of such narrowness, for they have a clear cosmopolitan ten-

Not Narrow.

[1] Fr. Nadler, *Rathgeber für Volkschullehrer*, 489, 490.

dency, and he adds that the limitation means only that the history of a foreign nation will be given whenever it throws light on the development of Germany rather than for its own sake.[1] It is evident, as another writer remarks, that the setting of German history makes necessary the incidental study of much of the general history of Europe. These men argue that as it is impossible to cover the whole field without reducing the subject to a mere mass of names and dates, it is important to choose that part already interesting to the pupils, and not even all of that, for fear of wrecking the enterprise by the mere weight of the matter. If the work in history is to have beneficial results in the growth of character and of patriotism, the pupil must be brought into contact at many points with actual men, their struggles and their achievements, so that his judgment and his feelings will constantly be called into activity.[2]

Object in the Gymnasium.

Since the classical gymnasium, the most influential of the secondary schools, and, in a measure, the real-gymnasium, also fits for the university, it is not as natural that in these schools the emphasis should be placed upon the development of patriotism. The object of history teaching, as set forth in the Prussian plan of 1882, "is to arouse in the pupils a respect for the moral greatness of individual men and nations, to make them conscious of their own imperfect insight, and to give them the ability to read understandingly the greatest historical classics."[3] But according to the plan of 1892, a particular emphasis is to be placed on German and Prussian history. Moreover, during the sixth year of the course, an opportunity is seized to bring into view "our social and industrial development up to 1888, emphasizing the services of the Hohenzollerns, especially in the fostering of the interests of middle and working classes."[4] An effort is to be made to counteract the socialistic agitation, which has become so

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[1] *Das fünfte Schuljahr*, 31-32.
[2] Kornrumpf, I., Introduction, ii-iv.
[3] Quoted by Russell, 294.
[4] *Lehrpläne und Lehraufgaben* (official), 47.

strong in Germany, by showing historically how the different orders of society originated, and that there has been a steady betterment of the condition of the working classes. The services of the Hohenzollerns in bringing this to pass are to be explained. Although the other German states do not insist so strongly upon the patriotic aims of historical teaching, they keep in the foreground German and local history.

A similar purpose is embodied in the programmes of the French elementary and secondary schools. But in the instructions which accompanied the programme of 1891, Professor Lavisse declared it the function of history to give the student a clear notion both of "his duties as a Frenchman and of his duties as a man." In order that such an aim may be realized, the pupil is to receive "an exact idea of successive civilizations, and a precise knowledge of the formation and of the development of France," including the action and reaction of each upon the other. Professor Lavisse also says: "No country has been moved more than France by influences from without, since it is a mingling of races and since at its origin it received from Rome and from Germany a diverse training. On the contrary, no country has acted more than ours upon the world. We have never been, we shall never be particularists. It is a part of our profession as Frenchmen to love humanity and to serve it. The knowledge of general history is then indispensable to us."[1] These are noble words, and they certainly express the ideals of enlightened Frenchmen, however far removed they sound from the mouthings of certain noisy agitators.

In French Schools.

In both French and German programmes history receives an adequate amount of time. This is due to a recognition of the fact that if the pupil's knowledge is to be something better than a shallow familiarity with scattered facts, his attention must be directed toward historical events continuously through successive years, as his experience becomes

Element of Time.

[1] Lavisse, 81.

broader. He will in this way form the habit of thinking historically, and the natural interest every healthy-minded child feels in the world of events will be nourished, and may grow into one of the enduring forces of his intellectual life.

In the elementary schools the work with history begins with the third or fourth year of the child's school life and continues to the end. During the whole period the French schools give two hours a week to the subject, in addition to what is assigned to civics and geography, subjects treated as closely related to history. The German schools give approximately the same amount of weekly attention. In the French secondary school, history is granted an hour and a half a week for three years, after which it receives between two and three hours. A little more weekly time is given in Germany. The Prussian plan, for example, provides for one hour the first two years, two hours the succeeding four, and three the final three. In this last section an amount of time not closely calculated must be used for the related subject of geography.

Content of the Course.

In considering the content of the programmes, it is first necessary to note their general structure. The German programme for the elementary schools is arranged in chronological order, starting out with the early history of the Germans, the story of Hermann, of Henry the Fowler, and the like; and the history of Germany is brought down to the accession of William II. The French give the children, of from seven to nine years of age, stories and familiar conversations on the great characters of France up to the time of the One Hundred Years' War. From the age of nine to the age of eleven the children study the succeeding period, to the present day. The last two years of school life are spent in a course on general history covering the whole subject and bringing out the relations of great events to the history of France. This plan is open to the criticism that it keeps the children too long on a period so remote from modern times that they may lose their interest in the subject before they study modern France. And yet it may be that the mediæval man, because his charac-

teristics belong to a simple type, is closer to the experience of the child than many a later hero. At all events, the plan has the advantage that it gives the child a more comprehensive view of history than the German system, and is less likely to lend itself to a narrow patriotism.

In the French secondary school the subject is treated twice: once, during the first three years on its more elementary side and with the attention fixed almost wholly on France, and second, from the fourth year to the end as the "History of Europe and of France." The classical course devotes a year longer to ancient, chiefly to Greek, history, but otherwise the instruction is the same as that in the "Modern" course.[1]

Structure of German Programme.

The programme of the German secondary school is much more elaborate. It is arranged roughly in three concentric circles, or, rather, in a spiral which, when it returns on itself, returns at a higher level. The work during the first of the threefold division is not, in the strict sense of the word, history. It is rather a preparation for history. The child at the age of nine has little notion of the lapse of time, so that he can form hardly any of those ideas upon which history depends.[2] Nor does he know enough of the earth and its spaces to locate the deeds of its inhabitants, or to put their elements together in an intelligible whole. While he is studying the legends of Greece and Rome, or of Germany and France, and following them with the tales of mediæval or modern heroes, he is enriching his vocabulary and is filling his mind with images which later are to serve as the current coin for much of his intellectual dealings with real history. It would be more accurate to say, therefore, that there are two concentric circles. In the first, the pupil learns to bring many detached facts into a whole, chronologically arranged. He succeeds in creating in its simple outlines the picture of a nation's total experience. This he does when in Latin he is beginning to read books, not words, and when similarly, in other subjects, his

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[1] Plans d'Études. Paris. 1900, 1901.

[2] Jäger, 18.

thoughts are being directed towards wholes, rather than fragments. When for the second time he wanders over the ground once more, he may fix his attention upon those things which from the point of view of his own enlarged experience he is able for the first time to comprehend. During this last stage he can use what he has learned before effectively in making comparisons, in analyzing social conditions and political institutions, and in learning the general history of civilization.

Prussian Programme.

The new Prussian programme, unlike most of the other plans, begins with the heroic figures of modern Germany, and through the first and the second years works back to the stories of Greece and Rome. In the third year, when the boy has reached the age of eleven or twelve, he is to take up a systematic study of Greek and Roman history, with some attention to the important facts about the Oriental peoples. During the next three years the history of Europe is studied, becoming more and more the history of Germany and of the House of Hohenzollern.[1] Formerly it had been customary to bring this German history to a close at the end of the fifth year, leaving a better opportunity for the re-study, from the higher point of view, of ancient history. In the second year of the new course, a greater emphasis is laid on general history than in the corresponding part of the previous review, but in the third year the emphasis is again placed upon the history of Brandenburg-Prussia.

Jena.

The Jena programme, which is one of the most carefully worked out in Germany, differs from the Prussian plan in that the second year is given to the elementary study of German history, and that the second review ends at the end of the fifth year, opening the sixth year to Greek, and seventh to Roman history.

The most significant feature of the German programmes is the careful way in which various subjects are correlated. History is grouped with geography; in some years no separate assignment

[1] The six-year schools, or realschule, have the same programme as the first six grades of the nine-year schools, gymnasia, or oberrealschule.

of hours being made for the two subjects on the time-table, although in actual teaching the two are kept more distinct. Certain parts of geography gain their importance and meaning from historical events and from those present conditions which seek their causes in history. A closely related treatment of the two subjects is therefore reasonable. Even "the more important facts of physical geography, meteorology and geology, are generally carefully expounded as a partial explanation of political and social conditions."[1] The correlation extends beyond geography. For example, according to the Jena programme, while the sixth class is studying Greek and Roman history, it is reading Xenophon and Herodotus, Cicero, Virgil, and Livy. The seventh-year pupils begin with early mediæval history, and in "religion" they study the Apostolic Age. In this year also, they study the Nibelungenlied. In the next year they study the Reformation in "religion" as well as in history. It should be noted that the followers of Herbart found in history and literature the core about which they have grouped or concentrated all the other subjects of the curriculum.[2]

Correlation.

The method of teaching history is more elaborately developed in Germany than in France. In both, teachers make an effective use of pictures. The French have their Albums historiques, and the Germans their Kulturgeschichtliche Bilderbücher and the like. These collections of pictures are carefully made, so that they may convey a correct impression of actual conditions or events. Fanciful pictures are generally excluded. Teachers are sometimes warned against the danger of an over-use of pictures, for these often satisfy the imagination and check its healthy activity, so that in place of a rich and varied whole, the pupil merely possesses in his mind the recollection of one or two pictures.

Methods of Teaching.

There is another way of giving reality to the facts of history,

[1] Russell, 297–298. Cf. for a somewhat different view of the extent to which correlation is carried, Bolton, 237 ff.

[2] DeGarmo, *Herbart*, 118 ff.

and a way which may be taken in so historic a land as either Germany or France. Excursions are organized to scenes within easy reach of the school. For example, at Leipzig, the students may visit the battle-ground of the "nations" east of the city, or they may go north a few miles to the spot where Gustavus Adolphus fell. "In the heart of the city is Auerbach's cellar, where Goethe places a scene in Faust. In other parts may be found Goethe's residence when a student, Schiller's residence, the Pleisseburg Castle, the old city hall (eight hundred years old), and scores of other landmarks."[1] What is true of Leipzig is true of many other towns in Germany and France. It would be difficult for European boys not to get into the historical attitude, if they possess an intelligent curiosity.

Excursions.

Germany and France differ in the method of imparting historical knowledge. In the People's schools of Germany the instruction is oral. Its success therefore depends almost wholly upon the ability of the teacher to give an instructive and interesting narrative. The problem is somewhat simplified because the course of study contains biography as its principal element. The tales are first related by the teacher and then repeated by the pupils until they are mastered.[2]

Oral Instruction.

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[1] Bolton, 242–243.

[2] Dr. Klemm in his *European Schools*, 24, 25, describes one lesson he heard in a Rhenish-Prussian school, corresponding to the sixth grade of our American schools. "First a biographical narrative was given by the teacher, who spoke in very simple, appropriate language, but feelingly, with the glow of enthusiasm and the chest-tone of conviction. He made each pupil identify himself with the hero of the story. The map was frequently used or referred to. Bits of poetry, taken from the reader, were interwoven, and circumstances of our time, as well as persons of very recent history, were mentioned at proper occasions. The attention was breathless.

"Secondly, the story was then repeated by pupils who were now and then interrupted by leading questions. The answers were again used to develop new thoughts not brought out by the first narration. Particularly was it cause and effect, and the moral value of certain historical actions which claimed the attention of the teacher. To me it was very

A similar method is used in the secondary schools, except that it is adapted to a different situation, and to a situation which changes radically between the first of the nine years and the last. Brief text-books (Leitfaden) are put in the hands of the students. At first this instruction consists of a very simple narration, but in the seventh, eighth, and ninth years it develops into the more elaborate form of a lecture. Here, as in the People's schools, everything depends upon the instructor. It is conceivable that certain classes may sit spellbound, listening to an inspiring narrator, while others may be beaten into a leaden stupor by a confused and colourless treatment of the subject. This accounts for the wide difference in the reports which observers of this method bring back. As Professor Russell sums up the matter: "In certain schools which I could mention the work is undoubtedly of a high order; the scholars are deeply interested, and the results are eminently satisfactory. Still, it must be remembered that in many schools — I fear in the great majority of them — the work is purely formal and disconnected, unrelated and exceedingly uninteresting. . . . I confess to having heard lessons — many of them — which were soporific in the extreme; and so unusual was it in my experience to find a good teacher of history, that I often despaired of seeing the German system at its best."[1]

In France, after the introduction of history into the curricu-

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instructive to see these children search for analogous cases in human life as they knew it.

"Thirdly, the pupils were led to search in their stores of historical knowledge for analogous cases, or cases of decided contrast. This gave me an insight into the extent of their knowledge. When, for instance, certain civil virtues were spoken of, they mentioned cases which revealed a very laudable familiarity with history. But all their knowledge had been grouped around a certain number of centres — that is to say, of great men. That is to say, their historical knowledge had been gained through biographies.

"Fourthly, the pupils were told to write, in a connected narration, what they had just learned. This proved a fertile composition exercise, because the pupils had something to write about — a thing that is not quite so frequent in schools as it seems desirable."

[1] Russell, 309–310.

lum by Duruy, there was great difficulty in getting the teachers to adopt any other method than the slavish learning by heart of a text-book. By a sort of reaction against this, an attempt was afterwards made to take up the German system of oral instruction. This did not succeed, because it was impossible to transform all the teachers into good narrators. The French now rely, much more than even the German secondary schools, upon a well-constructed text-book. Fortunately some of the ablest men belonging to the new school of critical historians have undertaken to prepare adequate text-books, so that gradually the teachers are finding close at hand the instruments for effective instruction. The text-book is not the end of the matter with them, but only the beginning. Accordingly all sorts of teaching may be observed in French schools.[1]

French Experience.

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[1] In his *Questions d'enseignement* Professor Lavisse gives an example of excellent teaching which he observed in a primary school in Paris. The master, who was somewhat inexperienced, did not discover the true way to make feudal society interesting and comprehensible to children of eight. He began to talk to them of the inheritance of offices and of privileges. Just then the director came in, interrupted the master with the question, "Who has seen a château of the feudal time?" No one replied. The master, turning to a boy who lives in the faubourg St. Antoine, asks, "Have you never been to Vincennes?" — "Yes, sir." — "Well, then, you have seen a château of the feudal time." Here was a starting-point found in the present. "What sort of a building is this château?" Several children answer at once. The master picks out one, takes him to the board, gets him to draw a sketch, which he corrects. He marks the notches in the wall. "What is that?" No one knew. He defines a battlement. "What was its object?" He leads them to discover that it was for defence. "What did they fight with,— with guns?" Most of the class: "No, sir." "With what?" A learned little fellow, from far down in the class, cries out, "With bows." "What is a bow?" Ten voices reply, "Sir, it is an arbalet." The master smiles and shows the difference. Then he explains how hard it was with bows and even with the war engines of the time to take a high and thick-walled château; and, continuing: "When you become workmen, good workmen, if you travel to find work or for pleasure, you will see ruins of châteaux." He names Montlhéry and other ruins in the neighbourhood of Paris. From this point by questions he leads them to see how the lords spent their lives, how their interminable wars injured the peasants, how the Church brought about the Truce of God, the differences between petty

Training of Teachers.

One of the most important features of both French and German systems is the care taken that all teachers shall be qualified to do their work. The desire to earn a living is not regarded as the chief qualification. In France there are three types of normal schools, one for the training of candidates for positions in the elementary schools, a second for the training of teachers for the first set of normal schools, and a third for the training of teachers for the secondary schools.[1] Of the first, there is one in nearly every department. The programme includes a course in history and civics continued three hours a week for three years. The first two terms of the first year are devoted to the Orient, to Greece and to Rome; the third term to the early part of the Middle Ages. The second year brings the course down to 1789, and the third year to the present day. It is to be remembered that those who enter this school must pass an examination on the history of France, and that they have had at least the course of history provided in the elementary schools. It is obvious that the schools which prepare teachers for these normal schools do even more advanced work in history. At the summit of the system is the great Paris Normal School (École Normale Supérieure). It is almost enough to say of this school that among its graduates have been such distinguished historians as Taine, Rambaud, Monod, Lavisse, Luchaire, and Seignobos, and that some of these men are still its professors, to show the unusual opportunities it offers for training in history. "The object of the work is to make the students masters of their subjects, and in becoming such to acquire experience and facility in present-

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and great lords, and the relation of all to the king, and how sometimes the peasants, maddened by oppression, rose and murdered the lords, their wives and children. The lesson lasted half an hour, and Lavisse remarks at the close, "Form your masters like this one." Pizard, op. cit. 230 ff. A translation of the whole passage is printed in Payne's edition of Compayré's *Lectures on Teaching*, 355–357. Pizard gives descriptions of two other actual lessons in history, pp. 232 ff.

[1] Lucy M. Salmon, EDUCATIONAL REVIEW, XX. 387 ff. Pizard, 114 ff.

ing various parts of it to others in a clear, forcible, and artistic manner."[1]

The Germans are not less careful in their endeavour to reach similar results. Their schools for candidates for positions in the elementary school are sufficiently like the French schools to need no separate explanation. For secondary school teachers, they rely upon their universities, rather than upon any single school like the École Normale. The candidates must not only present evidence of adequate university training, they must pass a special state examination, which is often more severe than the university examination for the doctorate. These severe conditions have raised the teacher's profession to the level of the other professions. The Germans are justly proud of this state of affairs.

In Germany.

Many of the teachers in the German secondary schools have also been trained in the special seminaries provided in connection with the university courses. These seminaries were not founded to serve this purpose, although it is not inconsistent with their original aim. They grew out of that more intelligent interest in the materials from which history must be written, created by the school of historical investigators early in the century. The most notable of them, Ranke, had been trained in the seminaries of Beck and Hermann, voluntary organizations which had been devised to give actual practice in philological studies. When Ranke was called to Berlin in 1824 as assistant professor of history, his friend Karl von Raumer, a professor of mineralogy, who had done much to improve the methods of teaching his own subject, advised him to arrange "practice courses" in history. Ranke wrote him in 1825 that he had followed his advice.[2] Ranke believed that such courses should be offered particularly to students who felt "within themselves the impulse and call to take active part in the advancement of science," although

"Seminary" Training.

[1] Salmon, EDUCATIONAL REVIEW, XX. 387 ff.

[2] Bourne, Edward G., "Ranke and the Beginning of the Seminary Method in History," *Essays in Historical Criticism*, 265–274.

he did not intend that all others should be rigidly excluded from them.

Among Ranke's first students were Waitz, Giesebrecht, Sybel, and Wattenbach, who soon made Germany the seat of critical historical scholarship, using the "seminary" as their most effective means.[1] Many of the ambitious young men who had been trained in these seminaries went into the secondary schools, distinctly raising the standard of scholarship.

Conclusions.

Any examination of either the French or German treatment of history gives the impression that the educational leaders of these peoples regard the subject as an important part of every well-arranged programme. Furthermore they keep it before the pupil during his entire school life, except at the very beginning, when he is too young to understand events in their time and space relations. And they do not keep his attention fixed on the national history alone. It is true, little else is taught in the German People's schools, and yet even the national history of Germany involves the history of other countries. They also intrust the teaching of history to persons who have been adequately trained. Although in many

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[1] Professor E. Emerton remarks further in regard to these seminaries: "Here it is that the professor reveals himself to his select pupils as with them. He is at work upon inquiries which are to bear fruit in his own publications, and these young men are made to feel that they are contributing personally, by their researches, to the completion of these works." Later he speaks of the seminary of the elder Droysen in Berlin: "The criticism was free and unrestrained to the verge of savagery. I well remember one unhappy youth, who ought never to have been there, whose productions were received with a mixture of derision and scathing logical analysis which, to a member of a less thick-skinned race, would have been torture." Pp. 34 ff. For the seminaries of Waitz and others, see Paul Fredéricq, *L'Enseignement supérieur de l'Histoire*, Paris, 1899, p. 12. A translation appears in the *Johns Hopkins University Studies*, I. The founders of the system were inclined to protest when the seminary began to lose its somewhat private and personal character, and when gratuities were offered attracting students to enroll themselves among its members. This, Waitz declared, opened the exercise to a crowd of mediocrities who had no call to become actual investigators. Nevertheless, such men might become useful and effective teachers.

individual cases American teaching may equal, or even exceed, French and German teaching of history, we have much to learn from their management of the subject.[1]

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[1] For the study of history in the English secondary schools, see *Report of the Committee of Seven*, 210 ff. Formerly very little work in history was done in the Board schools, which in a sense correspond to our public schools, but recent statistics show much improvement in this respect.

CHAPTER IV

HISTORY IN AMERICAN SCHOOLS

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IT is only within the last ten or fifteen years that the makers of American programmes have given serious attention to the question of inserting in the curriculum of the schools adequate courses in history. Since 1892 a vigorous campaign has been carried on against the neglect of so important a subject, with the result that at the present time the doors of the curriculum are being everywhere opened to it. A short sketch of this campaign, and of the condition of history teaching both before and after, will clear the way for a better discussion of the extent to which history should be admitted into the curriculum of the elementary school and of the secondary school.

Campaign for History.

The schools could not be expected to do much with this subject before the colleges had organized the higher instruction in it. Until the middle of the nineteenth century even the better colleges usually provided for instruction in history by adding such work to the duties of some

In Early Colleges.

[1] For further references, see footnotes and Wyer.

other chair. For example, Rev. John McVickar, of Columbia, taught history as a part of his work as professor of philosophy. And even after Columbia had possessed in the distinguished Francis Lieber a professor of history for eight years, from 1857 to 1865, this separate chair was withdrawn, and the work was turned over to the professorship of English and philosophy. Sometimes history was treated still worse, and was pushed from teacher to teacher, or even torn in pieces and distributed among several teachers, after the manner of English in some secondary schools. Occasionally history fared better than would appear from the precise words of the college programme. In Yale President Stiles was appointed professor of Ecclesiastical History in 1778, and held this chair until his death in 1795. There is "abundant evidence," says Professor Dexter, "that his (Stiles) interpretation of the field of ecclesiastical history was a very wide one; it was simply that he, an ecclesiastic, taught general history."[1]

The first separate chair of history was established at Harvard in 1839 with Jared Sparks as professor. Columbia and the University of Michigan followed in 1857, and Yale in 1865. The chair of history which was removed by Columbia in 1865 was restored in 1876, and four years later it was decided to establish a School of Political Science, strengthening the work in history by associating it with related subjects. About the same time the University of Michigan opened a similar school. Meanwhile both Johns Hopkins and Cornell universities had been founded, institutions which from the beginning did much to promote work of a high order in history.

First "Seminaries."

The colleges did something more than furnish a good general education in history. Americans who had gone to Germany with the purpose of better preparing themselves to teach the subject in their institutions at home brought back the "seminary." As early as 1868 it occurred to Professor C. K. Adams, of the University of Michigan, that something might be done to awaken further interest by intro-

[1] Quoted by H. B. Adams, *Study of History in American Colleges*, 51.

ducing German seminary methods."[1] Accordingly the following year he began with a few seniors who were particularly interested in history. At Harvard seven members of the Junior class, who had been trained in mediæval history, undertook, with Assistant Professor Henry Adams, advanced work in mediæval institutions, based upon the text of the Salic law, supplemented by various secondary works. This experiment was remarkably successful in stimulating young men of unusual power to fruitful research, and it left a permanent impress upon the historical department at Harvard.

Johns Hopkins.

Although Johns Hopkins had an historical seminary as soon as it was organized in 1876, the great impulse which Johns Hopkins gave to the training of students for research came from the more recent seminary, organized by Professor H. B. Adams in 1881, with the history of American local institutions as its field for investigation. When the work actually began students from the South and West eagerly took up the study of their own local institutions in order to compare the parishes, districts, and counties of Virginia, the townships of the West, with the towns and parishes of New England. This work received much deserved notoriety, and not only served to commend the seminary as a sound instrument of higher historical teaching, but also, because the materials for similar work all over the country lay close to the hand of teachers and students, did much to awaken interest in the study of history as well as in historical research.

The result of this better organization of historical work in the colleges was an increase in the number of well-trained men and

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[1] From a letter quoted by Professor H. B. Adams in the *Johns Hopkins University Studies*, 2nd series, 108. Professor C. K. Adams continues: "The students were, of course, ill prepared for anything that could properly be called original work, and the resources of the library were quite inadequate." As Professor Adams developed his seminary, he found it wise to make the conditions of admission more stringent. Moreover, he dealt on each occasion with small numbers, the class at first being divided into sections of from six to ten members, afterwards into sections of from twelve to fourteen.

women who were eager to see history better taught and given a more adequate position in the school curriculum. Many of them began their careers as teachers in the secondary schools, even when they did not permanently identify themselves with such work.

It would be wrong to give the impression that history was nowhere well taught or granted due recognition until this movement had begun in the colleges. But it is true that not much was done in the schools prior to the more intelligent attitude of the college authorities toward history. Earlier than 1880 American history was taught generally in the seventh and eighth grades of the grammar schools, and in the high schools or academies there was a little English or general history for pupils whose student life was to end with the secondary schools, and some Greek and Roman history for those who were preparing for college. Occasionally there was a programme that showed a more intelligent conception of the subject, but these were so rare as to be without significance. Frequently there was less rather than more time given to the subject. In 1876 it was reported that in Ohio American history was generally taught only in the eighth grade. Four years later there were but 31,171 children studying this subject, and 2,054 studying general history, while there were 267,618 studying geography. The early programmes of the normal schools provided both for American and for general history. This is true of the regulations for normal schools in New York in 1834, in Massachusetts in 1838, in Connecticut in 1849, and in their successors elsewhere.[1] It is significant that the Committee of the National Educational Association which reported in 1876 "A Course of Study from Primary School to University," did not go further than the common practice of the day, except that they urged that "Universal" history be required of all students in the secondary schools.[2]

In Public Schools.

The campaign for a better treatment of the subject was

[1] *Report of the Bureau of Education*, 1888–1889, I. 279 ff.

[2] *Proceedings of the National Educational Association*, 1876.

opened at the Madison Conference in 1891, the conclusions of which were embodied in the report of the Committee of Ten.

Madison Conference.

Although this committee had been appointed to consider the question of studies for the secondary schools, the Conference, believing that reform must begin in the elementary school if it was to be successfully carried out in the secondary school, made recommendations covering both periods of study. There were three important changes which the Conference sought to effect: first, an increase in the amount of time given to the subject; second, a broadening of the scope of the courses in order to include more European history; and, third, the abandonment of "the dry and lifeless system of instruction by text-book" for a "more rational kind of work."

In order to attain the first object, it was urged that the schools offer courses of three periods a week continued during the last four years of the grammar school and during the four years of the high school. If eight years cannot be obtained, they suggest six. The first two of these years are to be given to biography and mythology, so that there would remain only six years at most given to the systematic study of history. This should begin at the eleventh year of the child's life.

Course of Study.

The second object was to be reached by broadening the subject both in the grammar and in the high school. The students in the grammar school are no longer to study merely American history. Indeed, the formal study of this subject is cut down to one year, and the last year is given to Greek and Roman history. Since children do not usually complete the course in the grammar school until the age of fourteen or fifteen, the biography and mythology might have been crowded back and room found for another year of American history, without deranging the scheme. The high school course was to consist of a year of French history "so taught as to elucidate the general movement of mediæval and modern history," followed by English history, taught in the same way,

a third year of American history, and a fourth year of "a special period, studied in an intensive manner," and civil government. If a six-year course alone were possible, the French history would drop out. The Conference urged as their most important recommendation the necessity of studying European history.[1]

Methods.

In explaining the methods by which history may be better taught, the Conference declared that out of one hundred and thirty-nine high schools which had replied to inquiries on this subject, only sixty-nine furnished the pupils with outside references. Moreover, the text-books then in use were often "poor and antiquated," without proper apparatus, maps, marginal references, etc. To guard against the evils of the text-book method, it was suggested that at least one account besides that in the text-book should be read for each lesson, that there should be collateral readings, and that the subject should be taken up by topics. It was further urged that the work be carefully correlated with the work in English, and with Greek and Latin where possible, and that in every stage it be associated with the study of topography and political geography.

Idea of Training.

Incidentally the Conference touched upon the value of history, and asserted that its principal object is the training of the mind. History by necessitating acts of analysis and of comparison leads particularly to the development of judgment. In further supporting this idea, the Conference said that "history may be looked upon in part as a laboratory science, in which pupils assemble material and from it make generalizations," and that the intensive study of the final year "will offer an opportunity to apply, on a small scale, the kind of training furnished by the best colleges; it will teach careful, painstaking examination and comparison of sources. . . ."

The Committee of Ten had the difficult task of reconciling

[1] It may be added that they saw no reason to indicate distinct courses for those who were, and for those who were not, going to college.

the claims of the Madison Conference for time in the programme with the claims of the conferences for the other subjects, so that, leaving out the recommendations for the grammar school which were beyond their province, the Committee in their outline of a compromise programme gave history only three years except in the English course. In a sense, therefore, the recommendations of the Conference remained only a counsel of perfection.

Report of Committee of Ten.

The work of the Conference on history was favourably received throughout the country by those deeply interested in the subject, although one or two features of the report were criticised severely.[1] It was contended that altogether too much emphasis was laid upon the value of historical work for training, and not enough on its usefulness in putting the pupil into right relations to the community.[2] It was also urged that it was not possible to make any such use of the "sources" as that suggested by the Conference.[3] And yet this report did mark out

[1] Principal Nightingale believed the Conference and the Committee, besides all the good they had accomplished, had also done some harm by providing for courses with only three exercises a week, so that more subjects might be crowded into the curriculum. *N. E. A. Proceedings*, 1897, 651. E. V. Robinson explained that the Conference did not lay a sufficient stress on information in distinction from discipline. School Review, VI. 872 ff.

[2] Dr. C. A. McMurry declared there were two fundamental weaknesses in the recommendations. He denied that training was the end of education, and declared that "the highest value of history comes in its ability to awaken right desires by presenting ideals which pupils learn to love." But there is a danger that well-meaning but misguided persons, acting upon this view of the object of history, may sacrifice historical truth in order to make of history the handmaid of morality, a rather dubious proceeding. Dr. McMurry's second criticism urged that the Conference had supplied no principle to direct a wise selection of facts. There must, it is true, be some principle, and yet if it be too subjective, that is, if it is formulated for the purpose of making history speak virtuously, or teach good democracy, it is worse than no principle at all. *N. E. A. Proceedings*, 1894, 160 ff.

[3] Dr. Julius Sachs urged the futility of study from the "sources." School Review, V. 161 ff. See also remarks before the Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools of the Middle States and Maryland, November, 1897, *Proceedings*, 52-53.

the field of the reform movement so clearly that much of what has come after is hardly more than a modification in detail, or a development, of what was said at Madison in 1891.

Committee of Fifteen.

The Committee of Fifteen, three years later, made a report on the curriculum of the elementary schools, but so far as history is concerned, their recommendations hardly went beyond the practice of the less progressive schools.[1]

New England Association.

It is natural that the representatives of the cause of history should be obliged to put forth a proclamation or two, like the Madison Conference report, before they saw where it was best to begin effective action. The second important effort was made by a committee of the New England Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools at its fall meeting in 1895. This was more than a proclamation, for the colleges were asked to shape their entrance requirements to meet the recommendations of the Committee.

The Committee did not undertake, like the Madison Conference, to suggest what should be done in the elementary

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[1] This Committee was appointed by the department of Superintendence of the National Educational Association. The study of American history with a text-book is to begin with the seventh grade, and to be continued a year and a half, followed by a half year of civics. This does not preclude the possibility of teaching some American history incidentally with the language work before the seventh grade is reached, and yet nothing is said of such an opportunity. General history is to have sixty minutes a week throughout the whole eight grades. One member of the Committee was in favour of consolidating this time during some part of each year, so that the work might be more effective. A total of an hour a week, which might be broken up into shorter periods, one for each day of the week, would be sufficient for the first grades, but it would be hopelessly unsatisfactory after the fourth or fifth grade is reached. The Committee also made the curious suggestion that the formal study of American history should close with the adoption of the Constitution, although the pupils should be encouraged to read on in text-books and other works. Fortunately this recommendation was not concurred in by all the members. If such a report be compared with the 1876 recommendations, it will be seen how little progress had been made in the interval, so far as the elementary schools were concerned.

schools, nor did it map out a programme of study to cover the four years of the secondary school. It indicated seven subjects, each of which is to be pursued during one year with three exercises a week, and any two of which were to constitute a required subject for entrance to college. Three of these subjects had been suggested by the Madison Conference, namely, French history, American history, and the detailed study of some limited period. German history is also recommended, and is bracketed with French history, both to be "so taught as to elucidate the general movement of mediæval and modern history." The point of teaching English history is slightly changed. Here it is to have "special reference to social and political development." Greek and Roman history appear on the secondary school list and not on the list for the elementary school. Moreover, the Committee regard Greek and Roman history as so fundamental that these courses should open the study of history in any programme. This recommendation was not, however, included among the formal resolutions adopted by the Association.

It is implied in the scheme adopted by the Association, that the work in history shall in no case cover less than two years, and the obvious purpose of the action was to urge a programme of four years, whatever the group to which the students may belong. — Classical, Latin, Scientific, Modern Language, or English.

The resolution bearing upon the subject of methods sought to draw out more definitely into a scheme of distinct methods the suggestions made by the Madison Conference.[1] Another

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[1] "*Resolved*, That such written work should include some practice in at least three of the following: (*a*) Notes and digests of the pupil's reading outside the text-books; (*b*) Written recitations requiring the use of judgment and the application of elementary principles; (*c*) Written parallels between historical characters or periods; (*d*) Brief investigations of topics limited in scope, prepared outside the class-room, and including some use of original material; (*e*) Historical maps or charts, made from printed data and comparison of existing maps, and showing movements of exploration, migration, or conquest, territorial changes, or

resolution urged that "the examinations in history for entrance to college ought to be so framed as to require comparison and the use of judgment on the pupil's part, rather than the mere use of memory. The examinations should presuppose the use of good text-books, collateral reading, and practice in written work. Geographical knowledge should be tested by requiring the location of places and movements on an outline map."

College Entrance Requirements.

In one important particular the Association declined to act upon the recommendation of the Committee. This concerned the division of history into periods, or rather, the limit set for the close of the study of Roman history. It had been at first proposed that the history of Rome should be brought to an end with the traditional "fall of Rome" in 476, but, to use the words of a member of the Committee, it was "felt that there was in the period so often known as the 'Dark Ages,' between the fall of the old Empire and the rise of the new western Empire, a lesson which should be taught in order to develop at the outset a conception of historical continuity, and that it could be done best in connection with Roman history; that an attempt should be made here to follow out the lines laid down by Bryce and Freeman, and give an idea of Roman history in its entirety, bringing it into its relation with the history of Europe."[1] This was almost necessary, since there was to be no course in general mediæval history. But the recommendation was not accepted by the Association on account of the protests of certain secondary school men that it would be impossible to cover the additional period effectively. Consequently, the limit fixed by the Association was the accession of Commodus.

Periods Suggested.

As a result of a like interest in this movement felt by the similar Association of the Middle States and Maryland, a con-

social phenomena." The original recommendations made to the Association by its Conference Committee are found in the SCHOOL REVIEW, III. 469 ff., and their final form appears in EDUCATIONAL REVIEW, X. 417-418.

[1] SCHOOL REVIEW, III. 610.

ference was held in New York, in February, 1896, at which the representatives of six colleges or universities were present. This conference practically accepted the conclusions of the New England Association, save that it made several changes in the subjects which were recommended.

New York Conference.

The chief difference between the two reports lies in the emphasis upon the subjects. The whole list is divided into two parts. From the first part — Greek, Roman, English, and American history — are to be chosen the ordinary or minimum requirements for admission. From the second part — Mediæval history or some period studied intensively — the colleges are requested to accept "one . . . either as additional preparation for entrance (in cases where colleges allow history as an advanced option) or for advanced standing." It is clear that a subject like history would have the best chance provided a college insisted on a certain minimum requirement, selected from various subjects, and allowed the remainder of the requirement to be made up by a selection from work of a more advanced character. In this way students particularly interested in the subject could include more history among the subjects offered for entrance. As there is a tendency among the colleges to introduce so much of flexibility into their system of entrance requirements, this action of the Conference was especially opportune.

The Conference also recommended, even more strongly than the Association, that Greek and Roman history should form a part of every candidate's preparation. It is probable that in both cases this recommendation was made as a concession to the representatives of the classics. Mediæval history was regarded as a course of advanced study, because anything approaching general history was considered more difficult for beginners than the experience of a single people.[1]

Greek and Roman History.

Apparently those most interested in the better teaching of history had already reached a substantial agreement, except

[1] School Review, III. 600.

upon one or two minor points in reference to the list of courses. The Committee of Seven, appointed by the American Historical Association in December, 1896, suggested that Greek and Roman history be taught in the first year, and that this be followed in the second year by Mediæval and Modern history, leaving English and American history for the last two years, as intended by the New York Conference. The Committee did not share the view that Mediæval and Modern history was too advanced for students in the second year. "The answer to such objection," the Committee urge, "is, of course, that any other subject is too difficult if taught in its height and depth and breadth, but that the cardinal facts of European history can be understood, interesting and intelligible books can be read, the significant lessons can be learned."[1] They urge, as a further and conclusive reply, that European history in the most difficult form, "general history," is now taught in the second year in the greater part of the schools which offer the subject. But this reasoning has not convinced all the objectors. The Committee of the New England History Teachers' Association recommended in 1899 that the subjects for the second and third year be turned about. It was their opinion that "the details are too numerous and the mass of complications too great for pupils who have received only such training in history as the elementary school now provides."[2]

Committee of Seven.

The Committee of Seven suggested that in case a school could not offer a programme of four years' work, the second course be either English history, so treated as to illustrate the history of the Middle Ages, or that English and American history be combined. The former suggestion the New York Association of Academic Principals chose, because they felt it was more feasible on account of the work actually done in the schools, as well as on account of the existing entrance requirements for the leading colleges. The Regents, however, in their syllabus for 1900 followed rather the original scheme

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[1] *Report of the Committee of Seven*, 35 ff.

[2] *New Eng. Hist. Teachers' Association*, *Report No.* 3, p. 27.

suggested by the Committee of Seven, although the full four years' programme was not urged except where the conditions were favourable for its adoption.[1]

It is curious to note that in fixing the limit of the first year's work the Committee of Seven followed the notion suggested during the meetings of the Committee of the New England Association, that it was advisable to bring this history down to the death of Charlemagne. Apparently in its original form that suggestion contemplated the fact that the succeeding course was to be either French or German history, and that but for some such bridging over the centuries after the disintegration of the Empire, there would be lost the sense of the continuity of Roman institutions. This argument does not apply with the same force when the succeeding course is to be mediæval history. Nevertheless the suggestion has met with little criticism and has been widely followed.[2]

Periods.

There have been two lines of approach in the task of bettering the work in history, — the first by attempting to influence the makers of school programmes, and the second by endeavouring to arrange a more adequate entrance requirement. The New York Conference was an example of the latter. But even before it met, a Committee of the National Educational Association had begun the solution of the problem, although its Committee did not report until 1899. In history the Committee of Seven acted as an advisory body. It is therefore necessary to note first what the Committee of Seven recommended in this matter. Several fundamental principles controlled their suggestions. First, there was to be no distinction between ordinary secondary school work in history and preparation for college, although in case a school could not give a four years' programme in history, there was to be an opportunity to offer the amount expected by the college

Entrance Requirements.

[1] Associated Academic Principals, 15th Annual Conference, 369 ff.

[2] For example, by the Curriculum Committee of the New England History Teachers' Association, the New York Academic Principals, in the Academic Syllabus for the High School Department, University of the State of New York.

for which the school desired to prepare students. Second, there could be no rigid list of requirements enforced throughout the country. The element of flexibility must be introduced, so that schools could adjust themselves to local conditions. Third, "it is more important that pupils should acquire knowledge of what history is and how it should be studied than that they should cover any particular field." Fourth, there should be a definite standard of a "unit," or "block," or "course," including the length of time and the number of periods each week. The Committee recommended that five times a week for one year be taken as this standard. Furthermore, the Committee endeavoured to propose a scheme of requirements suited to the present situation, as this is determined by the tendencies of both the colleges and the secondary schools. For the colleges or scientific schools which have a "system of complete options," like Leland Stanford, it was recommended that four units of history be accepted as equal to any other four units. If the institutions had a prescribed list and options besides, one unit should be on the prescribed list, and one, two, or three on the optional list. Where there was only a prescribed list, at least one unit should appear, and the same should be true for each distinct list of requirements for different groups, Classical, Modern Language, and the like. It was also suggested that instead of five hours a week for one year, two topics might be given three hours a week during two years. In such a case, however, the two topics were to be hardly more than halves of one of the five period topics.

The Committee urged that those intending to take the classical group in college should study at least one unit of Greek and Roman history, or if this was taught incidentally to the work in languages another unit might be chosen. For the scientific group there should be two units, and for the English group at least three, preferably four, that this study might become one of the central subjects.

The Committee of the National Educational Association accepted this report with only one or two qualifications. The

Committee thought it highly desirable that whatever be the content of any particular unit, they should each have the same value for entrance as every other within the same group, leaving it to the local conditions to determine how many units of any particular group are to be chosen. All this was in the interest of devising a common standard of measurement by which to bring order out of the present confusion. But the chief qualification which the Committee insisted upon seemed to thwart the hopes of all those who since the Madison Conference had been seeking to broaden the scope of historical work in the schools. This qualification read as follows: "That it is desirable that one year of United States history and civil government should be furnished by the secondary schools as a requirement for admission by all colleges and universities." Furthermore, a resolution was adopted urging that at least a half year be added "of intensive study of some period of history, especially of the United States."[1] This indicates little appreciation of the need of teaching anything but American history in the secondary as well as the elementary schools. Such a backward step is not likely to be taken by the colleges in arranging their entrance requirements.[2]

National Educational Association.

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[1] *Proceedings*, 1899, pp. 648, 665. This report is also published separately.

[2] The Bureau of Education reported the following facts in reference to the state of college requirements in 1895–1896. "The requirements in history seem to be more varied than in any other branch of study. History of the United States is required by 306 institutions. . . . State and local history by nine institutions. General history, by 127; history of Greece, by 112, and history of Rome by 116. As a rule, the institutions requiring the history of Greece also require the history of Rome. History of England is required by 57 institutions." Other subjects were named in this résumé, but were represented by fewer institutions. *Report*, 1896–1897, 468.

For a tabular view of the entrance requirements of about 60 institutions in 1896, see SCHOOL REVIEW for that year. It is worth noting that out of 27 of these which lie west of the Alleghanies, 15 require "general" history, while this subject is required by only two out of 31 lying east of the mountains. Sometimes the history of Greece and Rome is emphasized as a part of the general history, so that this

Already the entrance requirements arranged by the colleges show the influence of this agitation and particularly of the work of the New York Conference. Harvard, Cornell, Dartmouth, the University of Pennsylvania, Bryn Mawr, and some other institutions have adopted a requirement, providing for courses in either Greek and Roman history, or in English and American history, each group to cover at least three hours a week for two years. They have also accepted the principles laid down at the Conference governing the content of these courses and the methods by which they are to be taught. There are other institutions which require more history for entrance to certain groups of college work, and yet their requirements are apparently not a result of this movement.[1]

Results.

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becomes hardly different from a short course in Greek and Roman history, followed by Mediæval and Modern history. Of these 60 institutions, 38 require Greek history, 40 Roman history, and only 32 American. But so few of the group require American history largely because they presuppose it as an entrance requirement for the secondary school, although this reason is deprived of some force by the fact that they do require certain studies which are also concluded before the period of secondary instruction is begun.

The task of reforming college entrance requirements has been rendered unnecessarily difficult because of the failure of the committees who have presented reports on the subject to agree upon the time element in each unit of work. The New York Conference insisted on at least three periods a week. The Committee of Seven raised this to five, while the Committee of the National Educational Association fixed the number at four. Consequently, in estimating the amount of work done by any school, it is necessary to note the number of exercises a week, in addition to the number of years the subject appears in the programme. A certain amount of flexibility should be allowed, but different standards of measurement introduce confusion.

[1] According to the Harvard requirements, which may be taken as typical of this movement, two units, or years, of "Elementary History" must be offered by all students. Two further units may also be offered as "Advanced History." These may be selected from fields belonging to the "Elementary History," or from the two following, each one of which implies two years' study: "3. European History from the Germanic conquests to the beginning of the Seventeenth Century;" or, 4. A year's study of any field of "Elementary History," "together with a detailed study of a limited period within that field, selected with the approval of the

Although the programme of the elementary school has not yet received the attention recently bestowed upon that of the secondary school, it has been steadily improved, partly through the efforts of individual superintendents, and partly through discussions by associations of teachers. In 1899 the New England History Teachers' Association recommended that the work in history below the secondary school be distributed into two cycles, the first to begin with the second school year, and to include "the elements of Grecian, Roman, and Norse mythology, stories and biographies from Hebrew, Grecian, Roman, European, English, and American history, — chiefly told or read by the teacher." The second cycle was to begin with the sixth year and to include after a revision of the first work "a study of English and American history from elementary text-books in the hands of the pupils."[1]

Elementary School.

A study of the programmes of the city schools shows that the subject is creeping into the lower grades of the grammar school, and even into the primary school. Unfortunately, only in a few schools is there any attempt to teach European or English history. This simply means that if the pupils after their school days are over remain in dense ignorance of Europe and all that Europe has meant for American civilization, it will be partly because of the narrowness of their education.[2]

Programmes.

Department of History." Subjects offered as "Advanced History" must be treated in such a way as to show "a higher standard of acquirement and of power to combine results." With the examination must be presented a "note-book (or bound collection of notes), containing not less than fifty written pages on each historical field offered, and must show practice in some" of the exercises recommended by the New England Association (see p. 166).

[1] *Report No.* 3, pp. 24–25.

[2] The impression a study of American programmes makes upon the European is evident from the following by Dr. Joseph Baar of the Progymnasium of Malmedy. He wrote in 1896: "The aim of the study of history in the United States is more than in monarchical states a political one. It is to prepare the young for a self-active participation in the life of the state, by giving them the requisite historical knowledge and by training them in the American spirit. This explains why the

The chief features in the arrangement of these programmes are: first, the correlation of history with other subjects, with the English or language work in the early grades, and later with geography, sometimes also with conduct and government; second, a double or triple passage through the field, in the earlier part by means of biographies, and finally by a more formal study based on the text-book. Occasionally the use of correlation is a peculiar one, as, for example, when the subject is subordinated to geography, and the pupil is carried about from continent to continent, with no regard to historic continuity.

Chicago Institute.

The scheme for the elementary study of history worked out by the Chicago Institute[1] deserves particular mention, for it is based on the "culture epoch" theory, according to which each step in the course must follow closely the experiences of the child and the corresponding experiences of the race. Before the pupil reaches the fifth grade, he has been brought into contact with the industrial efforts and social activities of the community, and has been taught to inquire out of what have been developed the present devices used by men, their tools, their houses, and the like. He then begins to learn how the local city came into being, and how the early colonial settlements were founded. By the time he reaches the sixth grade, he has been led back to the period of the discoveries, and he is led still further to the history of the cities whose maritime enterprises were the necessary prelude to the discoveries. In the seventh grade, through inquiries about the ideas and the customs the early settlers brought with them, he is carried back to Rome, and is taught to trace down the development of the Romans, the Teutons, and of other European peo-

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grammar schools confine themselves to American history. This home history is taught very thoroughly during the last two years of the elementary course . . . and also in the form of a review in the high schools. Ancient history, on the other hand, is taught only in the high or other secondary schools, and very superficially at that. English history is all that finds a little attention besides ancient and home history." *U. S. Bureau of Education*, 1893–1894, 302 ff.

[1] Now School of Education, University of Chicago.

ples as far as the Renaissance. In the eighth grade starting from the present social and industrial conditions, he is to learn what has brought them about.[1]

Rural Schools.

The problem of the rural school is distinct from that of the city elementary school. A committee of the National Educational Association has recommended a special programme for such schools. In its details it shows a more progressive spirit than do many programmes in force in the city schools. It was evidently not drawn up in a spirit of that provincialism that forgets that Americans are the children of Europe, and should properly become interested in the deeds of their English and European ancestors, as well as in the achievements of the later Europeans. The programme is divided into four groups, each corresponding to two years of school life. The fourth group therefore includes children from eleven to thirteen years of age. Not until this group is reached, does the formal study of history begin, after preparation has been made by legends, stories, and biographies in the other groups. The work of the fourth group is also subdivided, the first part being based upon selected topics of general history, taught with the aim of developing a love of reading, and the second part taking up American history.[2]

During the last ten years there has been an increase in the number of students in the secondary schools studying history other than American history. This number in 1889–1890 was 82,909 for both public high schools and endowed schools, the

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[1] Emily J. Rice, who has charge of the work, thus sets forth the theory on which it is based: "Our history course must not necessarily follow the order of historical progress, but will find its material in whatever illuminates the activities in which the child is taking a part, since by these activities he is entering into race experience. In the social study of the school, it is possible to organize these activities to better advantage than in the home. Here the children may share in the labour that has been the means of race improvement, and trace from the primary necessities of man his industrial, social, and political progress." *Course of Study*, I. 116 ff. Cf. the plan of Professor C. A. McMurry, *N. E. A.*, 1895, pp. 475 ff.

[2] *Report of the Committee of Twelve on Rural Schools*, 171 ff. Chicago, 1897.

number for the public high schools being 55,427. In 1897–1898 these numbers had risen to 202,034, and for the high schools to 169,478. Putting the matter another way, in the first year 27.31 per cent of the high school pupils were studying history, while in the second year the percentage was 37.70.[1]

Progress.

The Committee of Seven made a careful investigation of the amount of history taught in the secondary schools, by selecting three hundred typical schools and by procuring from them detailed information bearing upon the whole situation. They found that the favourite topics were, "(1) English and American history, taught in more than half the schools; (2) General history, taught in almost exactly half the schools; (3) Greek and Roman history, taught in about half the schools; (4) European history, taught in about one-third of the schools, the three forms — mediæval, modern, and French history — being about equally common." They also found that of seventy schools which answered the question, "What is the maximum number of exercises in history in your whole curriculum . . . open to a pupil who chooses that course which has most history in it?" three quarters offered over four hundred exercises, which is at least five exercises a week during two years.[2]

Present Situation.

It is believed by some that greater progress would be made did the State authorities provide a uniform course of study. This only twenty-two States had done in 1898, and not all of these were able to enforce the acceptance of such a course by the schools.[3] It is, however, possible that a subject like history, the value of which has been so tardily

Uniformity.

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[1] I have found no accurate statistics in regard to the comparative number of elementary pupils studying history.

[2] *Report*, 139 ff. The Michigan Schoolmasters' Club found in 1894 that of the thirty-six academies, thirty-five high schools, and fourteen small high schools on the accredited list of the University of Michigan, the following amounts of time were given to history: Academies, 1.6 years; large high schools, 1.7; small high schools, 1.8. SCHOOL REVIEW, III. 67.

[3] *Report of the Committee of Seven*, 158, 159.

perceived, has a better chance if an advance can be made wherever a progressive spirit is at hand, without waiting for the authorities of a whole State to become convinced of the expediency of the change.

The Outlook.

The progress that has been made during the last ten or fifteen years is encouraging. Although history does not yet receive the recognition which is due to so important a subject, its value is better understood, its objects are more clearly defined, the methods of teaching it are more fully developed. Some things remain to be done. At present in the elementary schools and, to a large extent, in the secondary schools, the subject is assigned to teachers who know little about it and who have never been adequately trained to teach it. A little study of history in college is not enough, and even this is usually lacking. The remedy here can come only through the strengthening of the college work in history and through more adequate courses of instruction in the normal schools. Quite as important as this is the realization on the part of the makers of programmes that we live not merely in the United States, but also in the world. Another decade should not pass before the work in history in the American schools is made as comprehensive and is entrusted to as well-trained teachers as is the case in France and in Germany.

CHAPTER V

THE VALUE OF HISTORY

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Object of Teaching History.

A FEW years ago a committee on methods proposed certain kinds of work by which teachers could "wring from history its educational value." Although this phrase implies the need of a strenuous effort if more than a dubious outcome is to be produced, it suggests that sooner or later in the teacher's mind rises the question, insistent for answer, Why do I teach history? Of what use is it that the children should know that the Saracens were defeated at Tours, why Luther posted his theses, or even just how the French lost Canada?[1] An adequate answer to such questions

[1] Herbert Spencer declared some years ago that the history that was usually taught had no practical value. "It is composed," said he, "of facts from which no conclusion can be drawn — unorganizable facts, and therefore facts which can be of no service in establishing principles

is important because it determines the character of the course of study and suggests the methods of teaching. The question may be stated in either of two forms: What is the object of teaching history? or What is the educational value of historical instruction?

The object should not at any period of the school life be determined primarily by what the pupils are to do in the period just beyond, for in this case the interests of the greater number, both in the elementary and in the secondary school, would be ignored. This does not mean that the general plan of historical work should not provide for an orderly progress from its beginnings in the elementary school to its conclusion at the threshold of graduate instruction. It simply takes account of the fact that the majority of the pupils in the elementary school do not enter the high school, and that the majority of the high school pupils do not go to college.

Theoretically there should be no difference between what will best prepare a pupil for college and what may wisely be done in the secondary school. It is true also that the agitation for a more intelligent use of history in the schools has received its inspiration from the colleges, but the college officer in arranging entrance requirements usually has in mind what is to be accomplished by the candidate after his admission, and he does not sufficiently consider the bearings of the problem of secondary instruction upon the question. It may be asked, Should not the secondary school pupils be divided into two classes, and those who intend to enter college be given a course primarily arranged to prepare them for their college work? This assumes that it is generally known who is and who is not going to college. The Madison Conference emphatically declared against such discrimination, even when this was definitely ascertained.[1] The Committee of Seven did not go

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of conduct, which is the chief use of facts. Read them, if you like, for amusement, but do not flatter yourself they are instructive." EDUCATION, 67.

[1] This was declared in the thirty-first resolution, "That the instruction in history and related subjects ought to be precisely the same for

quite so far, although they declare that "in the great majority of schools the curriculum must be prepared with the purpose of developing boys and girls into young men and women, not with the purpose of fitting them to meet entrance requirements or of filling them with information which some faculty thinks desirable as a forerunner of college work."[1] The only exception they made was in the case of the academies and some high schools which "can without much trouble meet the artificial requirements of the colleges." Even this exception the Committee on Entrance Requirements of the National Educational Association was inclined to reject, believing that if difference there must be, this difference should be in the number of units of historical work required, rather than in the character of the units themselves.[2] That is to say, the colleges may select Greek and Roman history, rather than some other period, as best suited for preparation, but the aim with which it is studied should be derived from the general aim of secondary instruction, rather than from the exigencies of the college curriculum.

First Steps.

The only period of school life when the teaching of history may be regarded as in a sense preparatory, lies at the very beginnings of such work. The aim with young children is to broaden the range of their experience, and consequently of their imaginative power, and in this way to give them new words filled with content, which, when they become conscious of the relations of things in space and time,

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pupils on their way to college or the scientific school, as for those who expect to stop at the end of the grammar school, or at the end of the high school." *Committee of Ten, Report,* 165.

[1] *Study of History in Schools,* 120. The Committee on Courses of Study of the New England History Teachers' Association declared itself to be "in most hearty sympathy with both the Committee of Ten and the Committee of Seven, as to the teaching of all subjects in the curricula of the secondary school without regard to the destination of the pupils," and yet they believe that an intensive study of Greek and Roman history must be made close to the entrance examinations. *Report No.* 3, pp. 31, 32.

[2] 1899 *Proceedings,* 648. For meaning of "units," see p. 69 of this book.

may serve as the means of carrying them further out into the larger realm of the real world.

History and the Aim of Life.

A common definition of the aim of education is "complete living," which "means to be as useful as possible and to be happy."[1] It is obvious that the study of history does not facilitate completer living with the apparent directness characteristic of several other studies in the school curriculum; reading and writing, for example, which are necessary for the mere earning of bread and butter; or to go farther up in the scale, any of those studies the relation of which to some form of daily work is perfectly clear. If one goes high enough, it is easy to find work to which some historical knowledge is indispensable. The philologist must be a trained student of a certain field of history; so must one who would rightly know literature; so also the theologian, the economist, the diplomat; even the effective politician must know something of the origin of the forces which he seeks to manipulate.[2] And yet although the study of history does have these practical, immediate relations to several other forms of work which the community deems necessary, its value does not lie largely in this. It must have a value for the life of the child, if it is to further complete living.

Revelation by History.

What are the elements of a life fairly complete? Certainly one of them is all the comprehension of this world we can get, not only through ordinary observation, but through the study of science, literature, and history. This intelligent knowledge of our surroundings should not be the peculiar privilege of the few, for it brings with it lasting satisfactions and greater freedom of action. To such an under-

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[1] Hanus, *Educational Values*, 5.

[2] Mr. Lecky emphasizes the practical value of history in the following words: "It is, I think, one of the best schools for that kind of reasoning which is most useful in practical life. It teaches men to weigh conflicting probabilities, to estimate degrees of evidence, to form a sound judgment of the value of authorities. Reasoning is taught by actual practice much more than by any à priori methods." *Political Value of History*, 47-48.

standing of the world history is the necessary introduction. There are undoubtedly persons endowed with strong sympathetic insight who enter with some degree of fulness into the spirit of a nation's institutions, without knowing much of the long process out of which these institutions have come. And plain good citizenship depends upon habits and qualities the connection of which with any sort of "book-learning" is rather remote. Other things being equal, the surest road to a comprehension of our country, its institutions and its relations to the world, lies through work in history. It must not be forgotten that any product of the past, an administrative system, a court, a church, is not altogether visible to the observer, however long he may watch it. A part of what it really is, probably its most valuable part, is that indefinable something which has been added to it by generation after generation of men. It is like the Cologne cathedral, the work of many hands in different ages. If a boy be told to love his country, he might properly inquire, What is my country? It would not be enough to show him a list of the States, or the flag, or to name the leading politician who happened to be president. His real country has much that is invisible built into its very structure. It is Washington's long struggle to found and organize the republic, it is Jefferson's dreams of democratic equality, it is the deeds and words of the men who from period to period guided public opinion and settled the national policy, of those who spread civil communities from the Alleghanies to the Pacific, who built up our industries and laid the foundations of our intellectual life. Each act in all the great drama of the national history has added its bit to the reality of the whole. That whole cannot be understood unless that which has made it what it has become is known. Physical blindness is no less unfortunate than any dimness of sight that shuts out half and more of what such parts of the world really are.

Another illustration may be sought in such an institution as the English cabinet system. To the uninstructed experience this might seem a group of governmental customs which an

intelligent child might give some account of after a month's visit in London during the period of a general election. Each one of

The History of the Past.

these customs, the manner of selecting the prime minister, the duration of a ministry, the fact that as a ministry decide so the Crown determines, might appear simple devices, to be approved or condemned upon their apparent theoretical value. But by such a process not even the most acute observer could put the proper emphasis on the features of this governmental system; this is possible only to the historical mind tracing out the process by which the delicate adjustment of powers and responsibilities has been reached in England. Before such a mind there rises up a long series of great scenes: on this occasion such a custom was finally established, and on this, another; and each occasion adding something, some quality or characteristic, to the simple device, the whole reality of which could never be felt by looking straight at it.

Even a geographical boundary is not the meaningless fact that some stream, or a certain degree of latitude or longitude, separates two states. Europe is full of illustrations of this, and none more striking than the northeastern boundary of France. The struggles of the French and the Germans from the faint beginnings of their national existence in 843 A. D. to the present day have made almost every foot of that ground significant. It is ground still; so is Bunker Hill and Gettysburg, but whoever thinks of such places as ordinary earth!

If the pupils in either the elementary or the secondary school are to gain an adequate comprehension of even their own country,

European History.

they must study the history of Europe. This remark applies particularly to the elementary school, where hitherto European history has been little taught. Those whose school career ends there, do not get even the fragmentary knowledge which is imparted in the high school by the usual one year's work in "general" history.

Europe cannot thus be thrust out of our calculations. The virtues, the guarantees of personal liberty, human culture, did not wait for their creation until the foundation of Jamestown or

the landing of the Pilgrims. The men who left England and the Continent to find new homes beyond the Atlantic took with them the heritage which had come down from the days of Greece and Rome and from the Middle Ages. Their relations with the Old World did not cease when they turned their faces westward. For a century and a half they remained a part of Europe, were constantly subject to its influence, and were involved in nearly all its struggles. And after independence came, for half a century more, until the great Revolutionary era was concluded and Spanish America, as well as nearly all of English America, had successfully broken its colonial ties, the history of the new republic was profoundly affected by everything that took place in Europe. Nor did the influence cease then. Our political autonomy had been achieved, but we were still content to seek from older peoples guidance in shaping our ideas. Many of our greatest teachers have sought in Europe to complete their training, or to feel more directly the inspiration of ancient and splendid traditions.

If the aim of historical instruction be the interpretation of the world to the child, it is a mistake to tolerate a narrow scheme of study which leaves out of account the larger world of which America has never ceased to be a part and without some knowledge of which our own history is unintelligible.

Ignorance of European History.

Ignorance of European history may lead to something worse than the misunderstanding of events which have their beginnings in Europe. Our national history covers so short a period of time that it includes no great transition like that from classical society to the Middle Ages or from the Middle Ages to modern times, so that the pupil may not readily get from it the notion of development which is fundamental to a comprehension of history. Nothing so clearly distinguishes the historical from the unhistorical attitude of mind as this idea of a traceable growth in institutions, in the structure of society, and even in the beliefs which men have cherished. It was not until the scholars of the Renaissance had rediscovered antiquity and their curiosity had been

awakened by the startling contrasts which it presented to what they observed about them, that they began to understand the Middle Ages. They had been accustomed to think that things had always been as these were in their own day, and they were, therefore, a prey to the most astonishing delusions. Children cannot state an abstract idea of this sort, but they can feel the fact, and it will affect their attitude toward the events of American history. This will also be facilitated if their American history comes in its chronological place in a study of the whole experience of the European man.

The Case of Germany.

It may be objected that in such countries as Germany, where history is thoroughly studied in the schools, the national history forms the basis of the whole course, particularly in the People's schools. But, as already explained, it is impossible to study German history without studying the history of Europe from the Roman empire down to the end of the Franco-Prussian war. There are some phases of European experience that German history does not illustrate, but these are few, so that the pupil is led naturally to an intelligent conception of the historical process. The national history forms the centre, but grouped about it, acting upon it, and in turn feeling its influence, are the other countries of Christendom. The pupil may grow up intensely German, but he will be free from that complacent contempt for other peoples which springs from ignorance of the part they have played in the development of civilization.

History as a Revelation.

If history does open to the child the reality of the world in which he dwells, so that he may more completely enter into its life, it must give the child a clearer consciousness of what he is himself.[1] Why does "nobility oblige"? Simply because the boy or man has entered into a larger realization of what he is through his knowledge of the

[1] Droysen, in his *Principles of History*, puts the matter this way: "The human being is, in essential nature, a totality in himself, but realises this character only in understanding others and being understood by them, in the moral partnerships of family, people, state, religion, etc." 14.

traditions of his house. In the same way the honourable record of a regiment, of a ship-of-the-line, the traditions of even-handed justice that surround certain courts, elevate and clarify the consciousness of the men who make up their personnel. So the boy and girl may through the proper study of history learn better to know themselves in relation to their community, their State, and their country.

It was the opinion of Ziller, one of Herbart's leading disciples, that history not merely has "the greatest practical value in bringing about the moral revelation of the world in the mind of the child," but also that it may serve as the core of the school studies at every stage of education, except the lowest, since the development of the child and the development of the race roughly coincide.[1] During the first four years literature was used, and yet even this was a literature that embodied simple historical conditions of society, Bible stories, legends of Thuringia, and the Niebelungen Tales.

An Effective Sort of History.

If history is to add much to the pupil's comprehension of the world, it cannot be through a bare chronicle of deeds, with names and dates. There must be facts and plenty of them; and yet few events by themselves mean anything. They gain their significance from the causes and the conditions which have made them possible, or from the consequences to which they give rise. It is just as much a discovery to discern in a fact a new significance as it is through the painful turning over of old records to bring another fact to light. More than one eminent historian has rendered his greatest service in this way. And as each generation becomes affected by new interests, political, economic, or social, its thinking men look back upon the past from a changed point of view, and see fresh significance in many a fact that hitherto appeared commonplace. The scope of history itself has by this means been

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[1] DeGarmo, *Herbart and the Herbartians*, 107 ff. Strictly speaking, history and literature were to constitute the "core," but Professor DeGarmo says that no serious attempt was made to use literature after the early years.

several times enlarged. It is a history, therefore, with facts capable of interpretation, of being intelligibly grouped, that possesses educational value.

Unscientific History.

Too much must not be asked of history. It does not do its work of revealing the world in as systematic and orderly a fashion as the sciences. Unlike their facts, its own cannot be measured and determined, although vaguely discerned among them are constant tendencies, which may some day be capable of statement as laws of civilization. Only a part of the value of historical instruction consists in following the orderly development of institutions, the direction of change in society, the organization of industry, the gradual reconstruction of society itself. There are facts that do not lend themselves to even as much systematic treatment as this, and which are, nevertheless, important in making the world intelligible. Such facts make up the bulk of most historical narratives. They give the detailed history of every notable cause, or of its leaders. They are not unrelated. The career of Napoleon is as intelligible as the system of administration he created for France. Moreover, many events which form an integral part of the growth of some great institution yield their meaning only after a close study of the persons who were chief actors, and of the ideas and aspirations which these men cherished. Who could explain the papacy without taking into account such men as Leo I., Gregory I., Gregory VII., and Innocent III.? Facts of this kind are the flesh and blood of history; they introduce the pupil into a wonderfully rich and varied experience that gives flavour and quality to all the past. They are despised only by those who have a theory of the origin of civilization and are ready to reject everything that cannot be fitted into the formula.[1]

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[1] Spencer believes only organizable facts are of value, those which may be grouped into a "natural history of society," and the key to the interpretation of which may be furnished by Science. EDUCATION, 68–69. Bain holds similar views, but he thinks these social facts must be presented to the child "in solution," that is, in a narrative of general events. He says: "Since the deep, political forces which it [the child] cannot

History has the additional advantage that it can make a direct appeal to interests which the pupil already possesses. These interests differ in relative influence at the different stages of development. At first it is the interest in those universal experiences in which by imagination even a child may share, experiences embodied in the fairy story or the legend. Further on it is stories of war and adventure; and still further, political and religious struggles, the inner life of men who have led their generations in some field of achievement. When this interest is highly developed, history is as great a delight as the masterpieces of fiction. But it is obvious that such a development of interest can only accompany the growth of a powerful imagination, able by analysis and interpretation to follow the experiences of a people or an individual where only fragmentary evidences lead.

Interest.

There is another fundamental interest to which history makes appeal, the desire to find out why things have taken place. This may become strong enough to carry the pupil far into the causes and effects which illumine the facts of history. In a heightened form, it may lead him to begin investigations and to discover the pleasure of hunting for some lost fact or hidden cause through record after record.

These interests, if successfully developed by skilful instruction, take their place among the permanent intellectual forces and constantly urge the mind out into the rich field of human experience.

The ethical value of history is sometimes seriously questioned. A distinction must, it is true, be made between history as it should be, and history as it is in the hands of ignorant and unskilful teachers. President Eliot declared a few years ago that the results of the teaching of history in this country were not only small, but " quite as apt to be unethical

Ethical Value.

understand, take the form of a stirring narrative, which it can in part understand, history is seldom entirely devoid of interest or debarred from leaving impressions, and in these impressions are materials that may one day constitute a portion of historical knowledge, in the highest form." 226–227.

as ethical. When, for instance, the teaching of American history is used simply to develop vainglory and pugnacity in the nation, the result is unethical; with that kind of teaching we are going down hill toward savagery, instead of upward toward civilization." But even if history be rightly taught, its ethical value does not always seem clear, because it is not primarily interested in whether people were good or not, but in what they were, in what they did, their aims, and their convictions. And yet if history does help the pupil to a proper comprehension of the world and to a better understanding of his own place in it, this has a moral value. Such knowledge may sharpen his sense of duty as a citizen and as a man. Dr. Laurie says: "We attain our ethical purpose in teaching history by connecting the life of the boy with the life of past humanity of which he is the most recent outcome. Thus we make it possible for him to become a being of large discourse looking before and after." Moreover, although history is not chiefly interested in the goodness or badness of the men with whose lives it deals, it has never refrained from directly or by implication showing the vanity of wickedness in high places, or from so setting forth the matter that the reader could easily reach a sound judgment.[1]

History also shows how men have been swept out of the channel of their petty individual ambitions and made to serve the common cause. In this way it makes clearer the relative

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[1] It is hazardous advice to urge that "If the moral value of the study of history is to be secured, teachers must feel their responsibility to set before their pupils from the historic page the highest ideals of conduct and character. They must possess both the knowledge and the courage to enlarge here and to cut out there." *N. E. History Teachers' Association, Report No.* 3, p. 30. It is not wise to whitewash the world too extensively, in view of the fact that the pupils must live in it. Probably the intention of the advice was that the teacher should not dwell too long on the exploits of the Cæsar Borgias or the Catherine de Medicis. Another expedient by which it is thought to "wring" out of history its ethical value is destructive of history itself. "In support of virtue," it is asserted, "and in rebuke of vice, the lessons of history are absolutely independent of time. Freed from chronology, the near and the remote may become equally potent in the life of the child." W. S. Jackman in EDUCATIONAL REVIEW, IX. 469–470.

importance of the different purposes which press upon each one for choice. Moreover, if the student gets close enough to the life of men in different ages, so that he feels the throb of their impulses, his own thinking must receive a flavour, a quality, and sometimes there appears a humility of spirit before so great a drama of toil, long and patient, of aspirations, of joys and of sorrows, a humility of spirit not far from morality, unless it passes over into the region of mere sentimentalism.

Patriotism.

Another result of the study of history should be an enlightened patriotism, or at least its intellectual counterpart, for something more than knowledge is required to make a patriot. It is impossible to look for patriotic feeling from one who is ignorant of what his country has stood for in the development of civilization. On the other hand it would be difficult to stifle feelings of love for a country which had been the shelter of many generations, which had called out the self-sacrificing devotion of some of the greatest men of all time, and had always meant much to the hopes of those everywhere who loved liberty. The difficulty is not the mere exciting of feelings of patriotism, it is the cultivation of a patriotism which shall be faithful to the nation's best traditions.[1]

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[1] Professor Lavisse remarks in reference to this: "The cultivation of national sentiment is a delicate affair. It is necessary above all to strengthen the natural love of native land, to make this instinct intelligent and to illumine it, but, in France, we must never forget the man in the Frenchman, nor belittle for the apparent profit of our own country the work of mankind." *À propos de nos Écoles*, 80–81.

Dr. Jäger protests against the endeavour to make everything in history contribute to the cultivation of patriotism. He says no greater blunder can be made than to "preach" patriotism. Such stories as Thermopylæ and Marathon can be trusted to do their own preaching. He adds: "Let the teacher tell his story as a man and not as a schoolmaster, as a patriot, which it is to be hoped he is, and on that account able to understand the deep patriotism of a man like Aristides or Demosthenes. Let him not guard against his enthusiasm if it breaks forth from his soul unbidden, at the narrative of a brave deed; but let him not seek for it, for the more he looks for it, the less likely he will be to find it." *Geschichtsunterrichts*, p. 24.

Flint remarks: "History serves patriotism best when she maintains a

History, certainly as much as any other object of study, requires an intelligent search for truth, and the historian is obliged to follow after it through a more difficult way than even the scientist, because he must hunt among records which often contain erroneous statements or wilful distortions of what actually occurred. Even the child may early begin to understand that it is not merely some account that is desired, but an account which is true, and that popular prejudices and partisan epithets must give place to a fair judgment based on all the evidence that can be found. This constant endeavour to discover truth must result in an increased respect for it, and in an habitual inclination to take some pains to know what it is.

Love of truth.

An added respect for truth is not the only habit of mind that should come from the enlightened study of history. Many times on the road toward the establishment of a fact there is an opportunity for weighing evidence, an exercise of the judgment which may become more skilful with each occasion for use. Even where there is no elaborate search amid conflicting reports there is opportunity to acquire the habit of holding the judgment in suspense until the matter has been examined on all sides. For example, was Robert E. Lee right in following his State, or should Lafayette have cast in his lot with the French Revolutionists after the overthrow of the King? This soberness of judgment is akin to charity, which is the chief of the virtues. It is exhibited in its highest form in the impartial historian who succeeds in so restoring some vexed past age that it is difficult to detect a single exhibition of personal prejudice. A quality implying a self-restraint so admirable is not without definite ethical value.

Judgment.

There are purely intellectual habits strengthened or created by the study of history. Few subjects call the child's power of imagination into such comprehensive and vigorous activity.

severe impartiality and critical independence of judgment, and tells the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, however unpleasant to patriotism that may be." 358.

To successfully present to the mind, and hold before it long enough to allow of analysis and inference, a past age, with its distinguishing features, is certainly a difficult task. But once the mind is trained to perform it, such a task becomes easier. Instead of flashes of light into the darkness of the world that is past, the field that is illumined becomes more and more extended, so that it is impossible longer to recall the older, narrow horizon. For all the higher tasks of citizenship such imaginative power has its obvious value.

Imagination.

All the habits of intellectual work which are furthered by the serious study of history may be comprehensively described by the phrase "historical attitude of mind," or "thinking historically." In this attitude the notion of orderly development takes the place of the idea that there is a dead level of happenings. Historical standards of judgment are substituted for mere abstract ethical ideals in the task of estimating the careers of individuals, or even the character of whole civilizations. There is an effort at intellectual detachment, in order to examine phenomena without giving personal prejudices undue influence, and in order to seek in the events themselves the means of interpreting them. Love of truth, clear-sightedness, sanity of judgment are the indispensable qualities of this historical attitude of mind. Although such an ideal lies far beyond the pupil, it is not so distant that he cannot gradually gain a clearer appreciation of its value.

Thinking Historically.

The study of history, properly directed, has another result, perhaps less elusive in its character, and this is training in the use of books. Such training will not come from the use of a single text-book, with no work in other books. A method so inadequate is already discredited, so that some use of books is now generally implied. The main obstacle to successful training of this sort is the absence of school libraries, or of libraries accessible to pupils. If these obstacles are overcome, a double advantage will result, a little experience and skill in placing a rough and ready valuation upon books as tools, and a habit of using books, so that if the pupil's interest

Use of Books.

in history has been stimulated he may easily find the material with which still further to nourish it.

Little has been said, except by implication, about the pleasures which historical study may bring within the reach of the student.

Intellectual Delights.

Condorcet remarked over a century ago that low pleasures seem attractive to the people because of their intellectual impotency. "These vices come," he adds, "from the need of escaping ennui in moments of leisure, and in escaping from it through sensations and not through ideas."[1] To elevate the range of the pupil's possible pleasures is surely one of the highest objects of education. The way to accomplish this has already been pointed out. It is through a skilful stimulation of the pupil's interests, so that he may find some of his greatest delights in penetrating deeper and deeper into the world which history can reveal to him.

A subject the study of which results in such intellectual and moral advantage should not be condemned to struggle for a footing in the schoolhouse. If its value has not always been apparent, this is due to unskilful handling, and should lead to greater efforts to intrust it to well-educated teachers.

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[1] Payne's Compayré's *History of Pedagogy*, 381.

CHAPTER VI

THE AIM IN TEACHING CIVICS

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The Older Civics.

CIVICS, like history, has only within recent years got beyond the stage of utter neglect or perfunctory attention. When it was called "Constitution of the United States," it consisted chiefly of learning by heart the text of that document and of studying a few comments on the several clauses. Such a method was fitted to give the children a lasting distaste for the subject. The course is now usually named either civics or civil government, and the scope has been correspondingly broadened, although it is still a little vague.

To speak generally, pupils may be instructed in the duties of citizenship in two ways: first, by studying the structure of government and the duties of the individual in relation to it; and, second, by discipline in the performance of such social

duties as fall to them during school life, with the expectation that thereby sound habits may be created and good citizenship may be only a continuation of the earlier training in conduct. When civics is mentioned it is usually understood in the first sense, and this, accordingly, will be considered first.

Relations to Political Science.

Civics is an adaptation of the material of political science to a less scientific, more immediately practical use. Political science must describe with impartial comprehensiveness the many different forms the state has assumed, in Europe as well as in America, in ancient and in modern times. Its object is not the cultivation of patriotism, but the furthering of knowledge. Civics, on the contrary, is interested in the growth of foreign or historic institutions only in so far as a study of these may bring into clearer relief the characteristics of government in the United States. For example, the development of the English parliamentary system is not properly a part of the subject, and yet it may be profitable to study the way in which the problem of representation was gradually worked out, or to measure the responsibility of congressmen to their constituents by noting the less assured tenure of the member of parliament. So also in studying the powers of the president it may be enlightening to examine the position of the French president, and to compare the methods of election adopted in the two countries. Consequently, civics involves a work of selection quite outside the purpose of political science. And the aim according to which the selection is made is practical; it seeks to use only that knowledge which is particularly adapted to fit pupils for the performance of the duties of citizenship.

Relation to History.

Political science, and therefore civics, is in a peculiar sense dependent upon history. This is so true that some persons have argued that if history be well taught there is no need of a separate course in civics. It is history that is gradually marking out in minute detail the lines on which institutions have hitherto developed, and in this way revealing their real character. The converse of this is equally

true. The growth of institutions points out one of the elements of continuity in history, relieving it from the charge of being a meaningless chronicle. Professor Mace says that "We may safely set up the growth of institutional life as the standard" by which to determine what events possess historical value.[1] Although this may be an extreme statement, because there are other things which equally deserve study, it shows how interdependent are civics and history.

Idea of Development.

Civics is often taught as if it were a descriptive subject, ignoring the fact that laws and constitutions, like everything else in this living world, are in a constant process of change. Such a mistake would be impossible were the relation of civics to history sufficiently emphasized, for the most fundamental notion in history is development. It is true that civics is chiefly interested in the present condition of institutions, and that it is to this extent descriptive; but if its descriptions ignore the historical development of institutions, the pupil will naturally receive the impression that there is a peculiar fixedness about governmental forms. This impression of fixedness is partly responsible for that false confidence in mere machinery, which leads men to feel that they have secured a reform when they have merely devised a new city charter or a state constitution. Too much emphasis has been put upon the fact that we have a *written* constitution. It would be truer to say that we started with a written constitution which shifting political conditions speedily began to reshape. The process of growth in institutions is not much less rapid with a people who set their constitutions upon paper than it is with those who rely almost solely upon custom and precedent. Indeed, by the time the French came to draw up a constitution for their Third Republic, they did not feel the need of giving the instrument formal completeness; they simply passed a few constitutional laws. A century's experiences had taught them that documents are but a slight barrier to sudden change.

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[1] *Method in History*, 67.

The most wisely framed charter or constitution cannot provide for every need that is likely to arise, nor can it furnish a channel for all the currents of political life in a great and expanding people, where conditions change profoundly from one generation to the next. This implies that constitutional provisions receive a larger meaning in practice, and also that about the legally constituted governmental machinery there grows a customary government, often with quite as much actual power. The history of presidential elections is the best illustration of this fact, for the electoral college has been practically superseded by the convention system, including many *de facto* authorities from the local boss to the national committee. Such facts belong to civics, and the picture of this ceaseless labour of political construction so characteristic of highly organized communities is more likely to stimulate the intelligence of the schoolboy than any merely descriptive summary of the forms of local, State, and national government.

Expansion.

This does not argue that no separate course in civics should be given. The historical facts which throw light upon the nature and origin of modern institutions are generally hidden away in some narrative the main point of which is not institutional development, so that they must be detached from their historical setting and must be brought into relation to the particular bit of governmental machinery which they serve to explain. It is evident that the historical aspects of government can profitably be emphasized only with older students.[1] The work in the elementary school can touch them rarely, and where the matter is well within the comprehension of a child who cannot yet be expected to think historically.

A Separate Course.

Furthermore, there are some features of civics to the compre-

[1] Mr. Bryce raises another point. He says: "While heartily desiring to see history better taught, and to see it used to illustrate contemporary politics, I look upon the latter subject [civics] as really an easier one than the former, and sufficiently distinct to deserve an independent place in the curriculum." CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, LXIV. 21.

hension of which history is less important. Taxation, for example, has an interesting history, but such a method of dealing with the subject is altogether beyond even the pupil of the secondary school. It is enough for him to become interested in the manner in which taxes are levied, the purposes for which the money should be expended, and in the safeguards which it may be necessary to throw about the management of such affairs in order that the community may be protected from the dishonesty of its own servants. Because of the interest that belongs to such questions as these it has been asserted that the "study of civics, while it has something in common with that of history has, in a certain way, a marked advantage over it; for history belongs to the past, but civics to the present . . . the issues of the one are dead, of the other living."[1] Many of the topics with which civics deals are matters constantly discussed by the press and in conversation, so that they seem of more vital, immediate importance than any question history can raise, especially since history is often taught as if it had no connection with the world in which the pupil lives. Nevertheless, it must be reaffirmed that without history civics is narrow in scope and superficial in treatment.[2]

It is a mistake to rest the claim for the teaching of civics wholly upon its practical value as a preparation for citizenship. It is a study of an important phase of human society, and for this reason has the same value as elementary science or history. By it the attention of the child is called to many distinct acts, the work of the fireman, the policeman, the postmaster, the mayor, the congressman, and the like, and he is asked to put all these together into an intelligible whole. When this is once accomplished, he, for the first time, realizes how complex is the life of the community in which he shares. But the task

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[1] F. A. Hill in *Proceedings of the National Educational Association*, 1891, p. 661.

[2] Compayré says: "We must never separate 'to-day' and 'formerly'; and civic instruction will not be fruitful unless it is ever stimulating a comparison between contemporary institutions and ancient institutions." *Lectures on Pedagogy*, 412.

is not yet completed. It is necessary to lead his mind up from the actual combination of all these social or political activities to the problems of government of which these offer various practical solutions. This can be done, most easily, if the pupil be sufficiently mature, by showing how other contemporaneous peoples have arranged for the performance of the same duties. He cannot be expected to enter into these matters with the penetrating intelligence of older persons, but he may obtain glimpses of the elements of the problem. The effort will train his powers of observation, and will accustom him to consider matters of this sort, so that when he grows up he will not stand helpless before the varied phenomena of modern political society.

Ethical Result.

Such a result is worth striving for, but it is the ambition of the school to accomplish more, to raise the standard of civic conduct in the community by means of the well-trained pupils it sends forth from year to year. To what extent is this more important object attainable? The knowledge the pupil receives should reveal to him his relations to other members of society, and make clear to him his duties and responsibilities. This is an ethical result, for such information, the moment it rises to the clearness of knowledge, is likely to beget in him at least some generous desire to play a man's part in the community. The difficulty is that what the pupil receives in school is only a small part of the civic instruction he gains as he grows older. He may afterwards become the victim of the low traditions of political morality which he finds current on the streets.[1]

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[1] Professor E. J. James, in an address delivered before the Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools of the Middle States and Maryland, not only recognised this antithesis between the teaching of the school and of the street, but he declared "that it would be, logically speaking, perfectly possible to instil such a lofty standard of conduct and feeling in the pupils of our schools as would make them entirely unfit to live in our existing society. I do not think," he added, "that this would be, practically speaking, possible, as the training of the home, of the street, of society, and even of the church tends to counteract any tendency to a too rapid upward movement." 1898 *Report*, p. 145.

Unless the knowledge which the pupil receives is transmuted into impulses to right action, it has little relation to the performance of the duties of citizenship. As President Hadley has remarked, "A true political education . . . is not a study of facts about civil government. A man may possess a vast knowledge with regard to the workings of our social and political machinery, and yet be absolutely untrained in those things which make a good citizen."[1] Even as knowledge it is incomplete, for definite political action is not guided by facts about the structure of government; its most effective guide is an experience that comes from a share in the political struggles of the community. Such experience implies an understanding of men, and of all the petty details that make up each new situation, details that can be mastered only in contact with men. Civics can therefore fit the pupil only indirectly for the actual duties of citizenship.

Sound Public Sentiment.

If the school could lay the foundations for the later construction of a sound public sentiment, its teaching of civics would be successful, even though the pupils went out knowing little of the intricacies of the American administrative system.[2] The facts that are indispensable could be easily acquired; it is the intelligent honesty of purpose that one cannot impart to another in the course of an afternoon's talk. Something can be done by making clear to the pupils that integrity is a guarantee of good government surer than model constitutions. The history of American cities amply illustrates this.

It is difficult to teach ideals of public conduct directly. The

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[1] *Atlantic Monthly*, LXXXVI. 145.

[2] "This," says President Hadley, "civics and its kindred subjects, as ordinarily taught, do not now accomplish: they tend to fix the attention of the pupil on the mechanism of free government rather than on its underlying principles; to exaggerate the tendency, which is too strong at best, toward laying stress on institutions rather than on character as a means of social salvation; to prepare the minds of the next generation to look to superficial remedies for political evils, instead of seeing that the only true remedy lies in the creation of a sound public sentiment." *Ibid.*, 145.

teacher who attempts this is in danger of becoming either dull or sentimental, and the boy who has been forced to listen to swelling words naturally comes to regard principles and ideals as wearisome phrases, with little bearing upon real life. To avoid this danger it is well to resort again to history, and to seek out illustrations of those qualities to which peoples have owed their political greatness. Such illustrations can be found in the careers of men like Sir John Eliot, who died for the freedom of debate; like Samuel Adams, who contended for the right of self-government; or Gladstone, who used his powers as a leader to rectify historic wrongs; or Lincoln, who fell in the struggle to preserve the Union.

Teaching Civic Ideals.

As it was suggested at the beginning of the chapter, there is another way in which pupils may be prepared for the duties of citizenship, that is, by discipline in the performance of such social duties as fall to them during their school life. The control of the conduct of pupils often seems a disagreeable task, but it is so largely because it is not recognised as the teacher's greatest opportunity. An infraction of necessary school regulations is sometimes a piece of good fortune, for it gives the intelligent teacher a chance to show the offender the relation of his act to the interests of the school and to the rights of the other pupils. But the opportunity to inculcate the principles of altruism through sweet reasonableness is not the only valuable element in discipline. As the members of the community must learn the necessity of obedience to law and must become conscious of the value of firmness on the part of the government, it is well that they be confronted with this fact at the earliest moment, if not at home certainly in the school.

Civics through Discipline.

It is possible also to add to the school's ordinary opportunities for social training by organizing debating clubs and mock congresses, and by encouraging the pupils to carry on their class and athletic organizations honourably and by correct methods.[1]

School Organizations.

[1] See Mr. Hill's remarks on the use of such organizations, op. cit. 659–660. Professor James remarks that "A mock congress or city

There have been several interesting experiments, looking to a larger application of such means of political and social training. One of these is "the George Junior Republic," which grew out of one of the many schemes to give the children of the poor a summer in the country. After trying the usual plan for several summers, the projector, Mr. William George, discovered that the moral results of the charity were unsatisfactory, and determined to require the children to do some form of work for what they received. But it was the difficulty of enforcing discipline which led him to adopt the distinguishing features of his plan. He found that the only effective method of control was by lodging power and responsibility with the boys for their own self-government, and even if they made mistakes, not to interfere except for grave moral reasons, so that they might learn by experience, and that their sense of responsibility might not be weakened. The application of these principles resulted finally in the establishment of a miniature republic, with congress, courts, police, and jails. The laws were not to be inconsistent with the laws of New York State or of the United States, but within these limits the congressmen might pass such laws as they deemed wise, and might punish their infraction by fine, in the money of the republic, or by imprisonment, with hard labour at the "stone pile." The experiment was made of entrusting even the management of the property on which the Republic was situated to the miniature government. The result of this was not wholly satisfactory, for there was an inflation of the currency, followed by a violent political struggle between the "free tin" party and the "people's" party. The most noteworthy achievement of the

George Junior Republic.

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council, if it becomes interesting and vital, will soon call forth from the boys manifestations of that same spirit in them which disgraces the real Congress and the real council in real life. I have even found school boys selling their votes for candy and trading them off for votes in return." He adds, "To do this work well the teachers themselves must be educated and trained and interested in these matters as they are not, alas, at present, but certainly as they ought to be if they are to be guardians of our future citizens." Op. cit. 146, 153–154.

Republic has been the transformation of many a precocious "tough" of the New York streets into a self-respecting citizen. This has not been merely the result of the machinery devised, it has been quite as much due to the spirit of the founder of the Republic and to his watchful care.[1]

There is little, if any, of the work included in civics which is not as valuable for the training of girls as it is for that of boys.

Result for Girls.

If the course were merely a preparation for the duty of voting, or for an active participation in politics, the case would be different. Its chief result must be a better understanding of the community and a more intelligent attitude toward its problems.

The claims of civics have not been neglected by the committees which have recently been working to improve the school

Work of Committees.

curriculum. The Madison Conference urged that "in the grammar schools it should be taught by oral lessons with the use of collateral text-books, and in connection with United States history and local geography." In the high schools there was to be a text-book as a basis, supplemented by collateral reading and topical work. The pupils were also to study local institutions and to compare American with foreign systems of government. Subsequent committees have done little except to attempt to embody this recommendation in a working programme. The Committee of Seven emphasized the need of closely correlating the subject with history, even where there was time for a separate course, and they make Civil Government with American History one of the four fields for the secondary school. Meanwhile the New England Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools and the New York Conference had included the "elements of civil government" with American history as one of the subjects which they asked the colleges to accept for entrance requirement. Consequently this became a part of the accepted

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[1] W. I. Hull, *Annals of the American Academy*, X. 73–86. J. R. Commons, *American Journal of Sociology*, III. 281–296, 433–448.

requirements with those institutions which agreed to accept the results of the Conference. Moreover the committee of the National Educational Association included civil government with American history as constituting together the indispensable element in every requirement for preparation in history. It appears, therefore, that civics is to profit by the increased interest and intelligent attention to history.

Present Situation.

Civics, like history, has been gradually making its way into the lower grades. Sometimes it is combined with history, sometimes with geography, or again it is treated separately. Two or three examples may show the tendency in the best schools. In one case, a beginning is made in the first and second grades with the names of the mayor, of the governor, of the president, with a little of the local geography. In the third grade the relation of the city to the State, and of the State to the whole group of States is explained, and the pupils are to locate all the public buildings in the city, and learn to what political division they belong. In this manner the subject is unfolded, proceeding from the familiar to the more remote. The fourth grade pupils are to learn more about the counties, those of the fifth about the school district organization, those of the sixth about the District of Columbia, the city of Washington, and the manner of electing a president. The seventh, eighth, and ninth grades take up more formally the local, State, and national governments, and by the use of debating clubs and the like seek to give the pupils experience in the management of assemblies. The ninth grade work is arranged to begin when the pupils have reached in American history the period of the Constitution.[1] In another case civics is begun under the comprehensive term "Conduct and Government," which, with history, appear as parts of "Language" work for the first six grades. Contact with the experience of the child is sought by starting with school and family organization, and by the use of stories and of festivals. In the fourth grade the

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[1] Hartford, Conn.

child is given an elementary knowledge of the city government. From the fifth grade the subject is treated incidentally in connection with history.[1] In still another case, in the earlier grades beginning with the third, the subject is definitely treated with geography, and for the later, the seventh, eighth, and ninth, with history. And here also the attempt is made to take advantage at the outset of an already existing interest in local affairs to awaken further curiosity about them, in order that the deeper interest so created may vivify the study of more remote institutions. Probably the larger number of the great city school systems still provide for the teaching of civics incidentally to the teaching of history, or assign a brief separate course in the last year of the elementary school.

Secondary Schools.

In the secondary school programme the subject has usually been given one term in the senior year, particularly for students who were not preparing for college. It has sometimes been studied separately and sometimes as a fitting conclusion to the course in American history. It is in the secondary school especially that the method of teaching the subject has shown the greatest improvement. This appears from the gradual displacement of the older text-books, containing dry comments upon the Constitution, clause by clause, by works which interest the pupil in the origin and growth of institutions, and in those modifications of even written constitutions which appear in the actual administration of great nations. The adequate study of civics is more important in the elementary school than in the secondary school, because comparatively few pupils enter the secondary schools, or, entering, go as far as the senior year, when this subject is usually offered. The chief problem connected with civics, therefore, is to use the subject effectively in giving these younger pupils some insight into the organization of the communities in which they live, in showing them the cost of each institution in the efforts and sacrifices of past generations, and in quickening and

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[1] Cleveland, Ohio.

making permanent their interest in public life and their sense of responsibility to their fellows.[1]

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[1] The problem is thus summed up by Professor James: "While we must grant that the education of the citizen is a complex resultant of all the forces, family, social, political, religious, commercial, educational, which are working upon the child from its earliest youth throughout life; while we must admit that though the school or college should give no time or place in its curriculum for the formal training of youth for citizenship, there would still be in the life of the school, of the playground, of the family, of society, and of the street a most valuable element, nay, perhaps, the most valuable element in any possible training for citizenship. We maintain, first, that this life itself, at least in the school and on the playground, may be made of far more use by the intelligent teacher than it is at present in the way of developing social and political habits in children which will be of use to the future citizen and in connection with these habits higher standards of duties and morals; second, that further aid can be given by systematic instruction in civics adapted to the age and mental development of the child and extending from the kindergarten through the college, and instruction that shall inform the child as to the facts of our social and political life, and interest him in the social as well as political duties of a useful citizen." Op. cit. 155.

CHAPTER VII

THE PROGRAMME FOR HISTORY[1]

It is clear from what has already been set forth that although the claims of history and of civics have been ably advocated by the recent committees which have been at work on this part of the school programme, the actual practice in the schools is still far from satisfactory. Any attempt to better the condition of affairs must take account of what is actually being done as well as of the ideals which thoughtful schoolmen cherish. It will be useful to bring together and embody in a programme what seem to be the most available suggestions for the different parts of the work from the beginning of the elementary school to the end of the secondary school.

Experience and a Programme.

In constructing such a plan it will be assumed that the work of the elementary school should not be regarded merely as preparatory to that done in the secondary school, and that the work of the secondary school is only in a slight measure preparatory to college work. The reasons for this have already been stated. It will also be necessary to remember that the problem of the rural school differs from the problem of the elementary school in towns and cities.

The recommendations of the Committee of Twelve provide adequately for the teaching of history in the rural schools.[2] According to them the subject is to be taught during each of four two-year groups.[3] At the end of the third period the character of the work changes. It ceases

Rural Schools.

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[1] See bibliography of Chapter IV., and references in the foot-notes.

[2] Report of the Committee of Twelve, 174–175.

[3] Cp. the Three-grade programme submitted by Dr. E. E. White, p. 167. Here there is no history until the third grade or group, and then only American history.

to be made up of stories and biographical tales, and, to speak accurately, becomes for the first time history.

The work of the pupils from eleven to thirteen years of age is made up of two parts: first, "Selected epochs of general history, with the study of leading historical characters, a course of readings and conversations" with the "Main object to develop a love for historical reading"; second, "A course of study in United States history." If the first part were narrowly understood, such a recommendation would mark only a slight advance on what is actually being done, which would be deplorable, for every effort should be made to relieve historical teaching in the schools from the just reproach of fostering provincialism. It is possible to interpret the recommendation generously, and to understand by it such a study of Europe as would give the pupils of even the rural schools an intelligent interest in the lands that sent their ancestors to this country and which gave them the traditions of an historical civilization.

In the earlier years of the rural school the work does not differ essentially from that which should be done in all schools, — work closely connected with language study and reading, consisting of myths, legends, biographical tales.

The Age for Beginnings.

The Madison Conference said that the more careful study of history should not "be delayed beyond the eleventh, or at the latest, the twelfth year" of the pupil's life, but in the programme which the Conference drew up it assigned the first two years to biography and mythology. It is certainly possible to obtain another year for the formal study of history. The committee of the New England History Teachers' Association which reported in 1899 on a course of study made, however, substantially the same recommendation, for they divided the elementary work into two cycles, the first to continue from the second school year to the end of the fifth, and the second from the sixth through the ninth years. The second cycle was to begin with a "review and revision of Grecian, Roman, and Norse mythology," which had been the subject during the first cycle, and this review would be likely to take the most of the

sixth year.[1] If the practice of the most highly organized schools is consulted, it will be found that in some cases the attempt is made to begin in the fifth school year a course, chiefly biographical, on American history. Under the circumstances it is not hazardous to suggest that the division in the elementary school should fall between the fourth and fifth years or grades. The later years may be called grammar, in distinction from the preceding or primary grades.

Distribution of Subjects.

The suggestion of the Madison Conference that Greek and Roman history be taught in the last year of the grammar school has not been carried out. Subsequent committees have on the whole agreed to place this ancient history in the first, or in the first and second year of the secondary school. The New England teachers recommend English history for the last year of the grammar school, and this conforms most generally to the practice, wherever there is an attempt to teach anything besides American history. If this suggestion were adopted, the work of the grammar school would be made up of American history, English history, and civics.

A Comprehensive Scheme.

Although salvation is not to be found in the multiplication of programmes, there is reason to search for an outline of work which shall better provide for those elements of historical knowledge and those broader historical interests which the American pupil should attain during his school life. His traditions, his civilization, his intellectual inheritance, he does not receive from England alone, but also from Europe, and from all those great Europeans of the Middle Ages and the days of Greece and Rome who have had a share in making the present world what it is. Moreover, not until long after the settlement of Jamestown and the founding of Boston did the history of America become anything more than one important expression of the life of England and Europe. Consequently the problem which confronts the maker of programmes is so to map out the field of study that the pupil will be

[1] *Report, No.* 3, p. 25.

introduced into this larger world to which he really, though unconsciously, belongs. The field must be treated as a whole, it is not enough to study this part and that part, a little Greek history, a little Roman history, some English history, and American history. In the following programme an attempt is made to accomplish this result: —

5th grade — Biographical treatment of American history.

6th grade — Selected periods of European history.

7th grade — American colonial history, taught as a part of the contemporary history of England, with its European connections.

8th grade — American history since 1783, Civics, the growth of the great states of Europe since 1815.

There are some parts of this plan that need no urging. American history in the fifth and eighth grades is already customary, and should not be displaced. The whole plan may be explained as follows: —

Fifth Grade.

If the child is to begin the study of history at the age of eleven, he should first take up that with which he is already familiar, because it is only through the familiar that he can work toward the unfamiliar. Since childhood he has repeatedly heard many of the names which belong to American history and has learned some of the better known stories. His first task should be to fill out the tale, to place all these events in a continuous whole, to develop his power to grasp the career of a people. The work for this first year should be mainly through stories, incidents, bits of biography. It must demand none but the feeblest efforts of the historical imagination. It is simply a beginning.

Sixth and Seventh Grades.

The only part of the plan that may be questioned is the work marked out for the sixth and seventh grades. It will not be denied that it is necessary for the children who never go beyond the elementary school to obtain some instruction in the history of Europe, and to gain such an interest in the subject that they will desire to extend the little knowledge they get by reading in later life. The

questions centre upon the method and upon the way in which the time for such work may be found.

Place of English History.

It may be asked why is not English history better than a selection, however judiciously made, from the whole period of European history? If the aim of teaching history were chiefly to explain the political institutions of the United States and the particular manner in which this country has been settled, it would be enough to give the pupils a course in English history, but one of the aims should be to awaken or to strengthen an interest in the wider experience of all those peoples whose achievements have become a part of our common heritage, and without some knowledge of which we cannot understand our own civilization. Moreover, the study of European history does not preclude the study of English history, it merely does not permit its study in much detail. Pupils twelve or thirteen years of age cannot get a complete idea of the development of English civilization, and there will be no serious loss if they are taught the more significant incidents of its earlier history in connection with similar incidents in European history. When the period of Henry Seventh, of the discoveries, and of the Reformation is reached, the situation changes, England becomes more distinct from the Continent, and its history should receive greater emphasis. This may be done in the course arranged for the seventh grade.

Sixth.

The content of the sixth grade course should cover both ancient and mediæval history, treated in a manner similar to the method adopted for the fifth grade. If the work in "language" has been well done in the earlier grades, the pupils already know many of the old Greek and Roman stories. Moreover, the incidents of Greek history are often far closer to the child's imagination than even the more familiar tales of American history. Everything is drawn in bold and simple lines. Marathon, Thermopylæ, Salamis: there is little here to puzzle the boy or girl of twelve. Greek city life also is comprehensible; there is no complex adminis-

trative system, no highly developed form of representative government which must be understood before one can know the people. With Rome the case is different; but there should be no attempt to teach children the complexities of the Roman constitution; they need to know that there was a Rome, something of the wonderful story of its rise and of the great men who belonged to its history, either as its heroes or its antagonists, — Scipio, Hannibal, Marius, Cæsar, Constantine. The general features of mediæval history are equally instructive for children. The period is full of tales and pictures which enrich the imagination and awaken interest in the experiences of men. As the theme of the second half of the course is the mediæval system, illustrated from its greater heroes and from its characteristic incidents, there are several reasons why it should be brought to an end at the point of time when that system had been destroyed by the successful revolt of Germany under Luther, of England under Elizabeth, when Charles Fifth's schemes had evidently failed and France was on the verge of the religious-civil wars, that is, about the year 1560. Such an arrangement of material will also simplify the subject for the work of the seventh grade.

Mediæval History.

The American pupil is in one respect at a disadvantage in comparison with the German or French child. For the study of mediæval history the European child can profitably use the history of his own country as the main subject, because there is scarcely a point at which this history is not touched by the history of other peoples, so that it becomes necessary constantly to hear of these peoples if the child is to know the history of his own land. This is not the case with American children until they reach the period of the discoveries. Consequently down to the period of the discoveries the aim should be to choose those phases of European history which left to Americans, as well as to Englishmen, Frenchmen, and Germans, a great heritage of memories and institutions.

In the seventh grade, instead of taking up American colonial history in its usual form, the work should be what may be com-

prehensively described as the Expansion of Europe, or the Establishment of the New World. While it should be as broad as these phrases suggest, it should at the same time keep the American colonies chiefly in view. To state the matter in another way, it should be the expansion of Europe, based on the history of England, illustrated principally in the founding of the American colonies. The aim should be to revive in the mind of the child the actual world-process of which American history, and especially early American history, is a part. The point of view should so far as possible be that of the colonist himself, an Englishman, determined to maintain his traditional rights even against the aggressions of the English Crown or Parliament, jealously watching the growth of the French power in the St. Lawrence valley or west of the Alleghanies, sharing the hatred of Englishmen at home for the Spaniard. If the pupil be allowed to look at everything from the standpoint of achieved independence, he will naturally and from the first set the American over against the Englishman as of a distinct nationality, and this fixed idea will distort all the facts of colonial history.

Seventh.

Two or three illustrations may indicate the advisability of combining American colonial history with English and European history. The history of the discoveries is already treated as a phase of the general history of Europe. Columbus is the principal figure, and Cabot takes a lesser place. Different text-book makers and teachers are apparently not agreed as to how much should be included. Since the discoveries constitute an era in the development of the knowledge of the earth, it may be argued from geography as well as from history that all the chief voyages or journeys of exploration should be taught. Their intrinsic interest further justifies this method. The work of Diaz and Da Gama and the work of Columbus explain each other. Balboa's discovery of the South Sea is doubly interesting if the pupil knows how badly the Spaniards were beaten by the Portuguese in the race for the rich islands that lay across that South Sea. Albuquerque's

Correlation of Events.

sailors had seized Malacca and the Spice Islands two years before Balboa even gazed on the Pacific. The voyages of Magellan and of Drake form the fitting conclusion to the marvellous feats of these mariners.

The same point of view is enlightening for the study of the individual colonies. It is much easier to understand the Pilgrim and Puritan emigrations as an incident of English history than it will be if their details are the chief object of attention, and if only occasional explanations are given of the events in England which were their causes. The Pilgrims and Puritans left England because of the turn affairs were taking. Their character is explained by the events of the conflict with James and Charles. It is this conflict also which shows why the great emigration came so abruptly to a close and why the tide began to set in the opposite direction.

Another Illustration.

The separate study of Massachusetts colonial history often leads children to erroneous views of England's conduct. In the fight for the charter the boy usually scents the Revolution from afar. This result may be easily mistaken for the awakening of patriotism. But there were other than English colonies in America, and if the boy is told how they were governed, his patriotism will become a little more discriminating. In no other colonies — the Spanish in the south, the Dutch on the Hudson, the French in Canada — was any measure of self-government except in municipal affairs granted to the settlers themselves. The system by which they were administered was the natural outcome of the oligarchical or autocratic institutions of Spain, Holland, and France.

Value of Comparison.

Even in the eighth grade several phases of European history are closely connected with the history of the United States, especially until the close of the Napoleonic wars. The attempt to understand the causes of England's conduct after 1803 without reference to the struggle with Napoleon argues a singular ignorance of the real situation. But the building up of the Great Powers which now control the destinies of Europe, if not of the world, lies quite outside the

Eighth.

sphere of American history. If this is to be studied at all, it must be studied separately. A short course covering the most important topics should be added after the course in American history is finished, and before the civics is begun, if a formal course in civics is given in the elementary school. This would be chiefly the history of England, France, Germany, Austria, and Italy since 1815, with the aim of showing how the present Europe has been constituted.

Such a plan requires more of the teacher than would a scheme which limited itself to English history as the only subject beyond American history to be taught in the elementary school, or than a scheme providing for a four years' course identical with the high school course, although composed of simpler treatments of each topic. A plan of the latter sort is offered in a supplementary suggestion to the report of the Committee of Seven.[1]

Effect upon Teachers.

Another objection comes from the suspicious likeness of parts of this plan, particularly the course for the sixth grade, to what is called "general" history. So far as the criticisms of general history are intelligible, they are directed against an attempt to teach children a dull summary of everything that ever happened. Children should certainly not be allowed to get the notion that there is only one, or at most, two countries in the world. This would be a new and stupid version of the old distinction between Greeks and Barbarians.

"General" History.

The programme for the secondary school offers fewer difficulties, chiefly because it has been longer under discussion, and because, if the work of the committees be compared, a common standing ground has been reached. It is agreed that a four years' course is the ideal toward which the schools should steadily work, and many schools have already assigned time to history during each of the four years, although

Secondary School.

[1] Pages 169–170. This plan provides for "Greek and Roman history to 800 A. D." in grade five, mediæval and modern history in grade six, English history in grade seven, and American history in grade eight.

they have rarely, if ever, been able to give as much time as has been recommended by the Committee of Seven.

It is further generally agreed that the first year should be given to the study of Greek and Roman history, with their oriental connections, and the last year to American history and civics. It is about the course which should be offered in the second and third years that there is still a pronounced difference of opinion, as will be seen from the account of this discussion already given. The Committee of Seven urge that the second year be assigned to mediæval and modern history from A. D. 800, and the third year to English history, while the committee of the New England History Teachers' Association, which had the advantage of previous examinations of the conclusions of the Committee of Seven, argue for the transposition of these two subjects. This committee was influenced by the result reached by the New York Conference and embodied in the entrance requirements of several colleges, and there the emphasis was laid on two years of Greek and Roman history, followed by English and American history, treating mediæval history as a subject for advanced work. If the pupils in the elementary school have done the work suggested for the sixth and seventh grades, it makes little difference whether they take their English history before their mediæval history or after it. It will be simply a question of treating each according to its actual position in the programme, whether first or second. For example, if England comes first, much of the mediæval history can be included, so that the course in the mediæval and modern history can take up the history of the Continent more in detail at a later period when the history of each European people begins to take its own individual direction, and when a great institution like the Church ceases to dominate and give common characteristics to all.

Assignment of Studies.

Another solution of the problem may be advisable, according to which the second year's work would be devoted to mediæval history from 395 A. D. to the downfall of the mediæval system

in the sixteenth century. By this arrangement a brief study of the later Roman Empire would serve as an introduction to the study of the Middle Ages, and the Protestant Revolution, or the Reformation, would show how the end came. During the third year the work would be a reproduction on a higher level of what was done in the third year of the grammar school course, that is, a correlation of English, European, and American colonial history from the discoveries until the end of the Revolutionary War.

Another Arrangement.

The argument for such a use of the third year of the secondary school programme is the same as that already advanced in explaining a similar plan for the elementary school. The secondary school pupil, with his additional training and maturer intellectual power, will be better able to understand the relations of all the events which bore on the founding of America. Such a new traversing of a field, the outlines of which are already familiar, will result in a knowledge more complete and an interest more intelligent than may be expected if the courses in the secondary school do not cover the ground touched in the elementary school. This plan is also based on the principle which underlies the French and German programmes.

Value of this Period.

Since not all schools are able to give history a place during each year of either the elementary or the secondary school, it may be necessary to abridge so comprehensive a programme. The different committees which have reported upon the matter advocate different ways of meeting the difficulty. The committee of the National Educational Association urge that at all events American history be taught, the New England Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools regard Greek and Roman history as indispensable, and the Committee of Seven suggest a combination between the second and third year courses in case three years' work can be provided for. But the friends of history should be disinclined to compromise the matter, for the element of time is all important.

Abridgments.

CHAPTER VIII

THE SCHOOL AND THE LIBRARY

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Report of the Committee on the Relations of Public Libraries to Public Schools. 1899. Published separately by the National Educational Association.

Proceedings of the Library Department of the National Educational Association. In the several annual reports of the Association.

See also foot-notes to this chapter.

"It is by no means necessary that a pupil should take with him into the world all the facts of a school-history, but it is necessary that he should be provided with a taste for historical reading, and with both the power and the disposition to study the subject systematically himself." These words of Dr. Fitch, which ascribe to the teaching of history an object beyond the acquisition of a certain amount of knowledge, imply the use of books, either in a school library or in some other library to which teachers and pupils have access. Although good teaching may create a strong interest in a subject without the aid of books, so that the desire to read and study will follow as a natural consequence, this curiosity may not be able to satisfy itself intelligently, for no little special instruction is needed to prepare pupils, and sometimes teachers, for an effective use of books. They do not know how to learn what has been published on the subject they are interested in, and are unable to determine whether any particular book is constructed on the solid foundation of scholarly investigation.

The Use of Books.

The interest of the teacher in this matter is distinct from that of the pupil. The teacher turns to the library to find not only the books of which he may advise or require his pupils to

read selections, but also those from which he may add to his own comprehension of the events he is to interpret. No ordinary school library is large enough to meet such a need. With the development of departmental organization in the secondary school, the teacher of history will find his scholarly life becoming similar to that of the college professor, although he will not be expected to push his investigations in special fields so far. Even the teacher who has received no training in history can by persistent and well-directed efforts attain an adequate mastery of the subject. To accomplish this it is indispensable that he know the literature of the subject, so that he may not stare bewildered at the heaps of books, unpractised in the search for what may furnish well-authenticated information. The ability to learn quickly what books must be taken account of in dealing with a particular historical question, or to bring the resources of a library promptly under command, is a large part of a sufficient preparation to teach history.

By the Teacher.

The library furnishes the pupil with some of the tools for his work, and offers him the opportunity to satisfy the curiosity which his work has awakened. This is not unimportant, for it is essential that such interest be not permitted to die in a vain wish or two for more knowledge, but that it be transformed into a permanent intellectual force. He must, therefore, be taught something of the search for books, and of the way books should be appraised before they are accepted at any valuation.

By the Pupil.

The information which has been brought together to render the search for books successful is called bibliography.[1] Parts of it concern scholars engaged in studies of a highly specialized character, but its elements are useful even to those who have access to only a small collection of books.

Bibliography.

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[1] The best brief treatise on the subject is *Manuel de Bibliographie historique*, by C. V. Langlois, of the University of Paris. Paris, Hachette. 1896; 2d ed., 1901.

When any one desires to read further on a subject, especially if he desire to investigate it with more than ordinary thoroughness, the first inquiry should be, What is the literature of this subject, that is, what books in regard to it have been published? One is tempted to go immediately to the shelves of a library and look over any book of convenient size which deals with the matter. This may not be unsafe if the library has been chosen with unusual care. Nevertheless, the reader is exposed to the risk of wasting time on untrustworthy accounts. Perhaps the library may contain only one volume on the subject, and this an inadequate work; but such a work gains no authority from the fact that it is the only available source of information. If the reader is compelled to use it, he should first become acquainted with its shortcomings, and this is particularly true of an inexperienced pupil who may easily be imposed upon by an appearance of learning. The only safe method is to make a preliminary study of the books which bear on the subject. This may take time, but it will also save time by answering satisfactorily questions like these: Who gives the best brief account of the Crusades? Who explains most clearly mediæval village life? Where is the story of the slave-trade told? Where is an impartial account of Reconstruction? The thoroughness of the preliminary investigation should depend upon the nature of the work undertaken, but even younger pupils should acquire the habit of asking for the best references on the topics which are assigned to them. The superficial and untrustworthy historical work owes its existence to a desire for information coupled with the naïve credulity which sees no distinction between one book and another.

Guides.

The bewildering multiplication of books has compelled the making of lists of titles of works upon different subjects. These lists, or bibliographies, have themselves been so multiplied that lists of such lists, or bibliographies of bibliographies, have appeared. Well-organized libraries are provided with the best bibliographical works. Some collections are particularly comprehensive. In 1890 the Boston Public

Library published such a list under the title *A Catalogue of the Bibliographies of Special Subjects in the Boston Public Library.* The University of the State of New York published in November, 1899, another entitled *Selected Subject Bibliographies,* containing forty-two titles,[1] of historical bibliographies. The *Library Journal* records all new publications of this character.

If the task undertaken does not call for such care in the search for books, a single comprehensive work, including well-classified lists, will furnish the information that is required. The most useful of these is *The Best Books,* by William Swan Sonnenschein, and *A Reader's Guide,* by the same editor.[2] Each of these works contains the titles of about fifty thousand volumes, and they have been selected with unusual care. The second is intended to supplement the first, bringing the list of publications down to 1895, and adding titles omitted in the first, but worthy of consideration. In both the editor has characterized in a line or two many of the books, drawing upon his own personal knowledge of them or from the opinions of scholars whom he has consulted.

There are many special lists upon the whole field of history and upon parts of it. Charles Kendall Adams' *Manual of Historical Literature*[3] has long been of service, but its utility is now decreasing, because its date precludes the criticism of books published during the last twenty years. Moreover, the plan of the *Manual* implies that only works of established reputation should be mentioned. Each book is briefly criticised, relieving the student in many cases of the need of hunting through reviews for a critical description.

Adams' Manual.

In *Methods of Teaching and Studying History,* second edition (239-295), there is a fairly comprehensive list, chiefly

[1] Such books as H. Stein's *Manuel de Bibliographie générale,* Paris, 1898, or J. Petzholdt's *Bibliotheca bibliographica,* Leipzig, 1866, illustrate how far this work may be carried. See also Langlois, 4 ff., Bernheim, Lehrbuch, 196 ff.

[2] The second edition, published in 1891, is here referred to. The first edition contained only 25,000 titles.

[3] Harper. 1882; 3d ed. with titles only of new books, 1889.

of works in the English language, with a supplementary list (309–321), containing works "chiefly French and German, or works published since the earlier list."[1] Both give brief notes on the character and value of the books mentioned. In connection with each, there is a list of books for collateral reading in the elementary school. The same volume includes a *Select Bibliography of Ecclesiastical History*, by John A. Fisher. E. B. Andrews' *Institutes of General History*[2] gives valuable bibliographical information at the head of each chapter. There are useful lists also in Henry Matson's *References for Literary Workers*.[3]

For American History.

The student of American history finds the task of searching for books greatly facilitated by such a work as Channing and Hart's *Guide to American History*.[4] This includes a carefully classified bibliography, not only of books, but also of other bibliographies and indexes. In addition it gives a list of general readings arranged topically. The second part of the book is devoted to a full topical study of American history with abundant references to the literature of each topic. The whole is so carefully indexed that all the information it holds is rendered accessible without tedious search. A. W. Bacheler's *American History by the Library Method*[5] furnishes references by topics to about seventy works, performing in an elementary way the service rendered by the second part of the *Guide*, although there is no description of the works referred to, so that the pupil is not led to consider their relative value. Of similar aim is E. E. Sparks' *Topical Reference Lists in American History*, with introductory lists in *English Constitutional History*,[6] and John G. Allen's *Topical Studies*

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[1] Second edition, Heath, 1895. The first edition, Ginn, 1883, contains the earlier of the two bibliographies, pp. 10–65. A briefer list by Professor Allen was published at the end of his *History Topics for High Schools and Colleges*, Heath, 1888. Fisher's *Bibliography* was also published separately by Heath in 1885.

[2] Boston, Silver, Burdett & Co. 1887.

[3] Chicago, McClurg. 1892.

[4] Boston, Ginn. 1896.

[5] Boston, Lee & Shepard. 1897.

[6] Columbus, Smythe. 1893.

in American History.[1] Several of the better text-books place at the heads of chapters or in appendices bibliographical notes and lists. Similar information is also afforded in the foot-notes of more extended works. The richest store of such facts, particularly upon the period prior to the adoption of the Constitution, is found in Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America.*

For English history as a whole the best bibliography is part two of Gardiner and Mullinger's *English History for Students.*[2]

English History.

The authorities described here are divided into Contemporary, Non-Contemporary, and Modern Writers. In the introductory section there are brief statements about the principal collections of sources.

In Lee's *Source Book of English History* (3–61),[3] there is a list of Collections of Sources arranged by Epochs. For the history of England until 1485 a comprehensive bibliography has been prepared by Charles Gross, and is entitled *The Sources and Literature of English History.*[4] This contains 3,234 titles, besides extensive appendices on such bibliographical subjects as the reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, a list of the titles of works in the Rolls Series, and Chronological Tables of the Principal Sources.

Among minor lists on English history are W. F. Allen's *Reader's Guide to English History*[5] and Mary E. Wilder's *English History by the Laboratory Method.*[6] The latter is a book of topics with references, rather than a bibliographical work. It does not classify the books which are mentioned.

The satisfactory study of European history is rendered somewhat more difficult than the study of either English or American history by the obstacle of language, for many of the most serviceable books are in French, German, or Italian. With

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[1] New York, Macmillan, 1899. [2] London, New York, Holt.

[3] New York, Holt. 1900.

[4] London and New York, Longmans. 1900. Dr. Gross is also the author of *A Bibliography of British Municipal History, Harvard Historical Studies* (Longmans), 1897.

[5] Boston, Ginn. [6] Boston, Lee & Shepard. 1897.

the better facilities now offered by all colleges for the study of the modern languages, these books are becoming more accessible to teachers. Many of the best books on ancient history are translated, and this is to some extent true of books on other periods of European history.

European History.

For Greek and Roman history there is a short serviceable list in J. B. Mayor's *Guide to the Choice of Classical Books, New Supplement* (1879–1896), pp. 79–86.[1] A. L. Goodrich's *Topics on Greek History*[2] contains over one hundred titles, and W. L. Burdick's *Topical Outlines of Roman History*[3] contains about twenty-five. G. W. Botsford's *History of Greece*[4] gives (pp. 363–366) lists for the "Smallest," a "Good," and a "Larger" Library, with prices. W. C. Morey's *History of Rome*,[5] pp. 345–353, contains a classified list.

Ancient History.

There is no bibliography covering the whole period of French history, Monod's *Bibliographie de l'Histoire de France*[6] bringing the subject only to 1789. No edition of this has appeared since 1888, and therefore it does not include many recent important works, but its lists may be supplemented from those of Lavisse et Rambaud, *Histoire générale*,[7] which are particularly full for French history, and, for the years since 1814, from Seignobos' *Political History of Europe since 1814*.[8] For German history, the most convenient work is Dahlmann-Waitz, *Quellenkunde der Deutschen Geschichte*.[9] This occasionally adds to the title of the book one or two references to critical articles. The literature of European history during the Christian era, so far as it is not included in these

France.

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[1] London, Nutt. 1896.

[2] New York, Macmillan. 1898.

[3] Chicago, Scott, Foresman & Co. 1897.

[4] New York, Macmillan. 1899.

[5] New York, Amer. Book Co. 1900.

[6] Paris. There is also *Les Sources de l'Histoire de France*. Par A. Franklin. Paris, Firmin-Didot. 1877.

[7] 12 vols. Paris, Armand Colin. 1893–1900.

[8] New York, Holt. 1899.

[9] The sixth edition appeared in 1894. Göttingen. Edited by Steindorff.

special bibliographies, is adequately described in Lavisse and Rambaud.

Middle Ages.

For mediæval history, there is a carefully made list of over two hundred titles in D. C. Munro's *Syllabus of Mediæval History*.[1] There is also a shorter list in M. S. Getchell's *Study of Mediæval History by the Library Method*.[2] References chiefly to French and German works are given for the period from 1600 to 1890 in H. Morse Stephens' *Syllabus of a Course of Eighty-seven Lectures on Modern European History*.[3] The encyclopædias often furnish valuable references.[4]

Reviews.

If bibliographies are not frequently revised, their lists must be supplemented by consulting the current historical reviews. The *English Historical Review*, from 1886, when it began publication, until 1900, printed at the close of each quarterly number a list of recent books, classified under such heads as General, Oriental, Greek and Roman, Mediæval and Modern, French, German, and English history. But even without so formal a list, it is possible to find the titles of the newer books in the lists of reviews. Since 1895, the *American Historical Review* has contained notices, or reviews, of all noteworthy historical publications. *The Nation* (New York) and *The Dial* (Chicago) have done this work for a less restricted audience. The best Continental reviews for the student of history are the *Revue historique*, edited by Gabriel Monod, which first appeared in 1876, and the *Historische Zeitschrift*, founded by Heinrich v. Sybel in 1859.

After the student learns the titles of books, his next care should be to obtain an authoritative estimate of their value. This he can find by consulting critical articles in the reviews

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[1] Revised edition. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania. 1900.

[2] Boston, Ginn. 1897.

[3] New York, Macmillan. 1899.

[4] The annual volumes, since 1878, of the *Jahresbericht der Geschichtswissenschaft* furnish a nearly complete list of all current publications on history, in books, magazines, and reports.

which are published chiefly to furnish such assistance. It is not wise to rely upon the estimates given in the ordinary newspaper review or even in many of the more distinctly literary journals, for they are often hastily and superficially thrown together. In the reviews devoted to history will be found the opinion of scholars specially qualified to speak on each subject. It is possible, by consulting more than one review, to control the judgment of one critic by comparing it with that of another. The teacher has not the time to read many books and in this way to keep abreast of the progress of historical studies, but with a comparatively small expenditure of time he can accomplish practically the same result by reading in one or two authoritative reviews the descriptions of the new contributions to knowledge.

Critical Estimates.

The resources of a library are often greatly increased by the presence of sets of magazines and reviews which may contain historical material. It is not unusual for works of serious importance to be first published in magazines. Familiar illustrations of this fact are the *Life of Lincoln* by Nicolay and Hay, Sloane's *Life of Napoleon*, Wheeler's *Life of Alexander*, and John Morley's *Life of Cromwell.* The same is true of English and European magazines. Fortunately the indexes that are now published make all this material easily accessible to both teacher and pupil. If the pupils do no other work of a bibliographical sort, they should be taught how to use Poole's *Index*,[1] the *Annual Literary Index*,[2] or the *Cumulative Index*.[3] These cover the English as well as the American field of periodical literature. Until recently no similar publications facilitated the use of German or French magazines, although sometimes the magazine itself furnished at an interval of years an index to its own contents during the period. There appeared in 1897 the first volume of the *Bibliographie der Deutschen Zeitschriften-Litteratur*, including the titles of articles published the previous year. In France in 1898 a similar work was begun

History in Magazines.

[1] Boston, Houghton. [2] New York, Publishers' Weekly.
[3] Cleveland, Cumulative Index Co.

with the title *Repertoire bibliographique des principales Revues françaises*.

It is often desirable to interest the pupils in the more successful attempts to treat an historical subject in the form of the story. To aid in such work, there is a guide entitled *The Comprehensive Subject Index to Universal Prose Fiction*,[1] by Zella A. Dixson, and a shorter list by W. F. Allen in Hall's *Methods*, pp. 293–302. Quite as helpful would be a similar index for poetry, since contemporary poetry has often the value of an original source, and later poetical treatments are usually more serious attempts at truthful interpretation than the historical novel.

Historical Fiction.

With the rapid increase in local libraries, it is becoming more generally possible for teachers to give their pupils adequate instruction in the search for and the proper use of books. The librarians also have come to look upon themselves as a part of the great educational forces of the community and are ready to co-operate with the teachers. The Committee of the National Educational Association has urged that the librarians talk with the pupils upon matters pertaining to their reading, that they issue bulletins upon subjects connected with the current work of the classes, and grant the pupils free access to the shelves.[2]

Function of Libraries.

It has become the practice in several States, notably in New York and Wisconsin, to send travelling libraries to schools and to communities which are without them. In New York, Regent schools or any responsible organizations may have the use of a collection including from twenty-five to one hundred volumes, during the academic year. The collections of one hundred books contain from sixteen to thirty volumes on biography and history together. It is the policy of the State Library to encourage communities to provide for their own wants as soon as possible. Indeed, it is strange that persons who are willing to be taxed to build suitable buildings are slow to see the equally pressing need of making the best use of

Travelling Libraries.

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[1] New York, Dodd. 1897. [2] Report of the Committee, 8. 1899.

such a building by equipping it with the proper apparatus, of which books form as important a part as the appliances of physics or of chemistry.

If the teacher has the opportunity to select books for the school or town library, the work should be done with care, for such books are likely long to remain on the shelves, sometimes crowding out altogether better books which in the first instance might as easily have been placed there. In order to aid the teacher in such work, Channing and Hart's *Guide* gives lists on American history for libraries of different sizes. Another list is given by Professor Channing in his *Student's History of the United States.* For English history, a list is furnished in Coman and Kendall's *History of England.*

Guides for Purchasers.

The following list includes books from every field of history. In making such a list, several things about each book have been taken into consideration: its qualities as a piece of historical work, its size, its price, its usefulness to both teacher and pupil as a source of information supplementary to the text-book, and the opinions in regard to its availability held by persons who have attempted to prepare similar lists. This list may be supplemented from the bibliographies that appear at the head of chapters twelve and following. If only a few books can be purchased, special attention is called to the importance of works marked by a ♯.

General.

♯**G. B. Adams.** European History. New York and London, Macmillan.

G. Droysen. Allgemeiner historischer Handatlas. Or, ♯**Putzger,** Historischer Schul-Atlas. Or **R. H. Labberton,** Historical Atlas. Boston, Silver, Burdett & Co.

E. A. Freeman. General Sketch of European History. London, Macmillan. New York, Holt.

H. B. George. Genealogical Tables. New York and London. Oxford University Press.

H. de B. Gibbins. History of Commerce in Europe. New York and London, Macmillan.

E. Lavisse. Political History of Europe. New York and London, Longmans.

‡**Russell Sturgis.** European Architecture. New York and London, Macmillan.

‡**Woodrow Wilson.** The State. Boston, Heath.

ANCIENT HISTORY.

A. J. Church. Stories of the East, from Herodotus. London, Seeley.

‡**W. Cunningham.** Western Civilization in its Economic Aspects. Cambridge University Press. New York, Macmillan.

G. Maspero. Life in Ancient Egypt and Assyria. London, Chapman & Hall. New York, Appleton.

Greece: —

‡**G. W. Botsford.** History of Greece. New York and London, Macmillan.

‡**W. W. Fowler.** City State of the Greeks and Romans. London and New York, Macmillan.

A. Holm. History of Greece. 4 vols. London and New York, Macmillan.

J. P. Mahaffy. Survey of Greek Civilization. New York, Macmillan.

Legends and Literature: —

‡**G. W. Cox.** Tales of Ancient Greece. London, Kegan Paul.

A. Lang, W. Leaf, E. Myers. The Iliad of Homer. London and New York, Macmillan.

G. H. Palmer. The Odyssey. Boston, Houghton.

Plutarch. Many editions at various prices.

Thucydides, translated by B. Jowett. London and New York, Oxford University Press.

Atlas: —

H. Kiepert. Atlas Antiquus. Sanborn.

Rome: —

‡**J. B. Bury.** Student's Roman Empire. London, John Murray. New York, American Book Co.

W. W. Fowler. Julius Cæsar. (Heroes of Nations.) London and New York, Putnam.

‡**W. W. How** and **H. D. Leigh.** History of Rome to the Death of Cæsar. London and New York, Longmans.

J. L. Strachan-Davidson. Cicero. (Heroes of Nations.) London and New York, Putnam.

A. Tighe. The Roman Constitution. (History Primer Series.) New York, American Book Co.

MEDIÆVAL (GENERAL).

‡**G. B. Adams.** Civilization during the Middle Ages. New York, Scribner. London, D. Nutt.

C. R. Beazley. Prince Henry the Navigator [for review of mediæval ideas of geography]. (Heroes of Nations.) London and New York, Putnam.

‡**James Bryce.** The Holy Roman Empire. London and New York, Macmillan.

E. Emerton. Mediæval Europe (800–1300). Boston, Ginn.

G. P. Fisher. History of the Christian Church. New York, Scribner. London, Hodder & Stoughton.

T. Hodgkin. The Dynasty of Theodosius. London and New York, Oxford University Press.

T. Hodgkin. Theodoric. (Heroes of Nations.) New York and London, Putnam.

J. C. Morison. St. Bernard. London, Macmillan.

A. Sabatier. Life of St. Francis.

Sources: —

Chronicles of the Crusades. London, Bell. New York, Macmillan.

Eginhard. Life of Charlemagne. New York, American Book Co.

English Mediæval Institutions. Penn. Tr. & Rp.

Guernsey Jones. Civilization during the Middle Ages. Chicago, Ainsworth.

Tales: —

Thomas Bulfinch. Age of Chivalry. Boston, Lee & Shepard.

H. W. Mabie. Norse Stories. New York, Dodd.

Modern (General).

A. H. Johnson. Europe in the Sixteenth Century. London, Rivington. New York, Macmillan.

F. Seebohm. The Protestant Revolution. London and New York, Longmans.

S. R. Gardiner. The Thirty Years War. London and New York, Longmans.

A. T. Mahan. The Influence of the Sea Power upon History. Boston, Little, Brown & Co. London, S. Low.

‡**J. H. Rose.** The Revolutionary and Napoleonic Era. London, Cambridge University Press. New York, Macmillan.

‡**C. Seignobos.** Political History of Europe since 1814. New York, Holt.

European Expansion (see also under England): —

‡**C. P. Lucas.** Introduction to the Historical Geography of the British Colonies (includes other than English enterprises, ancient and modern). London and New York. Oxford University Press.

E. J. Payne. European Colonies (brings the subject only to 1877). New York, Macmillan.

Mediæval and Modern.

England: —

Sources: —

C. W. Colby. Selections from the Sources of English History. London and New York, Longmans.

‡**E. K. Kendall.** Source Book of English History. London and New York, Macmillan.

General Histories: —

S. R. Gardiner. Student's History of England. London and New York, Longmans.

‡**J. R. Green.** Short History of the English People.[1] London, Macmillan. New York, American Book Co.

T. W. Higginson and **Edward Channing.** English History for Americans. New York and London, Longmans.

Special Periods: —

E. A. Freeman. Short History of the Norman Conquest. London and New York, Oxford University Press.

W. Stubbs. The Early Plantagenets. London and New York, Longmans.

M. Creighton. Simon de Montfort. London and New York, Longmans.

M. Creighton. Age of Elizabeth. London and New York, Longmans.

‡**S. R. Gardiner.** The Puritan Revolution. London and New York, Longmans.

Justin McCarthy. The Epoch of Reform (1830–1850). London and New York, Longmans.

Social and Industrial: —

W. J. Ashley. Economic History. (For mature students.) London, Longmans. New York, Putnam.

‡**W. Cunningham** and **E. A. McArthur.** Outlines of English Industrial History: Elementary. London, Cambridge University Press. New York, Macmillan.

Constitution: —

Walter Bagehot. The English Constitution. London, Kegan Paul. New York, Appleton.

H. St. C. Feilden. Constitutional History. London, Simpkins. Boston, Ginn. Brief but exceedingly useful compendium.

‡**Jesse Macy.** The English Constitution. New York and London, Macmillan.

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[1] There is a more expensive edition, illustrated, in 4 volumes. The illustrations in Gardiner are equally instructive so far as they go.

Colonies (*see also under European Expansion*): —

H. Egerton. Short History of British Colonial Policy. London, Methuen. New York, New Amsterdam Book Co.

‡**J. R. Seeley.** The Expansion of England. London and New York, Macmillan.

J. G. Bourinot. Canada. London and New York, Putnam.

W. W. Hunter. Short History of the Indian Peoples. London and New York, Oxford University Press.

Edward Jenks. The Australasian Colonies. London, Cambridge University Press. New York, Macmillan.

Atlas: —

‡**S. R. Gardiner.** School Atlas of English History. London and New York, Longmans.

France: —

‡**G. B. Adams.** Growth of the French Nation. London and New York, Macmillan.

G. W. Kitchin. The History of France. 3 vols. London and New York, Oxford University Press.

J. B. Perkins. Richelieu. (Heroes of Nations.) London and New York, Putnam.

‡**E. J. Lowell.** Eve of the French Revolution. Boston, Houghton.

Thomas Carlyle. The French Revolution. 2 vols. London, Chapman & Hall. Various editions.

‡**Mrs. S. R. Gardiner.** The French Revolution. London and New York, Longmans.

Germany (*see titles under Mediæval and Modern History*): —

‡**J. Köstlin.** Life of Luther. London and New York, Longmans.

Herbert Tuttle. History of Prussia. 4 vols. Boston, Houghton.

W. Muller. Political History of Recent Times. Particularly full on German History. New York, American Book Co.

Italy: —

‡**J. A. Symonds.** A Short History of the Renaissance. Drawn from Symonds's larger work by Alfred Pearson. London, Smith, Elder. New York, Holt.

J. W. Probyn. Italy, 1815–1890. London and New York, Cassell.

Spain: —

U. R. Burke. History of Spain. 2 vols., 2d ed. London and New York, Longmans.

M. A. S. Hume. Philip II. London and New York, Macmillan.

American History.

Atlases: —

A. B. Hart. Epoch Maps illustrating American History. New York and London, Longmans.

Sources: —

A. B. Hart. American History told by Contemporaries.[1] 4 vols. New York and London, Macmillan.

Mabel Hill. Liberty Documents with Contemporary Exposition and Critical Comments drawn from various writers. New York and London, Longmans.

Old South Leaflets. Boston, Old South Leaflet Co.

H. W. Preston. Documents illustrative of American History. New York and London, Putnam.

General: —

T. W. Higginson. Larger History of the United States. New York, Harper. London, S. Low.

T. W. Higginson. Young Folks' History of the United States. New York and London, Longmans.

‡ **Goldwin Smith.** The United States, an Outline of Political History. London and New York, Macmillan.

‡ **Edward Channing.** The United States of America, 1765–1865. London and New York, Macmillan.

Colonial: —

‡ **R. G. Thwaites.** The Colonies. New York and London, Longmans.

H. C. Lodge. The English Colonies in America. New York. Harper.

W. B. Weeden. Economic History of New England. 2 vols. Boston, Houghton.

‡ **John Fiske.** The Discovery of America. 2 vols. Boston, Houghton. London, Macmillan.

Francis Parkman. The Pioneers of France in the New World. Boston, Little, Brown & Co. London, Macmillan.

‡ **Francis Parkman.** Montcalm and Wolfe. 2 vols. Boston, Little, Brown & Co. London, Macmillan.

Barrett Wendell. Cotton Mather. New York, Dodd.

Revolutionary: —

‡ **B. Franklin.** Autobiography. Bigelow ed. Philadelphia, Lippincott.

H. C. Lodge. Washington. 2 vols. Boston, Houghton.

‡ **John Fiske.** The American Revolution. 2 vols. Boston, Houghton. London, Macmillan.

W. G. Sumner. Robert Morris. New York, Dodd.

National: —

Alexander Johnston. American Politics. New York, Holt.

F. W. Taussig. History of the Tariff. New York and London, Putnam.

Edward Stanwood. History of the Presidency. Boston, Houghton.

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[1] ‡ Hart's Source Book (Macmillan) covers the same ground briefly in a more elementary way.

Woodrow Wilson. Division and Reunion (1829–1889). New York and London, Longmans.

Jesse Macy. History of American Political Parties. New York and London, Macmillan.

‡**Carl Schurz.** Henry Clay. 2 vols. (American Statesmen Series.) Boston, Houghton.

W. G. Sumner. Andrew Jackson. (American Statesmen Series.) Boston, Houghton.

H. von Holst. J. C. Calhoun. (American Statesmen Series.) Boston, Houghton.

‡**J. T. Morse.** Abraham Lincoln. 2 vols. (American Statesmen Series.) Boston, Houghton.

Government: —

‡**James Bryce.** The American Commonwealth. London and New York, Macmillan.

John Fiske. Civil Government in the United States. Boston, Houghton. London, Macmillan.

J. K. Landon. The Constitutional History and Government of the United States. Boston, Houghton.

CHAPTER IX

THE FACTS OF MOST WORTH

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Hinsdale, B. A. Pages 67–137 in How to Teach and Study History. New York, Appleton.

Mace, W. H. Pages 1–76 in Method in History. Boston, Ginn.

What is a Fact?

TEACHERS are often urged to drill their pupils on *the facts,* as if these were stiff, mechanical things, easily to be distinguished from their causes or consequences, in other words, from the meanings which this or that writer declares he has found in them. Facts are a curious compound, made up of relations that are very simple, like an incident and the time and place of its occurrence, and of more subtle relations through which the incident becomes a part of some great tendency in human affairs, or marks a stage in the development of an institution, or even points to a crisis in the structure of society itself. It is a fact that a battle was fought at Lexington, Massachusetts, April 19, 1775. The date and the place are simple relations which show that the incidents occurred at a particular time and in a particular locality during the troubles at Boston. It is also a fact that this fight was the beginning of the Revolutionary War; that it was one of the first acts of resistance to arbitrary rule which was to open a whole period of revolution, not only on this continent but also in Europe; a period that was not to end until North and South America were controlled by independent republics and the old colonial system had been hopelessly destroyed. These relations are less obvious, but they are quite as truly part of the reality of the battle as are the time, the place, and the separate incidents.

If the teacher emphasizes only the simpler relations, his work resembles that of the annalist. In dealing with young pupils he must, of course, be content with this. And yet only when he is able to interpret an event as part of a process of development, whether of an institution or of national life, or of the structure of society, is he leading his pupils into the historical attitude of mind, and teaching them history.

For these reasons it is apparent that it is one of the teacher's most serious tasks not merely to select those incidents which are instructive, but also to bring out those relations of each incident which give to it its deeper significance.[1] This selection is governed by the maturity of the pupil and by the nature of the relations themselves. It will be advisable to discuss here only the considerations which arise from the nature of the relations, leaving to the description of the different parts of the course of study the question of adapting the selection to the capacity of the pupils.

Selection of Facts.

These relations will be treated somewhat in the order of their complexity. As already remarked, the simplest are those of time and place, that is, of chronology and geography.

The selection of dates which pupils are to remember is made needlessly difficult by many text-book writers, who sprinkle their pages with dates, possibly because of a futile love of exactness. What is the teacher to do, confronted by such a

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[1] Professor Mace says: "There are few teachers who have not felt the pressing need of selecting from the vast amount of matter to be found in text-books and libraries that particular portion having the highest historical significance. The small amount of time devoted to history, compared with the vast extent of the field, makes the question of selection and emphasis a really 'practical' question." *Method*, 65. As was remarked in another place, Spencer's principal objection to history as commonly taught was that the facts were unorganized and therefore without value. Dr. Hinsdale remarks: "Too much stress cannot be placed on organization as essential to real knowledge. But, further, it is as necessary to its retention as to its acquirement. . . . Individual events compose a series of events; but to understand events singly, it is as necessary to have a knowledge of the series as it is to have a knowledge of the individual facts in order to understand the series." P. 69.

passage as this: "The struggle was continued in 523 and 524 with little success. But in 532 the war was begun again, and ended in 534 with the extinction of the Burgundian kingdom"? This may be an extreme case, but it reveals an evil more obscurely prevalent in many text-books. Fortunately it is becoming the custom of text-book makers to accompany the narrative with a list of dates which the pupils are to commit to memory.

Dates.

It is the main purpose of a date to keep an event in position while it is being examined and its relations are being discovered. The performance of such a function is exceedingly useful even to the more mature student. If the same thing happens over a wide field, a presumption is created that there is some general movement in progress, and the student is stimulated to further inquiry. The rise of the towns in France is an example of this. Furthermore, if one compares the development of French and English institutions, one discovers something in the history of each which gives significance to the history of the other. The development of Parliament and the fortunes of the States General illustrate this. Similarly instructive coincidences show events of another sort to be characteristic of a period, rather than isolated acts. Protestant writers might have wasted less energy in denouncing Louis XIV. for the decree of 1681, permitting Huguenot children to renounce the religion of their parents, had these writers remembered the petition of the House of Commons in 1621, "That the children of popish recusants or such whose wives are popish recusants be brought up . . . with protestant schoolmasters and teachers, who may sow in their tender years the seeds of true religion."[1]

Value of Dates.

In many cases as soon as the real nature of an event is understood its date ceases to be of importance. The incident has been so tied into the whole by the chain of its causes and its consequences that it can no longer be wrenched out of

[1] Prothero, *Statutes and Constitutional Documents*, 309.

position. Children rarely reach this stage in the study of any but the most familiar portions of their own national history. They are not likely to put the Civil War before the Declaration of Independence, but they often fall into the error of a few centuries in trying to remember almost equally important incidents in the history of Europe. Some dates must consequently be associated with occurrences so that the whole body of knowledge may not collapse and become a confused mass of meaningless names and patches of incidents.

Dates to be remembered.

Dates that are famous should be remembered because they are famous. The Frenchman has as much reason to be shocked at ignorance of the meaning of July 14 as we of July 4. In choosing other dates those should be selected which mark the most significant event in some movement, and in relation to which the other events naturally fall into line as either before or after. For example, most of the incidents of the early Germanic invasions may be grouped about Alaric's capture of Rome in 410.[1] Later in the history of Europe, when the modern peoples begin to appear and their development becomes more individual, it is well to keep the several chronological series interwoven, not leaving this to the result of chance references. There are periods, like that of the Hundred Years War or the Napoleonic era, when it is unnecessary so far as France and England are concerned, because a hard fate bound the two peoples together in a struggle ever memorable.

Geography.

Geography brings out other relations of nearly every historical incident, some of them as simple as its chronology, others more complex. Geography has sometimes been called the two eyes of history. It is significant that these subjects are grouped together in the German programmes. Many parts of geography could be better comprehended if they were explained in connection with those historical events to

[1] It is well also to make a distinction between dates which should be remembered until the work of a single exercise is completed and those which should never be forgotten.

which they have given rise. The converse of this is true: history should be brought down to earth and kept there.

Historical Names.

It is not enough to require the pupils to locate the position of events on the map, nor is this always instructive, for the map is itself subject to change, and often a modern map would seriously mislead any one who was studying incidents that took place a hundred years ago. Political names come and go; even the configuration of the land is modified by time. Italy, which we now use as the name of one of the great states of Europe, not long ago was, as Metternich declared, merely "a geographical expression." But misunderstanding is less likely to arise in the use of this name than in one like France.[1] The pupil who carries into the study of mediæval France his notion of modern France will be confused at every turn. He may fortunately discover that feudal France did not cover more than two-thirds the territory included in the modern state. The confusion does not end here, for not until comparatively late was the name France applied even to the group of fiefs which were held by the French king. France was merely the royal domain, based on the old duchy of France which the first Capetian had held before he was crowned. In this case there are three uses of the name, only one of which is strictly historical, one of the others being a modern territorial name and the third a convenient designation for the lands over which the king was suzerain. As the king incorporated the fiefs of his vassals in the domain, the historical name grew more comprehensive, until it became identical with what for convenience is called feudal France. That, too, after centuries of struggle became practically the same territory that we now mean by France. The name Louisiana in American history illustrates the same point.

For these reasons it is necessary for the pupil to study historical maps even if he is to do no more than properly to locate events. Historical geography may also serve a higher purpose than this: it affords the opportunity to study many of the more

[1] Freeman, *Historical Geography of Europe*, 125, 147.

complex relations of an event, it unfolds before the eye the growth of states and nations from period to period, and in doing this reveals the causes or the results of many a desperate struggle. Without its details the history of Europe, and, to a less degree, the history of America also, is unintelligible. Much of it is too complex for any but the college student, and yet some of its more salient facts are within the grasp of even comparatively young pupils. If these are judiciously put forward, the pupil must become in consequence more deeply interested in geography, leaving out of account the results in his comprehension of history. For example, it is easy to bound France in every other direction save on the north and east. Here on both sides of the Rhine conflicts have raged for nearly two thousand years, and yet the Europeans who have dwelt on the east and those who have dwelt on the west have not succeeded in drawing a permanent frontier line. Augustus tried to push the borders of the empire into Germany and lost his legions in the Teutoburg forest; Louis XIV. reached the Rhine by the seizure of Alsace; Napoleon boldly crossed it and included in his empire all the western share, only to be driven back humiliated; and in 1870 the Third Napoleon lost even the hold the Bourbons had won.

Historical Geography.

Historical events have been deeply affected by geographical facts. In the case of the northeastern frontier of France it has been the lack of a natural frontier that has caused nearly all the strife. The French reached the Alps and the Pyrenees almost without fighting. The ocean compelled the successors of Henry Plantagenet to retreat from his magnificent domain in western France. Indeed the English Channel has been the dominant fact in the history of England. Though it may have loosened the hold of its kings upon their Continental lands, it protected England in later centuries from feeling the strain of many a European conflict, so that she could concentrate her energies in a way permitted to no other kingdom upon the achievement of sea power. Holland was as strong as England in the seventeenth century, but Holland was

Effects of Situation.

overrun by Louis XIV., and in the next century by the Revolutionary armies. Their position on the southwest peninsula of Europe gave Spain and Portugal the burden and the glory of the discoveries.

Climate as well as situation have counted for much in the history of peoples. It is the man of the temperate zone who holds the earth within his grasp, and who is exploiting it for his own advantage, while the less vigorous natives of the tropics struggle vainly to retain a barbarous and lazy freedom. It is the fact of climate that has rendered the assimilation of tropical lands by great self-governing peoples an impossibility. These are a few examples of the many ways in which the destiny of men has been affected by the geographical conditions which surround them.

Climate.

In what has been said about historical geography two kinds of maps have been referred to, — one the contemporary map of the land, the other the historical map, which shows the extent of that land at the particular period for the moment under review. There is a third map which should also be used, although its use is restricted to times of discovery, exploration, and conquest. This map is based on the knowledge the people of the period had of the places they were seeking to reach. The voyage of Columbus becomes intelligible only after a glance at Toscanelli's map or Behaim's globe. The early history of America can be better understood if the student examines maps which embody the explorer's ideas of the size and shape of the lands that lay behind the frontier settlements.

Contemporary Maps.

When a fact is dated or located, little has been done to describe or characterize it, but if it be grouped with others in a period like the Age of Pericles, the Renaissance, the Revolutionary Era, its significance is made more apparent. Any period owes its name and its limits to the peculiar significance of its events. The effort to divide history into periods is therefore a natural consequence of a thoughtful study of it. American history used to be little more than the four national and the three or four colonial wars. Such history

Meaning of Periods.

was hardly better than none. It was an immense gain when men began to analyze the development of America and to devise terms which would adequately describe or suggest its different stages.

Dangers.

The effort to divide history into periods is not free from certain dangers. It encourages the idea that great processes have a sudden beginning and come to an end with equal suddenness. It has led to such common-place errors as that the Renaissance began in 1453 and was caused by the fall of Constantinople. Even our calendar distorts certain parts of the past. The unity in the development of the Roman power has been broken by it, and the illusion is created that the reign of Augustus, when all the world was at peace, is the goal and fitting conclusion of the story of ancient life. Until recently the history of the Empire was altogether neglected in the schools. This was also partly because ancient history was regarded as supplementary to the study of the Greek and Roman writers.

The name of a period is sometimes a criticism. After one is accustomed to think of the years from the downfall of Charlemagne's empire to the twelfth century as the Dark Ages, or to extend this term so as to cover the whole mediæval period, there is a subtle prejudice against everything that occurs during that time. Many persons feel the need of no more definite knowledge in regard to it. They spread over it the mantle of their contempt and are satisfied. And yet hidden away in this period were the beginnings of modern states, the development of great institutions like the papacy; here the modern tongues first became articulate, and the first work was done on the new literatures. Here also the foundations were laid of nearly everything of which the succeeding centuries may boast themselves.

Limitation of Periods.

The name of a period may also lead to a one-sided treatment of the events. There is some danger that the term Reformation may cause many things between 1517 and 1598 to be forgotten because they do not seem to throw any light on the reform movement. The Renaissance is also

likely to be treated as if it were simply an introduction to the Reformation. Moreover, there is a measure of partisan argument in the term itself as it is generally employed. It is a Protestant system of grouping. The other party might prefer to call it the period of the Protestant Revolution or even of the Protestant schism.

Misconceptions. If the division into periods be unhappily made, it leads to serious misconception. It has already been explained that the idea of the Fourth Monarchy blinded the mediæval writers to the profound differences between the Middle Ages and the days of the earlier Roman Empire. Men create for themselves in this way a medium of a high refracting power through which they study affairs, until a sudden change sweeps away the obstacle, and they are astonished at the sort of world they have been ignorantly gazing at all the while. The Jacobins of the French Revolution felt the truth of this, and sought to take advantage of it. They hated the past, and, to weaken its hold upon the minds of the people, they attempted to substitute for the old calendar and its holy days a new calendar, all the associations of which should be with the Revolution and with the world of nature.

Brief Periods. The shortest periods into which history is usually divided are the administration, the reign, or the ministry. Such divisions are simply for the sake of convenience. It is rare that the beginning of a reign or of an administration forms a real epoch in human experience. In the case of a Charlemagne, a Cromwell, or a Napoleon, this may be true, but even in such cases the events which gave these men their matchless opportunities had their beginnings years before the men came forward.

Principles of Division. If these considerations be sound, it must be concluded that the division of history into periods is simply a convenient means of setting facts more clearly in relation to the events which best explain them. The result should not be a rigid mould into which facts of all sorts should be thrust. One scheme of periods may be rejected for another if

by so doing a particular aspect of affairs is brought into more striking relief. In studying American industrial history one would not use the same periodization which would facilitate the understanding of our political development, although industrial conditions and politics constantly affect one another, and should not be treated as if they belonged to wholly different worlds.

There is another set of relations which events possess, not altogether distinct from those which have just been analyzed, but often of a more special character, belonging to the growth of an institution or to a change in the position of some social class.

Growth of Institutions.

Frequently events have a local and temporary cause or meaning and at the same time, probably without the chief actors ever suspecting it, belong to a process which is gradually bringing about a radical transformation of things. Sometimes it seems that institutions have a sort of distinctive life and impulse, and that men are moved hither and thither like puppets in the show. The growth of the old French monarchy illustrates this. There is a regularity and a symmetry about its development which makes a high appeal to the scientific spirit in historical thinking. The beginnings of feudalism offer another instance. When the Carolingian monarchs began to make grants of immunity from the jurisdiction of their own officers, they were not aware that they were pushing forward the reorganization of western Europe on the basis of local sovereignty. Each act of theirs doubtless had its local and temporary excuse, but combined with others of the same sort, brought about a radical change in the structure of political society.

In English History.

It is also illustrated again and again in the history of the English Parliament. The provision in Magna Charta that the "greater barons" shall receive a personal summons to the council, while the "lesser barons" shall be summoned through the sheriff, seemingly a provision suggested by convenience and of little consequence, in reality indicates the line of cleavage between the first and the second which was in the fourteenth century to separate them more

distinctly leaving the greater barons in the House of Lords and the lesser barons in the House of Commons, and which was also to prevent the growth of an estate of nobility like that in France. The fact that George I. could not talk English, and so did not choose to preside over the Cabinet, is from one point of view an amusing bit of gossip, from another an important fact in the development of the prime minister's present function.

In American History. In American history the earlier writers did not give sufficient attention to the beginnings of party machinery, because they did not understand that all these facts taken together revealed the growth of a customary government or constitution which in its practical effects radically modified the written constitution.

The Goal. There is a possibility of misconception in the very notion of development. It is natural for Americans to assume the ultimate triumph of democracy as the goal toward which all political institutions are turning, and to determine the maturity of a particular system by its apparent distance from this goal. Such an assumption is too complacent. The men of Bismarck's faith also make assumptions, and with equal right. Until some law of institutional development is discovered, the teacher must be content to trace the path by which any nation's present has been reached, and to avoid generalizing one people's experience into a rule of universal application.[1]

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[1] Professor Mace would give much greater emphasis to the growth of institutions as the fundamental fact of history about which all other facts should be grouped or which should serve as the principle of organization in the attempt to present the facts. The teacher, he says, needs a standard by which he may determine the relative value of facts. He continues: "This standard must not be an accidental one . . . but must be one derived from the very essence of history itself, from the relations that exist between its facts and its organizing principle. Since the events of history express the growth of institutional life in different degrees, it must follow that they have historical value in proportion to their content. We may safely set up the growth of institutional life as the standard for making this test of historical value. To state the principle somewhat more formally, it may be said that that event,

Akin to the development of institutions is the transformation of industrial life. The facts that belong to this aspect of affairs should not be less interesting than war and politics, for they occupy man's attention even more constantly. An attack has been made upon the "drum and trumpet" method of teaching history, with the result that the text-books insert a fuller account of the economic life of nations. Some would even go so far as to make industrial development the theme about which historical details should be organized. According to them, the story of wars, of the rise and fall of dynasties, should be treated only in so far as these illustrate the growth of the people's activities. The question at once presses for answer, Can as much human interest be put into such historical treatment as is characteristic of the older method? The details of the change from domestic industry to the factory system will set only a rare imagination aglow. Pupils can be convinced of its importance, but they will not become excited over it. Were these changes bound up in the career of a Cromwell or a Napoleon, they would shine by a reflected light. Nevertheless, it is desirable that some attempt should be made to reorganize historical facts in accordance with this aspect of events, although it is possible that a less industrial age may regard with disdain the supreme importance which this generation attaches to economic facts, and may ask if the historical process has no deeper central purpose than the organization of gainful industry and the exploitation of the earth's natural resources.

Industrial Development.

Even if our school histories are not to be rewritten from the

series, or period has the highest historical value which reveals most fully the people's institutional thought or feeling. Such a fact takes highest rank." Pp. 67–68. Dr. Hinsdale agrees, in general, with this position, but adds the warning "that the logical element in history must not be suffered to override the fact element. . . . Some one observes that 'a child has a healthy appetite for facts; he likes action and story;' the child should therefore be suitably served with facts, action, and story while he craves them, postponing theorizing until the time comes for theories." Pp. 73–74.

economic point of view, they must henceforth not ignore the economic interpretation of historical facts. Many a time a simple achievement in the development of industry has shaken the world with revolutions mightier even than the deeds of a Cromwell or a Napoleon. The cotton gin fastened slavery on the South and made the Civil War inevitable. The spinning-jenny and the power loom and the locomotive transformed the conditions of modern life, created great cities, in England made the democratic reorganization of the government a necessity, and in America filled with a strong national spirit the expanding North, which moved freely east and west across State frontiers. Furthermore, who shall name a conqueror greater than the unknown reformers of mediæval agriculture, who taught "two blades of grass to grow where one grew before"?

Economic Interpretation.

In selecting his facts or in putting the emphasis on this or that aspect of them, the teacher should never allow a preconceived notion of what history is to close his eyes to the inexhaustible variety of historical phenomena and dull the curiosity which should lead him to explore in every direction.

Furthermore, in all these attempts at the organization of details, the chronological order should be treated as a sort of clearing-house where the different sorts of fact may settle up their claims of cause and effect with each other. In this way the rich content that history offers may not shrink away within the limits of some one narrow interest which the particular teacher or text-book maker takes to be the sum of life.

CHAPTER X

METHODS OF TEACHING HISTORY

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THE growing interest in the study of history in the schools has led to a more careful examination of the problem of method.

Value of Method.

It is not true that this problem was never intelligently analyzed prior to the last ten or fifteen years.[1] The deadening manner in which history was often taught aroused voices of protest, although few took the trouble to listen. There were teachers so fitted by aptitude and by reading to interest others in history, that they had little to learn from a more formal study of methods, just as there were historians before the days of the modern historical school. Does any one regret that Herodotus was not trained in a German seminary? But the instinct that leads the highly endowed straight towards the goal is so rare that the need of a thoughtful consideration of the problem of teaching cannot be ignored. Undoubtedly the progress that has been made in the study of the methods of teaching other subjects has contributed many suggestions toward the solution of this more special problem.

If the course of study be continued for eight years, there must be a constant adjustment of the method of teaching to the grow-

[1] See especially a paper by Mrs. A. C. Martin before the National Educational Association in 1874. Report for 1874, 274 ff. Also an article by Celeste E. Bush in NATIONAL JOURNAL OF EDUCATION, V. 289. Here the author mentions nearly every method of adding effectiveness to teaching which is referred to in the *Report of the New England Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools for* 1895.

ing knowledge and capacity of the pupils. There is a natural pause at the close of the elementary school, for after that time about eighty-five per cent of the pupils no longer attend school. This does not mean that a radical change in the way of dealing with the subject must take place here, although some things may be accomplished subsequently which cannot be done in the elementary school. If the teacher keeps carefully in mind what should be attained by the close of this period of school life, he will more readily determine what modifications the general methods of teaching history must undergo in order that they may fit the conditions of either elementary or secondary school.

In Relation to Age.

When the pupils leave the elementary school, they should have had at least two years of formal instruction in history on the basis of a text-book. If the scheme suggested in the chapter on the Programme be followed, there might be another year or two of such work, simplified, and emphasizing the biographical or picturesque side of events. The pupils should also have been taught the use of books other than the text-book in their supplementary reading. As they have had careful instruction in expressing their thoughts or their knowledge in short themes or papers, this power should have been brought as early as possible to the service of their historical work. They are too young to show much keenness in comparison, analysis, and generalization, but a beginning of such efforts should be made, if the teacher can guard against a superficial brightness, manifested by a fondness for the parrot-like repetition of phrases and formulæ, under the mistaken impression that this is reflection. The use of topics should not be pushed too far with such pupils, who have so little critical independence. These considerations may serve to modify the general methods for the formal teaching of history in the elementary school.[1]

Result of Elementary Work.

A well-prepared teacher is the most fundamental condition of good teaching. No variety of ingenious devices can make

[1] R. G. Huling in EDUCATIONAL REVIEW, VIII. 45, 46.

up for a lack of natural capacity and of adequate training. It would be unwise to assert that training cannot be obtained outside the walls of colleges or universities, but it is still more foolish to regard as unnecessary such long-continued and carefully directed preparation. If it cannot be had, the teacher must make good the loss by a judicious course of self-instruction. Every observer of American education notes with astonishment the lack among the teachers of any special training to deal with this subject. "It is still not very unusual to find that history is taught, if such a word is appropriate, by those who have made no preparation, and that classes are sometimes managed — we hesitate to say instructed — by persons who do not profess either to be prepared or to take interest in the subject."[1] This is not surprising when it is remembered that until recently colleges of standing in the educational world distributed history among the professors whose hours of teaching were not already overcrowded. One who examines the French or the German system of preparing teachers can see what America must still accomplish before the work of instruction is effectively performed.

Preparation of the Teacher.

There are at least four qualifications which every teacher should endeavour to win: first, sufficient knowledge; second, some practice in using historical evidence; third, fair-mindedness and a wholesome spirit in presenting facts; fourth, skill in narration and in developing the pupil's knowledge by questions, and practical ability in directing the work of the class.

Qualifications.

The teacher's knowledge should have the right quality; it should be sure and intelligent, rather than voluminous and encyclopædic. One who is able to interpret a part of the field of history is fitted to approach any other part and to understand it. The incidents are not the same, but they all belong to the same great human experience. There are only a few ways in which they have left traces or

Knowledge.

[1] *Study of History in Schools*, 113, 147.

records of themselves, and the rules for the criticism or interpretation of these sources of information do not vary, although unusual skill is often required in applying them. The teacher must get far enough below the dry surface of affairs, the brief description in the text-book, to feel the deep currents of life, social, religious, or political, which give significance to names and dates. If he has in this way comprehended the anti-slavery struggle in the United States, or the controversy of the colonies with England over arbitrary government, or the development of the English parliamentary democracy, or the mediæval conflict between the papacy and the empire, the flavour of this knowledge will enrich his reflections upon every period which he undertakes to discuss. It will be recalled that Niebuhr thought the true historian must himself have passed through great events in order properly to interpret the history of a people. If this be true, certainly the teacher must at least have become intimately acquainted with some critical period of history, that he may from the solid ground of that knowledge start out to explore more hurriedly other parts of the field. With this intimate acquaintance will come the historical attitude of mind, the inclination to reflect upon the causes of events in a large way, to compare different historical civilisations with one another. The mind will also be freed from the subtle assumption that only the social organization of to-day, with its traditions and ideals, its laws and customs, is real, and that the past is merely a series of pictured fancies.

Self-instruction.

How is such knowledge to be gained? Possibly the teacher may have taken in a perfunctory fashion one or two courses in history at college, or not even that. It is best to select some period which possesses great natural interest, when human forces of all sorts seem roused to an unusual struggle for the mastery, and some problem of life arrays parties or even states against one another. Such are the Reformation, the English Revolution, the French Revolution, the War for Independence, and the industrial revolution. The next step is to read a work of power on the subject, the

work of an historian who is also a creator of literature. With quickened interest the reader can then turn to some other interpretation of the same events. It will be strange if in the clash of opinion a new curiosity is not created of sufficient strength to carry him still further into the midst of affairs, so that he may discover through their personal part in the crisis by studying the career of one or two of the principal actors, a truer interpretation of it. No one can read even the fragmentary recollections of Bismarck without feeling differently toward the cause of Prussia and what she did in Europe between 1862 and 1871. After the teacher has sought by some such method as this to know what history is, — history in both senses, not merely the process of events, but the way the great historical artist interprets the events in a narrative, — it will not be irksome for him to read at least one good book on every period covered by the course of study. This need not be done the first year, but each year light should break on some page of the story, so that the pupils may catch the impression of this fresh source of supply.

Original Work.

It is not too much to ask that the teacher do at least one piece of scholarly work, for the training it will give in handling the subject. Any teacher who desires to use the sources in teaching must gain such preliminary experience, in an historical seminary under competent direction if possible, and if not, by going straight to the original sources, examining each, its origin and relations to the incidents which it furnishes evidence for, cross-examining each to put a valuation upon every bit of testimony. Even if the teacher has not had seminary training, he can put himself under the guidance of books and can compare his results with the conclusions of the historians who have discussed the matter. Such work will train him in carefulness of statement, for it will cultivate his sense for exactness and his respect for fidelity to the evidence. No direct use can be made of this in the recitation room, but it will preserve his teaching from vagueness, inaccuracy, exaggeration, sensationalism. With a knowledge that is sound, if

not extensive, supported by a little practice in scholarly work, the teacher's intellectual preparation is satisfactory.[1]

The preparation of the teacher for the practical management of classes cannot be described in a paragraph or two. It must be given in the normal school or must come through experience. From the objects which the teacher is to accomplish the elements of this training may be inferred.

Spirit.

It is difficult to speak of the spirit in which history should be taught without seeming to fall into platitudes. One's own theory of life inevitably gives the characteristic note to all teaching that deals with life. This personal element may add greatly to the value of the teaching, but from it may also come harm. It is hardly fair for the person who has become disillusioned, as the phrase goes, to inflict his sentimental cynicism upon his pupils, or even to allow it to colour his teaching. He may reasonably conclude that, as the world shows no symptoms of discontinuing in disgust, the children at least have the right to be protected against dark views of things. They must be told the dark facts, but these should appear unusual and abnormal. It is only individuals that despair; even dying races are still hopeful. The teacher's love of righteousness can manifest itself in ways more effective than pointing out the petty hypocrisies by which great men sometimes cloak deeds of violence. The older pupils should know that Napoleon was a tyrant, but this is not the only nor the principal notion they should receive of his career. Noble men have lived, and many men who were not always noble sometimes acted nobly, and therefore the pupil should not be allowed to get the impression that critical skill is chiefly busied in "tearing away the veil," as the French Revolutionists used to say. Perhaps by the praise of noble deeds, if this be done with dignity, and free from maudlin sentimentality, a respect for uprightness will take root in the minds of the children. It is repeating the same thing in another way to declare that the teacher should not fall

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[1] Cf. Hinsdale, 138 ff., in which accounts are also given of the influences which affected the development of some of the great historians.

into the temptation to arouse interest by dilating upon the horrible, the eccentric, that which is effective merely to catch attention, and which contributes nothing to the comprehension of the subject.

Plans of Work.

The work of each course for the whole term should be mapped out in advance. The beginner will find many things to change in such a plan, but with increasing experience the unity of the whole and the relation to it of the several parts will become clear. It is needless to say that this preliminary plan will lighten the task and give it zest. Only in this way can all the objects be gained. In the midst of the term weariness and the inclination to drift appear, and some part of the work is in danger of neglect. Besides, there are so many different elements in a good course in history, particularly in the high school, that even with planning they will not always be embodied. Questions of the total amount of supplementary reading, its character, and the detailed references; the written work, the tests, the cultivation of certain kinds of ability in the pupils, possibly the number of attempts at the study of original sources, all these and more must be taken into the account.

An Overloaded Course.

In devising such a scheme, there is danger of overloading the course.[1] The teacher should carefully consider what his pupils are able to accomplish, remembering that they must have time to assimilate what they study, that the facts and ideas cannot be crowded upon them. Since the new seems more interesting to the pupils than the old, the mistake is frequently made of neglecting reviews, or the rehandling in a different way of the facts with which the pupil is already familiar. But it is more interesting to children to feel a sense of mastery in dealing with the familiar than to grope about in the dark, for the charm of occasionally being dazzled.

The long plan should not preclude a definite, more detailed notion each day of what is to be accomplished in the single

[1] Emily J. Rice in Educational Review, XII. 174.

lesson. This will always come as a revision of the other, which is simply a general guide and reminder.

Class-room. The place where the classes meet, even if it be a part of a large room, should in some way suggest the subject. A shelf full of historical works, one or two maps hung on the walls, may do this, but they will not catch the pupil's wandering thoughts as well as photographs. These will often fill a mind ready to be led off in one direction or another with images which will never fade. If the picture is to perform such an important teaching function, it should be chosen as carefully as the more formal means of instruction. There should be a few of the world's great faces, Lincoln, Gladstone, Bismarck, Webster, Pitt, Washington, Cromwell, Queen Elizabeth, not selected from the heroes of one nation or of one period, but those which will lead back the mind over the long road of human achievement. And there should be pictures of several historic structures, the Parthenon, the Forum, Notre Dame, the walls of Nuremberg, Westminster Abbey, Independence Hall, and Faneuil Hall. This is not an adequate list, but it indicates the aim. Photographs of historic paintings are not so valuable unless they are the work of a great artist who succeeded in interpreting historically on his canvas the actual occurrences of a momentous occasion. If photographs cannot be obtained, the cheaper prints will partially meet the same end, or even pictures cut from magazines and properly mounted. It should be remembered that each picture has a work to do, and if it cannot perform this function, it has no place on the walls.

The formal means of instruction are the text-book, the books for collateral reading, maps, and pictures, in addition to those which adorn the walls.

Text-books. For several years the text-book has been accused of being "a root of all kinds of evil" in the teaching of history. The book of the older type was partly responsible for this general onslaught. "Its author was frequently a literary hack, ready to compile a dictionary, annotate a

classical text, or write an algebra, as occasion offered."[1] Moreover, the book was made to suffer for the sins of the teacher. If the teacher was content to assign so many paragraphs to be committed to memory, and to be recited according to the "next," or "you may go on from there" method, the book was blamed. In spite of all the outcry the text-book is still regarded by the most competent teachers as a necessity. It preserves unity in the work of the course, and furnishes a basis for collateral readings or for the more detailed study of special topics. The remarkable improvement in the more recent text-books upon all periods of history has made this conclusion unassailable.

It is sometimes urged that two text-books should be used in order that the members of the class may be constantly confronted by the necessity of comparing one account with another.[2] There are undoubted advantages in such a plan, although there are also practical difficulties. Since hardly any two authors approach a subject from the same point of view or put the same emphasis upon its different phases, the pupils will be forced to take a more alert, critical attitude towards the text-book, and will occasionally be eager to settle a difference between the two by an appeal to the books in the library. They will realize in some measure that a book is not a final, complete statement, although this progress in the knowledge of books may become a precocious assurance in fault-finding, which is far from a true critical attitude. The use of two books may confuse the pupils unless the teacher is able steadily to keep in sight the thread of unity and to make clear the relations of the two to this. Pupils who are unaccustomed to the complexity of historical incidents, whose imaginations cannot hold the elements of an incident long enough to gain a conception of the whole, may be hopelessly muddled by the new series which comes in from another treatment of the subject.

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[1] *Text-books in American History*, Publications of the New England History Teachers' Association, No. 3, p. 4.

[2] New England Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools, *Report on Entrance Requirements in History*, 480–482.

There are several characteristics of a good text-book. In the first place it should have been written by a competent scholar. In France such work has been long regarded as a patriotic duty. American historians have recently begun to take their part in the making of these books. The effective text-book must also rest upon a close acquaintance with the problem of instruction. The practical teacher, if he has had the scholarly training, has the advantage which comes from his experience in dealing with pupils.

A Good Text-book.

The book itself should not be overloaded with many details, although it should be a book of facts, not of ready-made judgments which will relieve the pupil from forming any opinions of his own.[1] If the narrative is too detailed, there will be less time and incentive to consult other books. Its pages should not be sprinkled with dates. A distinction should be made between those which are inserted for the sake of precision and others which are to be committed to memory. There must be abundant maps, some of them comprehending the events of a period, others mere sketches in black and white of a single incident, like the cession of Alsace-Lorraine, the partitions of Poland, or the Oregon question.

Another characteristic of a well-constructed text-book is instructive illustrations. These, like the pictures on the walls, should not represent the customary historical fancies, — the Landing of Columbus, Washington Crossing the Delaware, or Sheridan's Ride.[2] If an artist has investigated his theme, and has portrayed with fidelity his

Instructive Illustrations.

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[1] Webster Cook in the SCHOOL REVIEW, VII. 230 ff. He adds that it is the teacher's business to develop the thoughts which the facts, properly marshalled, are fitted to bring out, rather than to watch over the reproduction of the facts.

[2] The Text-Book Committee of the New England History Teachers' Association remark that " history has suffered much at the hands of art. The fancy picture, resting upon no historical data known to man, has been the bane of our school books . . . illustrations should be drawn, as far as possible, from contemporary sources, they should be of historical value and significance." Publications of the Association, No. 3, pp. 11, 12.

conception of a scene, his picture possesses a certain value as a means of instruction. It differs from the written narrative only in the fact that its story is told without words. If more than one portrait of an individual is extant, that should be chosen which represents him at the time when his career is most interesting to history. From the portraits that are too frequently printed, one might infer that the work of the world has generally been done by old men. A good text-book should also be provided with a few genealogical tables, if it deals with the history of Europe between the days of Charlemagne and the French Revolution, when the births and marriages of princes were political events. The genealogy of Charles the Fifth is a fact of greater significance and of more lasting consequence in the history of Europe than any single battle that ever took place. Chronological summaries, topical outlines, questions for further study are now often included in text-books. But even if all these things appear, it is necessary to consult critical estimates of each book in the educational or historical reviews, in order to determine whether it rests upon the foundation of sound scholarship.

Genealogies.

The relations between the school and the library have already been considered. The object of collateral reading is twofold: it supplements the text-book, giving the student additional information and describing the same events from new points of view; and it also cultivates the student's interest in history as literature. If men and women seek to satisfy their deep interest in the play of human forces by reading fiction alone, this is not due to any defect in the character of their interest, nor is it due to the lack of dramas of moving power in the sober pages of history. It is true that in fiction the action is simplified, and that attention is concentrated on the development of a single experience, or upon phases of a single event; but it is also true that the educational system countenances the notion that history is made up of flavourless quantities of facts. On the contrary, the pupils should realize that they can never know history until they have read some of

History as Literature.

the great masterpieces of its literature. And it is during their school life that they must acquire a taste for such books. If there is no school library, or if it is badly chosen, this cannot be done. But the teacher in directing the reading can guard against some of the evils of a badly chosen collection, by showing the pupils the difference between a hurried work of popularization and a book like Green's *Short History of the English People.* Even the encylopædia article may be better literature than many a book that is in the library. References for reading should be definite, giving the exact pages; otherwise the work may not be done; but if the interest at any time is sufficiently strong, it is advisable to allow this to satisfy itself, for the pupil may conclude that the reading of a certain number of pages is the essence of the task. Moreover, if pupils are to be taught to find their way through books, they should occasionally be allowed to waste time in following one path or another until the right one is discovered.

The Use of Maps.

The relations between history and geography are so close that there must be a constant use of maps. It has been previously explained that there are three kinds of maps which sooner or later are needed, although the third, that is, the map constructed at the time of the event which it serves to illustrate, has a more restricted use. It would prevent misconception if the modern map were used only for incidents which are contemporaneous. A serious obstacle is put before the pupil's imagination when he is asked, for example, to comprehend the explorations of La Salle with a map upon which are marked all the railroad systems which stretch out from Chicago to the west. The task would be simpler without any map at all. If the school has no historical maps which present this period, it is better to draw an outline on the board. Should the recitation room be provided with sufficient blackboard space, outlines with the principal rivers and mountain ranges might be painted upon them, so that only changes of boundary or of name need be indicated. Such work is not rendered unnecessary even by the presence of a

set of historical wall maps, for these often attempt to embody the changes of a century or two, and are not truly representative of the condition of affairs at any specific time. The pupils may also be required to sketch upon small paper outline maps incidents of which the geographical setting is important.

Prints.

With the multiplication of cheap prints it is becoming possible to make an extensive use of pictures in teaching history. Only certain phases of history can be illustrated: the places where great events occurred; implements of war, of handicraft, and agriculture; the temples, churches, and public buildings which men constructed; their roads and bridges; their ships and wagons, the beginnings of rapid transportation with locomotives and steamships; and many other things which will make the life of the past more real to the pupil's imagination.

Art and Architecture.

The attempt through such prints to study systematically the art and the architecture of a period or of a people is beset with difficulties. It is not easy to obtain a collection of adequate prints, if the object be thorough work. It is a simple matter to lay down the rule that each[1] pupil must have a copy of the photograph that is to be studied, but not so simple a matter to conform to this counsel of perfection. Some periods of history can better be illustrated than others. It will be possible to study the great monuments of Greece and Rome, the churches of the Middle Ages, a few palaces, but in the cases of many other structures of almost equal interest to the student it will be difficult to obtain pictures of any critical value. If the child is to study the mediæval castle, the pictures

[1] The committee of the New England History Teachers' Association in their report on methods explained that in order to study the Parthenon sculptures effectively, there should be furnished "a set of photographs from the original marbles of the pediments, the metopes, the frieze, containing as many duplicates of each picture as there are members in the class," and sets "of smaller photographs of other subjects fitted to illustrate excellence of Parthenon marbles by contrast, selected from ancient and modern art, each set having as many duplicates as there are members of the class. *Report No.* 1, p. 38.

should be as carefully chosen as would be pictures of the Parthenon or of Notre Dame. When such pictures can be obtained, their study can be made useful to all children, not merely of the high school, but also of the elementary school, if the teacher be content with simple results. It will be inadvisable to attempt to transform young pupils into superior art critics[1] or to fit them to talk glibly about the later Romanesque or the Gothic.

Excessive Use of Pictures.

It is sometimes urged against the large use of prints that these weaken and narrow the range of the pupil's imagination while seeming to direct and stimulate it. The incident embodies many elements, but the picture can set forth only a few, and yet the child fails to note and guard against the consequences of the lack, so that afterwards his mind rests content with a hopelessly inadequate view of the affair. Moreover, he is not compelled to a vigorous use of his imagination unsupported by pictorial representation, and so his natural capacity to do this remains undeveloped.[2]

In a few favoured places it is possible to show the pupils the buildings themselves, or to conduct them over historic grounds.[3]

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[1] Some teachers appear to presuppose in the pupil a developed capacity to study from such sources phases of the historic past which they cannot begin to comprehend or feel until they are far along in their college career. For example, a prominent committee of teachers asked not long ago, "Where is better opportunity than in connection with Greek history to teach, as an essential of the highest beauty, power, compelling strength, and thus save the study of art from degenerating into mere prettyism, vapidity, triviality . . . let us strive to open the sensibilities of our pupils to the power of line and measure, forms and planes, light and shade, to express nobility, and purity, and simplicity, and strength, and largeness of nature." "Vor diesen grossen Worten ist überall und am meisten im Geschichtsunterricht zu warnen." O. Jäger, *Geschichtsunterrichts*, p. 22.

[2] Jäger, 61.

[3] Nowhere in America do historical remains of great significance lie stratum upon stratum as in Europe. In Klemm's *European Schools* this peculiar privilege of the European boy is illustrated: 'The teacher took the party to a high hill and said, 'There it was where Prince Ferdinand chased the Frenchmen across the Rhine. Yonder castle is the ancient residence of the Dukes of Jülich-Cleve-Berg, and in that

So far as this is practicable, it can have only happy consequences. If the classes are small, they may be personally conducted and their investigations effectively supervised, so that the work shall produce results in knowledge and in training. Or individual members may be sent, their minds sharpened by a judicious set of questions. What they learn may be economically used as a part of their work both in history and in English. Similar results may be accomplished with elementary pupils. But when in large city schools, the numbers begin to climb towards the thousands, the sordid items of time, distance, means of transportation, discipline, cannot be ignored. It is therefore advisable not to erect the historical pilgrimage into a dogma, and to punish as heretics teachers who are unable to make any use of such sources of information.

Excursions.

The length of the recitation depends upon the age of the pupil. The Committee of Fifteen recommended that for the fifth and sixth grades the length be twenty-five minutes, and thirty minutes for the seventh and eighth. In the secondary school the periods vary in different schools, according to their convenience, rather than according to the ages of the pupils, generally from forty minutes to the full hour.

Length of Recitation.

Each day's work should find its place in the whole work of the term. Not only must the teacher so regard it, but the pupils must feel that they are moving on steadily and without confusion from one position to another. This can be accomplished by a review of the preceding lesson, or of a series of lessons which illustrate the same subject. The work already done, as one lesson succeeds another, gradually gains a new quality, its relations begin to appear, a body of knowledge is created which enables the pupil the better to

Reviews.

castle it was where the beautiful Princess Jacobæ of Baden was murdered. Far in the distance you can see the towers of the Cathedral of Cologne, begun some time during the thirteenth and finished during our nineteenth century. Yonder is the ancient convent built by the successor of Bishop Boniface; here the ruins of the ancient Falkenburg, the feudal castle in which lived the owner of the land as far as you can see.'" Pp. 59–60.

grasp and assimilate each new fact.[1] The particular way in which so difficult a problem of instruction may be solved depends on the place in the whole course of historical training where the pupil stands, just as the sort of knowledge which can be assimilated varies. It is the teacher's business to study the mind of the child carefully, to take account of its stock of ideas, of its experience with the world, so that the impossible shall not be expected. The inexperienced teacher is inclined to be so interested in the subject, and in conveying his own views of it, that he forgets to inquire whether he is leading the child out into deep water.[2]

Correlation.

The work in history should also be correlated with other parts of the course of study. Correlation with geography has already been insisted upon, but there may be correlation with English literature, and with the classical and the modern languages, although not so much with the modern languages, because the pupil does not get far enough in the study of these to read the literature. The same objection might be urged in the case of the classics, except that even the Greek and Latin words themselves have an historic flavour; they carry the mind far back toward a society profoundly different from modern society. The language differs more from English in the suggestions of the words, therefore, than even in the forms. It may be added that the work of writing English should find in history many of its themes.[3]

Topics.

Those who strive to avoid the evils of the so-called text-book method assign lessons by topics rather than by pages. It is difficult to do this unless the text-book is constructed on the topical plan. If the teacher endeavours to teach history and not pages, it makes little difference how the lesson is given out.

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[1] "A fundamental rule is that, before being set to work, the pupil shall be led into a field of consciousness similar to that in which his work is to lie." Charles De Garmo, *Herbart*, 77.

[2] Mary Sheldon-Barnes, *Studies in Historical Method*, 57 ff.

[3] Well-developed illustrations of correlation may be studied in De Garmo, *Herbart*, 113 ff.

In the management of the lesson, some teachers seek in the topical method more than a convenient way of presenting the facts; they appear to look upon it as the principal means of mental training. According to one plan there should be a general topic of which the work for the day forms a part. In the preparation for the special topic of the day references are given, first, to text-books and brief histories, and second, to larger histories.[1] There are also to be a topic for special written work, another for discussion, and besides this map work. The recitation may take one of the following methods: 1, the quiz, or rapid fire of questions; 2, an abstract of the readings; 3, fluent recitations covering a whole or some phase of the question, and which ordinarily should not be interrupted with questions; 4, written recitations; 5, analysis of topics; 6, discussion of doubtful points; 7, complete written exposition of some assigned topic. According to another plan, a subject is assigned, "certain books are indicated, the pupils are required to prepare as their lesson a topical analysis of the subject which shall show at a glance its essential points, the comparative importance of these points, their logical sequence, and their specific content. In the recitation hour one pupil is sent to the board to put upon it his analysis, the class is consulted at every step as to the judgment he shows; the large topics are keenly scrutinized, and a vigorous effort is made to discover in them a common element, that we may include two or more in one — 'to boil down' our analysis is our constant effort, and he who sees the synthetic link which unites several particulars wins the triumph of the hour. This seeking similarity in the midst of diversity is the very essence of thought," etc.[2] This refine-

Dangers of the Method.

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[1] A. L. Goodrich in SCHOOL REVIEW, VII. 34. Mr. Goodrich's method is further carried out in his *Topics in Greek History*, New York, 1898.

[2] Anna B. Thompson in EDUCATIONAL REVIEW, IX. 364 ff. See also Miss Thompson's Suggestions to Teachers in Channing's *Students' History of the United States*, xxxi–xxxv. Here it is declared that "the study of history should be essentially a study of logic which is written in concrete facts. The problem which confronts the teacher is to discover the prac-

ment of analysis is not without its dangers. It cultivates a certain keenness in the pupils, but it may degenerate into a childish sort of scholasticism. Valuable as is the ability to institute comparisons, and in this way to bring out the relations of a fact, or, to put the matter more correctly, to develop the content and significance of a fact, the process is not an end in itself, it is simply a means to the end. Of course, no one would deny this, and yet the activity of the pupil may be overstimulated in this direction, simply because it seems to give the work a sort of mathematical precision. Much of history is made up of great passions in action, ideals leading men on, the unfolding of a noble or a despicable character, and all belonging, near at hand or in the far perspective, to the complex experience of mankind. That which may be topicalized most readily is the growth of institutions, or the great historic movements extending over centuries, like the shifting of populations and political power after the fall of the Roman Empire. After all, every method has its limitations which must be discovered by the teacher before it can be used with discretion.

Questioning.

Each method of questioning pupils has its place, the quiz for a quick review, the fluent or continuous recitation to give the pupil an opportunity to cultivate his power of narration, and the usual form of questioning which seeks to develop the pupil's own thinking by approaching his mind on this side and on that. The illustration of the last which Professor Lavisse listened to in Paris shows it in its most suggestive form.[1] The teacher must seek to preserve balance in the activities of the class, and he must avoid the temptation of helping out the lazy and the dull by asking leading questions which can be answered by "yes" or "no," or by a mutilated sentence. Questioning is a high art, which the teacher should study not

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tical methods by which the facts of history may be used as raw material for classification according to the laws of thought." If this is true, the name history on the school curriculum should at once give way to logic in order that the pupils should not be under a misapprehension as to what they are studying.

[1] See p. 51.

only as he teaches, but by consulting the achievements of others. It has been forever dignified by the importance Socrates placed upon it.

Written Work.

The amount and character of the written work which should be done by the pupils depends partly upon the conditions peculiar to each school. Since this work must be carefully supervised, if it is to result in the better training of the pupils, it makes startling inroads on the teacher's time.[1] One enthusiast has declared that if each pupil is granted a conference lasting fifteen minutes every week, the pupil's note-book containing a digest of his private reading can be easily looked over. This recommendation is suited, perhaps, to a half-dozen highly favoured schools in each State, but if it were carried into effect in large city high schools with two thousand students, it would call for about five hundred hours a week, and even were there ten teachers of history in these schools, this would amount to fifty hours apiece. Consequently anything that may be said on written work is subject to serious qualification. The New England Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools was unwilling to take as advanced ground as their committee recommended in this matter; for instead of urging that the colleges insist on five distinct kinds of such work for entrance requirement, it contented itself with some practice in three out of the five. As the making of maps was one of the five, the total number may be reduced to four which call for what may strictly be termed writing. One of these is rather an incident to the well-conducted recitation than writing to be done outside the class-room, although it also calls for supervision by the teacher. This is the written recitation. Another of the four — "written parallels between historical characters or periods" — is obviously intended to develop the pupil's powers of comparison and statement. Only one of the two that remain needs to be considered here, for the investigation of topics by the use of sources will be considered in the chapter

[1] Report of N. E. Association in SCHOOL REVIEW, III. 477 ff.

on the "source-method." This is the use of note-books, which is the most difficult question of all.

Some form of note-taking is necessary, otherwise the collateral reading can hardly be made effective. According to the Harvard entrance requirements, adopted in 1899, the note-book must contain at least fifty pages upon each field offered, and embodying practice in some of the five forms already indicated. What shall the pupil put in his note-book? Shall it be simply a digest of what he has read? Some passages do not lend themselves to this process. They are read because they are literature, not because they contain more information than the encyclopædia or the manual of universal history. Carlyle's *French Revolution* cannot be treated in this fashion; nor is Carlyle the only writer whom boys and girls cannot squeeze into a summary. It is not necessary to expound a theory of note-taking, for it is evident that if the teacher thoughtfully considers the question, he will conclude that he must carefully explain to the pupil how each book is to be treated. In some cases the pupil can put in a few facts not contained in the text-book, for the note-book should be considered as a supplement to the text-book. In other cases the opinions of an author are the reason for consulting his work. Again the only fact of value is the impression the pupil received by reading the book. The rules should not be so rigid that the pupil will look upon the process as simply a task to be completed. If he is inclined to fill his note-book even with his own immature reflections, or with references to the passages that interested him most, this will furnish an advantageous starting-point for fruitful study. It is convenient to take notes on loose sheets, so that they may later be classified and that it may not be necessary to construct an index. The gradual accumulation of facts and opinions about some incident or character will itself stimulate the pupil to greater industry, because he feels his progress.

Taking Notes.

As the first principle of method is the teacher, so also is the last principle. It is from the personality of the teacher, from

his enthusiasm in penetrating ever deeper into his subject, that the interest of the pupils will catch a quickening influence. The teacher is not to be discouraged, therefore, if he does not possess all the facilities listed in the catalogues of publishing-houses or assumed in the discussions at teachers' conventions; if he can succeed in leading his pupils to study history, to comprehend it, and to acquire the habit of reading historical literature, his method is sound.

CHAPTER XI

THE SOURCE METHOD

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AMONG the methods by which it is sought to render the teaching of history more effective, the one which chiefly arouses discussion is the use of what are called "the sources." It has already been explained that the German seminary was founded to exercise students in the investigation of the original materials from which history must be written. The American seminaries have had the same object. Although the creators of the scheme looked with disfavour upon any attempt to adapt the method to a use by other than a few selected students who had already received a large amount of historical instruction, and most of whom proposed to devote their lives to historical investigation, it was not long before bolder spirits, both in Germany and in America, tried to introduce it in a modified form into the German gymnasium and the American college, and even into the American secondary school.

Origin of the "Source" Method.

As early as 1835 a gymnasial instructor, Dr. C. Peters, argued that the pupil's knowledge must be defective unless it rested to some extent upon his own inferences from historical evidence. He also believed that the pupil would by such work gain a more lively perception of events. Accordingly he published a chronological table of Greek history, with selections from the Greek writers. Six years later he did the same for Roman history. These excerpts were not translated into German, and were for the upper gymnasium classes, corresponding to the freshman and sophomore classes of the American college, possibly also to the senior class in the secondary school. It was a long time before a similar work was done for the Middle Ages and for modern times. The opposition to the new method, led by Dr. Oskar Jäger, was so strong that the limitation of the use of the sources to ancient history and to untranslated passages from the Greek and Latin writers has almost become a dogma.[1]

German Experiments.

In America Mary D. Sheldon, a student in Professor C. K. Adams' seminary, was the first to use original sources exten-

[1] Schilling, 9.

sively in conducting elementary college classes. From the beginning of her work at Wellesley, in 1877, according to her own description, "every week a number of pages of material, prepared from original sources, were copied by the electric pen, and a copy placed in the hands of every student. Accompanying this material a dozen or more problems were set, requiring independent and original thought . . . and as much additional reading was suggested and encouraged as possible, especially from contemporary literature." [1]

Early Attempts in America.

A little later, and as a result of her Wellesley experience, Miss Sheldon attempted further to simplify the method, to meet the requirements of secondary schools. This was done in her *General History*, published in 1885.[2] Instead of the usual narrative, there were bare summaries, tables, etc., intended to supplement the excerpts of original material which were to constitute the distinguishing characteristic of the text-book.

This original material is more abundant in the sections devoted to Greek and Roman history than in those which treat European history after 476 A. D. Furthermore, out of one hundred pages given to the period from 1648 to 1880, there are not over a dozen pages of sources. And even where materials are furnished, they either cannot be adequately interpreted without additional sources, or will convey a distorted, if not an erroneous impression.[3]

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[1] H. B. Adams, *American Colleges and Universities*, 214.

[2] The preface explained that the volume "contained just the sort of things that historians must deal with when they want to describe or judge any period of history. . . . In Greek history, it gives . . . pictures of buildings and statues, extracts from speeches, laws, poems; from these materials you must form your own judgment of the Greeks, discover their style of thinking, acting, living, feeling; you must, in short, imagine that you yourself are to write a Greek history."

[3] For example a question is asked, "Judging from (c), what reformation is needed in the church?" (c) contains two short passages, the first explaining why the abbot of Wardon resigned his office in 1538, and showing beyond possibility of contradiction that this abbey needed visitation, and the second revealing the superstitious reverence for relics at Bury. In the hands of a well-trained teacher such a passage might be

The use of original material in teaching history in the schools is sometimes called the "source" method, sometimes the "seminary" method, and again the "laboratory" method. The application of the word "seminary" is misleading, for the two agree only in the fact that by each original material is put before the student. No other characteristic feature of the seminary reappears in the so-called seminary method. For careful investigation of every available source of information is substituted the study of excerpts, valuable for illustration if accurately interpreted, but too scanty for the formation of sound conclusions. In the one case the class is made up of persons who have had thorough historical instruction, and who may themselves aspire to teach and to write history; in the other the pupils are boys and girls whose knowledge of history and whose comprehension of historical evidence is slight and vague.

Misuse of Term "Seminary."

The name "laboratory" is hardly more applicable. The aim of laboratory work in the sciences is to bring out clearly certain facts and principles which cannot adequately be understood if merely explained in the text-book or described by the lecturer. It is not "the aim of the student to make a so-called rediscovery of the laws of" physics, chemistry, and astronomy.[1] Incidentally the pupil is trained in a method of investigating natural phenomena, which will increase his ability to deal with the facts of nature. But the laboratory is not intended to take the place of the lecture; it is simply a co-ordinate means of instruction. Its success depends upon skilful guidance; earnest guidance is not enough.

Laboratory Method.

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put to good uses, but many times it might lead both teacher and pupils to conclusions in regard to monastic life in the sixteenth century utterly contrary to the facts. It might not occur to these pupils to recollect that Luther was a monk. Pp. 422, 423, 427. See also remarks of Webster Cook, before the Michigan Schoolmasters' Club, SCHOOL REVIEW, VII. 227 ff.

[1] *Report of the Committee of Ten*, p. 118. In further explanation of this statement, the members of the Conference on the sciences declared that the pupils "may, to be sure, become imperfectly acquainted with the

Perhaps the argument from analogy would suggest that history too might be taught from the sources, provided the teacher knew how to direct the pupil to their proper study. At the same time this should be only *a* method and not *the* method of teaching. And the pupils should not be allowed to entertain the flattering notion that they are doing what the historians have been obliged to do, except as the infant toddles in the path run by the athlete.

Nature of Facts in the Sources.

There is another and a more important consideration which must not be overlooked. The field of science and the field of history are different. It is true that the historian, like the geologist, may observe with his own eyes survivals of the past in his studies of the art, the architecture, the laws, and the ideas of a particular period, but historical evidence is not all of this sort.[1] Much of it is composed of observations recorded in chronicles, memoirs, letters, and biographies, and which are not themselves facts; they are simply psychological traces of facts, mingled with inferences, theories, and prejudices. One talks of looking for the facts in somebody's memoirs, when he finds there nothing but the writer's impressions of facts, and not always these, for the writer is sometimes not frank and truthful. It must be clear that the pupil who studies such records is not himself making observations, as he would were he in a laboratory.[2] If one is to interpret an author who does not record his own observa-

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methods of work that have led to the discovery of the laws, and they will, no doubt, come to see more clearly the relations between the facts and the laws, but the Conference is clearly of the opinion that it is wrong to speak of the work of the pupils as leading to the discovery of laws."

[1] "The antiquary works with his buildings in exactly the same way in which the geologist works with his strata." Freeman, 232.

[2] As Professor Langlois puts the matter, "In order to conclude from the written document to the fact which was its remote cause — that is, in order to ascertain the relation which connects the document with the fact — it is necessary to revive in the imagination the whole of that series of acts performed by the author of the document which begins with the fact observed by him and ends with the manuscript (or printed volume)." And he further points out that the least error along the line will vitiate the whole process. *Introduction to the Study of History*, 66.

tions, but relates what he has been told by someone else, whose name and characteristics as an observer he does not describe, the task becomes still less like laboratory work.

If the business of the science laboratory were simply to learn what experiments have been made and how they have been made, sometimes from the notes of chemists, but more often from the chance observations of persons who never had seen an experiment in chemistry before, or who possibly believed in alchemy, or thought the chemist had sold his soul to the Devil, then the analogy between these two much compared laboratories would be complete, with the sole exception that chemical phenomena are much less intricate than the phenomena of human society.

Collections of Sources.

Although the first attempts to find some applications of the new instrument of higher instruction in history which could be usefully introduced into elementary college or even secondary school teaching may have been based rather on imitation than upon a fresh study of the problem, the interest in it steadily increased. Meanwhile the feasibility of placing the sources before students was increased by the publication of collections, many of them edited with care, and the later ones constructed with a more thoughtful consideration of the uses to which they might be put.[1] The report to the Committee of Ten by the Madison Conference on the teaching of history, in 1892 recommended training in the study of the sources.[2] Three years later a committee of the New England

[1] The Bohn Libraries had long afforded much material, though hardly in an accessible form. In 1883 the *Old South Leaflets* began to appear, furnishing in the form of cheap reprints, many famous documents, letters, selections from historic writings, and the like. In the following year Professor Alexander Johnston published three volumes of *American Orations to illustrate American Political History*. Henderson's *Historical Documents of the Middle Ages* came in 1892, and two years later the Department of History of the University of Pennsylvania began to publish its valuable Translations and Reprints. These are simply a few of the collections which bore evidence of an increasing interest in the study of sources. For a bibliography of sources, see lists prefixed to chapters in Part II.

[2] Committee of Ten, p. 169. For this the Conference was warmly

Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools declared that it did not "sympathize with the opinion that such work is out of the range of the secondary school pupil . . . it . . . will stimulate the pupil and tend to bring in play all his mental activities and all the elements of historical thinking." [1]

A judicious use of sources will undoubtedly give pupils a more vivid impression of certain classes of facts than they could obtain from even a skilfully written secondary narrative.[2] It will be easier for them to realize the mediæval notion of the shape of the earth and its position in the universe when they read echoes of it in Toscanelli's famous letter.[3] The diary of Columbus gives the discovery the nearness and reality of an occurrence within their own experience. When one reads in a letter of the crusaders to the pope, "If you wish to know what was done with the enemy who were found there, know that in Solomon's porch and in his temple our men rode in the blood of the Saracens up to the knees of their horses," the form in which the assertion is made seems to add actuality.[4] It is also true that so far as pupils can successfully reach facts by drawing inferences from the statements which they may find in original documents, they know these facts in a different way than they can by the listless reading of a text-book. But the method has limitations, which must be understood in order more clearly to define its practical uses.

Few of the collections of sources for the use of schools clas-

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criticised. Dr. Julius Sachs called this the "ignis fatuus of original research," and denied that it was the proper work for secondary schools. "If properly carried out, it would make inordinate demands on the pupil's time; and when carried out improperly and mechanically, it adds a new element of pretentiousness to our work." EDUCATIONAL REVIEW, VIII. 80, 81.

[1] SCHOOL REVIEW, III. 479.

[2] Elizabeth K. Kendall, *Source Book of English History*, xvii.

[3] "Do not wonder," he writes, "at my calling *west* the parts where the spices are, whereas they are commonly called *east*, because to persons sailing westward those parts will be found by courses on the under side of the earth."

[4] *Translations and Reprints, University of Penn.*, Vol. I. No. 4, p. 10.

sify their material, but several contain matter of so simple a character that they present little difficulty even to young minds.

Classification of Material. The commonly accepted classification is based on the distinction already noticed between those things belonging to the past which can be directly observed, as the geologist observes rock formations, and those things which can be learned only through the mental operations of others, a medium the laws of whose refraction are not clearly understood by anybody. In the first class would be found the survivals of the past, simply left behind by the generations that have gone; and, in the second class, those documents of all kinds in which a past age has sought to describe that which has claimed its attention and been a part of its life. The Parthenon and the memoirs of Richelieu are both sources, but sources of a radically different character. The Parthenon was not built to instruct us about Greek architecture; it is a part of Greek architecture: but Richelieu's memoirs are not in the same way a part of French politics, they are French politics as Richelieu saw them. Professor Bernheim calls the two classes of sources "remains" and "tradition."[1]

Remains. The word "remains" covers much more than is suggested by such an illustration as the Parthenon, that is, not merely what has been produced by a past age for its own use or pleasure, but also what it has created, its language, its customs, institutions, laws, even its inscriptions and monuments, so far as these do not embody its own ideas of men or of events.

Difficulties. The conditions in accordance with which historic buildings, monuments, and scenes, or photographs of them, may be successfully studied have already been explained. It is evident that such work will not contribute any large part of the knowledge which the pupil should possess of the period which they illustrate. The other "remains" which may possibly be investigated by the source method are customs, laws, and institutions. These must be dug out of the writings where

[1] Bernheim, 184.

they lie imbedded. Here the principal difficulty is not in reaching the material but in studying it intelligently. The pupil may be vaguely interested in the subject, but his knowledge is generally inadequate to the interpretation of the passage which contains the facts he is seeking, and so he is unable to get these out free from misconception.[1] If such work is to be fruitful, it must be skilfully directed, and the teacher must select documents for study which contain facts within the range both of the pupil's interest and of his capacity.

Magna Charta.

Magna Charta may serve as an illustration.[2] There are three or four of its provisions the mere reading of which kindles the imagination of the student of English history. But why do such words as "To no one will we sell, to no one will we deny, or delay right or justice," seem something better than a politician's platitude? Because the student has got far enough into the spirit and traditions of the English leaders of King John's day to discover in those words the clear-

[1] "The statute-book often needs an interpreter in the circumstances of the time." Freeman, 258.

[2] It may seem strange that such documents are classed among "remains." But these passages in the Charter are not somebody's description of what the barons wanted; they are exactly what the barons asked for. If historical criticism has proved that such a document was presented to King John, and that this text is a correct translation of the original text, what they asked may be observed by reading their words. The same principle holds of all similar documents until these documents contain descriptions, and in such a case the descriptions are to be studied as tradition. It is worth noting that the pupil is not authorized to infer from what such charters granted that the people were happy ever afterwards in the enjoyment of these privileges. Nor when such charters call the rights "ancient," can it be safely inferred that these were not merely political aspirations or at least one party's way of interpreting rights which actually had existed for many years. Here again enters the element of tradition. Nor when the Lords and Commons in the Petition of Right "humbly show" and most "humbly pray," is it to be inferred that they approached King Charles with any deep sense of humility. Seignobos points out that the great French historian Fustel de Coulanges fell into this blunder when he inferred from the formulæ inserted in inscriptions that the people entertained sentiments of "satisfaction and gratitude" toward the emperors. These are "remains," but remains of the etiquette of petition.

est possible trace of their common ideals. But his knowledge must be far broader and deeper than anything he could obtain from the Charta itself in order that he should be able to really appreciate it. This becomes the more evident if other famous passages be taken up; for example, the one which declares against imprisonment without legal trial, or the two which provide for the holding of the "common council of our kingdom." To understand these, much special information is demanded, which no pupil relying alone or even principally on the source method could obtain.[1]

In spite of such difficulties a limited use of documents like Magna Charta can be made. The pupils should be sent to them to find the answers to definite questions. For example, it may be asked what sums of money could the king collect without the consent of his Great Council? How was this Council assembled? What persons received a personal summons? Were any men asked to appear for the towns? How could the king be forced to carry out the promises embodied in the Charta? Questions of this sort may be answered from the document itself with the help of one or two reference books or dictionaries for the explanation of terms which do not carry their meaning on their face.

Method of Study.

If this be true in regard to institutions, it must be even more applicable in the case of the evidences of men's beliefs and ideas which are left in their writings. The work of unaided interpretation is too severe for young minds, except where the thoughts come well within the range of their own thinking, and in these cases it will be necessary to prod their curiosity a little.

What Professor Bernheim has called "tradition" is made up of all sorts of historical writings, and, besides, of legends, tales, and songs, and of paintings and sculptures. Pupils are never asked to extract history from legends; even the trained historian can hardly do this. The historical picture in turn is valuable like written history; both are repre-

Tradition.

[1] It is noticeable that Kendall's *Source Book* omits Magna Charta and similar documents.

sentations, one on canvas the other in words, of the painter's or of the author's notion of what has taken place.

Selected Sources.

Ordinarily the editor of a source-book has sought to avoid the critical difficulties which surround the study of selections from chronicles, letters, memoirs, biographies, or anything that properly comes under the head of "tradition" by taking his passages from contemporaries whose trustworthiness has been proved.[1] These can be read as ordinary narratives without much attempt on the part of the pupils to sift the stories that are told. Such a source-book is hardly more than a supplementary reader. The method cannot be carried far if only writings of unquestioned accuracy are to be placed in the hands of the pupils. It will result in little training unless there is some opportunity to sift statements, to weigh evidence, and to reach a conclusion after comparing several narratives.

How to Question a Source.

What are the elementary principles of criticism in accordance with which the pupil must ask questions of the "source"? In the first place, a writing does not become a real source by being very old. A mediæval chronicler who is describing what happened fifty years before he was born, is not more reliable, indeed he is far less reliable, than the nineteenth-century investigator who knows where this chronicler got his facts and has examined a great deal of evidence which the chronicler knew nothing about, and who, finally, has some notions about evidence, of any appreciation of which the chronicler may have been innocent. One teacher who has used the "source method" testifies, "It is such a pleasure to quote from Homer, Herodotus, or Thucydides." This pleasure springs largely from the strangeness and the classical halo that surrounds such names. In a sense Herodotus is a *source;* in another sense he is an historian like Grote. If he did not observe with his own eyes the events he describes, it is necessary to go behind

[1] In a sense this would not relieve the scholar from weighing each statement, for even a trustworthy writer is a more or less dim medium through which to see the facts.

Herodotus, and examine *his* sources. Probably these are not forthcoming, but merely because we do not know where he got his information does not prove that his statements are correct.[1] William of Tyre tells the story of Peter the Hermit which has made of that wandering priest the originator of the first crusade, a greater than Pope Urban II. But William of Tyre was not born at the time of the first crusade. And yet it took writers a long time to inquire how he knew so much about Peter and to discover that the most he did say was not true.

Interpretation. After the pupil understands whether his "source" is an eye-witness or a contemporary, or is merely some subsequent narrator of the tale, the next task is to determine what the source actually contains. And this is not always easy. Indeed, if an attempt be made to study some phase of mediæval history, there will be whole classes of ideas implied in a proper interpretation of the narrative quite out of reach of the pupil's historical imagination. Take, for example, Einhard's remark that "the Saxons, like almost all the tribes of Germany, were a fierce people, given to the worship of devils and hostile to our religion."[2] No pupil without guidance could discover just what Einhard meant by "devils," and yet Einhard is one of the simplest sources that could be put into the hands of pupils. Such a difficulty limits the use of the method.

But quite as serious a difficulty comes from the necessity of sitting the statements of the narrative. Suppose this is a personal account of the battle of Waterloo or of Gettysburg. If it is to be used as a source of knowledge, and not merely as an

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[1] "Hence the absurd consequence that history is more positive, and seems better established in regard to those little-known periods which are represented by a single writer than in regard to facts known from thousands of documents which contradict each other. The wars of the Medes known to Herodotus alone, the adventures of Fredegonda related by none but Gregory of Tours, are less subject to discussion than the events of the French Revolution, which have been described by hundreds of contemporaries." Langlois and Seignobos, *Introduction to the Study of History*, 197, 198. See also 177 ff. Cf. Bernheim, 391 ff.

[2] Eginhard (Einhard), *Life of Charlemagne*, 26.

exciting story, the pupil should know whether the narrator was on a part of the field well situated for observing the progress of the fight. He should also know whether the narrator's own reputation, or the reputation of some person in favour of whom or against whom he had prejudices, was involved in the fortunes of the day. It would not be wise to accept without a good deal of sifting the accounts of many of the struggles included in the *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War.*

Sifting.

The trained historian endeavours to discover everything in the personal attitude of the writer whom he is studying, his sympathies, his national or party or religious prejudices, his habits of observation and statement, the object he had in view in saying what he does, — in a word, everything that can affect in one way or another the comprehensive truthfulness of the narrative.[1] Obviously no pupil is able to carry such questioning very far, and yet he must do some of it if he is to read only the sources that are included in such a book as that of Mrs. Sheldon-Barnes. Washington's letter to his mother after Braddock's defeat can be searched by all such questions, and the result will be a higher appreciation of Washington's character as an observer than could be gained were his letter simply read with no notion that it should first be critically weighed.[2]

The Personal Equation.

Even if the pupil possess the knowledge and the critical skill to interpret simple narratives, he cannot reach sound conclusions unless he has enough documents. He is not justified in drawing an inference from the condition of two monasteries to the condition of the whole church. Facts that are already assumed may be illustrated by a single judiciously selected source, but the pupil should realize that this is an illustration and not a proof.

Enough Documents.

If pupils are to be taught to ascertain the facts for themselves,

[1] For a detailed statement of the critical questions which should be kept in mind, see Langlois and Seignobos, 166 ff.

[2] Hart, *Source Book of American History*, 103–105.

it is best to limit such work to those incidents in reference to which there exists an abundance of material. The first purpose should be to arouse the pupil's curiosity by raising some disputed point. His hunting instinct must be quickened. This can easily be accomplished by giving two or three selections from writers whose ideas of an event are radically different. Issue is joined, and it must be the pupil's task to settle the dispute. In order that he may do this, abundant excerpts should be furnished from the best sources, of different kinds, bearing on the point. His work should be guided methodically. Finally, after he is ready to make out an opinion of what actually took place, he should have a chance to compare this with the conclusion of some judicially minded historian. Such a process can only do good so far as it can be practically carried out, but it demands things that are not always present, — documents, time, personal supervision, honest criticism by the teacher.

A Plan of Work.

It will be easy to find abundant material in cases where the interests of two peoples or of two parties are involved. The conduct of the British ministry before the outbreak of the American Revolution may serve as an example.

The Declaration of Independence says, "The history of the present king of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these States." With this statement may be compared Samuel Johnson's reply to the declaration of the Second Continental Congress which covered some of the same ground taken by the later more famous declaration. He said, among other things referring to alleged acts of tryanny, "If they are condemned unheard, it is because there is no need of a trial. The crime is manifest and notorious. . . . If their assemblies have been suddenly dissolved, what was the reason? Their deliberations were indecent, and their intentions seditious."[1] Another famous Englishman, the historian Gibbon, wrote in a letter,

An Illustration.

[1] Hart, *Contemporaries*, II. 446.

dated January 31st, 1775, "For my own part, I am more and more convinced that we have both the right and the power on our side, and that though the effort may be accompanied with some melancholy circumstances, we are now arrived at the decisive moment of persevering, or of losing for ever both our trade and our empire."[1] The controversy might be further developed by a comparison of numbers 54 and 55 in Hart's *Source Book*, and by examining Lord Mansfield's speech on the right to tax.[2] Indeed it may be extended almost indefinitely through the use of sources made accessible in small collections.

Practical Value of Sources.

In discussing the treatment of the different kinds of sources, it has incidentally been urged that the study of original material cannot become the pupil's principal means of acquiring knowledge, and that it is chiefly useful in illustrating the statements of the teacher or of the text-book. Occasionally also it is possible to arrange elementary investigations, not in order to "make historians, but to teach children to select the essentials from a mass, and to train the judgment."[3]

Source Method vs. Text-books.

It is contended by the advocates of a more extended use of the source method that even if the results of the pupil's study of the sources are unsatisfactory from the scholar's point of view, these results compare favorably with what is accomplished by the text-book method. "In the one case the acquisition of knowledge is almost sure to be a memory process, while in the other there must be some exercise of the other faculties . . . the source

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[1] Kendall, *Source Book*, 354.

[2] Lee, *Source Book*, 477 ff.

[3] Professor A. B. Hart, at the conference on entrance requirements, New England Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools, 1895. In his *American History told by Contemporaries*, Professor Hart also says: "Pupils cannot be expected to found their knowledge of history on sources, because they have not the judgment to distinguish between the different kinds of material." I. 19. Professor Lavisse has said: "Very few documents are accessible to the intelligence of the pupil." *À propos de nos Écoles*, 104.

book forces both teacher and pupil to work . . . the teacher cannot be a mere recitation hearer."[1] But this argument is equally strong in support of the merely illustrative use of sources; indeed, it is stronger, for it is hardly clear that the teacher who puts the text-book to bad use will wisely direct the study of the sources, and all the difficulties which beset the proper study of the sources are enhanced if this work is attempted by ignorant or unwilling teachers.

Without Sources.

The ardent advocates of the source method occasionally forget how much can be accomplished by a capable teacher with nothing but a text-book to work with, and sometimes without even this. Although not all reports of German instruction in history are favourable, it is evident that occasionally a teacher is found who makes the subject fascinating with no help save from the meagre *Leitfaden*. Teaching history is, after all, a work of interpretation. Its aim is to reveal to the pupils a world of which they possess only scattered and vague impressions. The pupils cannot discover this world themselves, they can be led into it by the teacher alone; and the source method is only one means which the teacher may use to perform the task successfully.

Historical Reading.

The over-emphasis of the source method also leads to the neglect of other ways of cultivating an interest in history and of training the pupil to think soundly upon historical subjects. It rests partly on the assumption that there is an educational benefit which comes, for example, from reading Livy's account of the Punic Wars, which cannot be derived from reading Mommsen's description, although Livy no more observed the vicissitudes of that struggle than did Mommsen. It rests also on the crude philosophy that the facts of history are something so plain and definite that the child who knows how to read can discover what has taken place. The contrary of this is true. It required a Niebuhr to reveal the Roman world to modern gaze, and few men have been so taught by experience, or possess the original penetrat-

[1] Fling and Caldwell, *Studies in History*, p. 297.

ing glance of genius, to enable them to more than feebly follow in his footsteps. The shortest route to the historical attitude of mind is therefore not the source method, — although this may be a means; it is by reading the great masters of historical interpretation, the creators of modern historical literature.

Conclusions.

It is now necessary to sum up briefly the conclusions which have been reached in this discussion. Even those who have criticised severely the attempt to make a large use of the sources in teaching history have never objected to the use of judiciously selected original material as reading supplementary to the text-book. In the elementary school, as well as in the high school, pupils may be given all the sources of this sort which they have time to read. But this is not, strictly speaking, the source method.

Elementary School.

Below the secondary school, the use of the sources must be even more incidental than it may become in the secondary school. The selections must be adapted to the pupil's knowledge and experience.[1] A few simple questions for investigation may be arranged. For example, the pupil may be sent to Columbus' diary to learn where Columbus thought the island he had discovered was situated, or to the letter of the Venetian Lorenzo Pasqualigo to find out where it was believed that John Cabot had landed.[2] Such work will preserve the balance of activities in the child's mind, keep him from listlessness, give him confidence, and stimulate him to search for other equally "queer" ways that men of long ago had of looking at the world. The older pupils may also be given occasional lessons in criticism. They could

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[1] See Mrs. Sheldon-Barnes' observations on the development of the child's powers in her *Studies in Historical Method*, 100 ff.

[2] Columbus wrote, October 13th, "But in order to lose no time, I am now going to try if I can find the island of Cipango." Hart, *American History told by Contemporaries*, I. p. 38. Pasqualigo wrote, 23rd August, 1497, "Our Venetian, who went with a small ship from Bristol to find new islands, has come back, and says he has discovered, 700 leagues off, the mainland of the country of the Gran Cam" (Tartary, *i. e.* China). *Ibid.*, p. 69.

compare the account of the battle of Gettysburg taken from the *Tribune* and printed in Professor Hart's *Source Book* with an equally detailed statement from Rhodes' *History of the United States*, and could sum up the reporter's blunders. Such work would afford a useful opportunity to teach them some of the elementary principles of evidence, and to awaken a healthful scepticism of ill-founded stories.

Secondary School. Most of the work in the high school must necessarily follow the same lines, making use of the increasing capacity of the pupils to interpret what they read and to draw sound inferences from it. In the high school a more serious attempt can occasionally be made to teach the pupils how to get at facts which lie in documents and narratives partly covered over by the ignorance, the prejudices, or the primitive ideas of the writer. And yet the limitations which beset work of this sort should prevent it from being more than the occasional work of the class, which may be made to serve the double purpose of an exercise in writing good English and study in elementary investigation.

Classical Teacher. It must not be forgotten that the most important opportunity to instruct the pupils of the secondary school how to interpret the sources belongs to the classical teacher in directing the study of Cæsar and Xenophon, of Sallust and Cicero, and even of Homer and Virgil. Unhappily this opportunity is often lost sight of in the eager search for subjunctives and in tracing out the sequence of tenses.

With the Text-book. If sources are to be used in connection with a text-book, their study should follow rather than precede the consideration of the account in the text-book, for, usually, the pupil does not know enough about the subject to enable him to interpret his sources correctly. There may be exceptions to this rule. Dr. Schilling, the author of a German collection of sources on modern history, believes the study of the sources should come first. It will be found, however, in practice, that the documents or narratives to which the pupil is sent after his lesson in the text-book deal with matters of

detail, so that he will not carry to them ready-made conclusions. His previously acquired stock of knowledge will simply help him to reach a conclusion.

Notes.

The results of this more special study should be put in the note-book, so that it may be the basis of discussion during the following recitation. At first the pupils will hardly understand how to record their results, but a little direction will help them over the difficulty. Exact references should also be made to the documents or records upon which the note is based.

Those who hold that the source book should be the chief, if not the only, text-book explain that after these notes have been made, the pupil should construct an outline of what he has learned, and that he should then write a "little history," or continuous narrative of the events he is investigating.[1]

It is evident that the growing favour with which some use of this method is received emphasizes the need of teachers trained especially for work in history. Possibly there may be a still greater need of teachers who will not turn the method into a fetish, as formerly teachers treated drill in the forms and structure of Greek and Latin.[2]

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[1] H. W. Caldwell, *Report of the National Educational Association*, 1897, pp. 670 ff.

[2] Descriptions of the most available collections of selected source material will be found in the bibliographies for the several fields of history. A report of the New England History Teachers' Association will include a full descriptive statement of sources available in English.

PART II

THE COURSE OF STUDY

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

The following chapters offer suggestions on the several fields of history from ancient to modern times. Ancient history is treated in three chapters, the first presenting general considerations on the whole field as well as a brief treatment of the oriental peoples. This is followed by chapters on Greece and Rome. For reasons that are stated in the chapter itself, the limits of the Mediæval history are 395 A. D. to about 1560. Instead of continuing the treatment in the usual form of general history, an alternate scheme is presented in Chapter XVI, but in Chapter XVII, which treats chiefly European history from 1774 to 1896, there are explanations showing how the work in general history may be continued without following the scheme in Chapter XVI.

It is not the intention to mark out rigid courses of study. The work for the secondary school is considered first, because for such pupils the question of the matter is relatively more important than it is with the pupils of the elementary school. With these the adaptation of the matter to their capacity and experience is the chief factor.

These chapters are not essays on the different fields, but merely suggestions of points of view which should not be lost sight of. Brief topical summaries are added in order that the line of thought may be more definitely marked out. Bibliographical notes are given only where it seemed necessary. The works referred to are all in the English language.

CHAPTER XII

ANCIENT HISTORY

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For maps and atlases, see bibliography for Greek History.

It has already been argued that the programme of historical teaching be comprehensive, and include what is commonly

called general or universal history. This does not necessarily call for a treatment of all races in every period. The world into which the child is to be introduced by instruction has been affected only to a slight degree by certain peoples. They left no heritage of religion, literature, or law upon the basis of which modern European civilization has been constructed. Their story need not be told in the school.

On this subject there is difference of opinion. A few writers of text-books give accounts of China and of India, apparently because they are writing on "universal" history. These accounts they include in their narratives of ancient history, although few of the Greeks or the Romans knew of the existence of China, nor did they know much about India even after Alexander's expedition. These countries exercised little or no influence upon Europe until the discovery of a sea route to India and to China carried the trader into the eastern seas. Even then the influence was not direct, but simply through the stimulus given to trade. Brief historical explanations may be made at this point, but it is a distorted ideal of comprehensiveness which would compel much attention to Asiatic history.[1]

China and India.

There are a few oriental peoples which deeply influenced the future of Europe. These are the Egyptians, the Phœnicians, the Hebrews, and the kingdoms along the Tigris and the Euphrates.

The position of the more barbarous peoples should not altogether be ignored, for this serves to bring out more clearly the place occupied by the historical races, and among these historical races by the Europeans. Brief explanations should be made at the opening of the course on ancient history, so that the pupil may keep in mind the bounds of the field of study.

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[1] Professor G. B. Adams marks out the "Field of History" as follows: "That portion of the history of the whole world in which we are especially interested is the history of those nations which in successive stages have created the civilization we enjoy." *European History*, p. 1.

Topics for the study of races: historical races, Aryan, Semitic, Turanian. Subdivisions of these: Aryan or Indo-European,[1] spread of this family in ancient, and, by contrast, in modern times; a list of the branches that were destined to become historic, which may be referred to at proper points in the development of the subject, for example, in studying about the Persians, the Greeks, the Romans, etc.; argument from language for the common descent of the different branches of the Aryan family, illustrate by showing relationships of Americans of English descent to the Germans, the Dutch, etc.[2] The treatment of the Semites is less complicated, for there are only three historical races, the Hebrews, the Phœnicians, and the Arabs. The Turanians come in incidentally, but affect history profoundly: minor branches, — Finns, Lapps, etc.; prominent branches, — Magyars or Hungarians, Bulgars, Turks. Note that the Magyars are thoroughly European in religion and institutions, while the Turks are still Asiatic. Other branches of the Turanian family, the Mongolian, etc., do not affect Europe until late.

Subdivision of race according to physical appearance: Caucasian or White; Mongolian or Yellow; Ethiopic or Negro. Comparing this division with the other, it is the Caucasian which is chiefly historical. Such a survey, done simply, using illustrations from the facts which the pupil has already studied in geography and with which he is familiar through his own experience, will give him a clear impression of what are the race limits of the field of history.

Prehistoric Times.

The field of history is also limited in time. Prehistoric man is left to the ethnologist. Children are much interested in the relics of this mysterious past, but they should be taught that history is concerned with man only after he has succeeded in creating a highly organized society, and after he has become conscious of himself, so that he records his achievements.

The historian is interested only in events that lead somewhere

[1] The theory that the original home of the Indo-Europeans was in central Asia has been superseded by the theory that they originated in northern Europe.

[2] Adams, op. cit. 3, for example. See also Fisher, *Brief History of the Nations*, for Table of Languages, pp. 7–8.

and are the beginnings of greater things. Brief explanations of prehistoric remains, either as an introduction to the whole subject, or as each country is taken up, will serve to emphasize the time when history began. It is obvious that the prehistoric period ends at widely different times in different parts of the earth. Greece stands in the full blaze of civilization when Rome is still practically in the prehistoric age, and the Germans are prehistoric men when the Romans are reading Virgil or listening to Cicero.

Close of Ancient Times.

The first period of historical time is called Ancient history. Its beginnings lie far back in the mists surrounding the early Egyptian monarchy; its end came with the downfall of the fabric of Roman society. There is less uncertainty about the beginning than about the end, for meagreness of knowledge prevents the beginning from being pushed back indefinitely, but it is doubtful where the ancient order passes over into the mediæval society. The influence of Rome was so permanent that there is ground for saying, with Freeman, that no line of division can be marked out.[1] And yet a time did come when many things which were characteristic of Roman civilization had disappeared, when the imperial administration had utterly broken down in the west under the attacks of the

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[1] *Essays.* The mediæval method of dividing history into periods is a striking evidence of the same thing. For this see p. 8. Even the Germans who overthrew the Empire did not realize what they were doing. Bryce remarks: "The Mongol Attila excepted, there is among these terrible hosts no destroyer; the wish of each leader is to maintain the existing order . . . above all, to . . . rule the people as the deputy and successor of their Emperor. Titles conferred by him were the greatest honours they knew. . . . Clovis exulted in the consulship." Pp. 17–18. He adds: "It is hardly too much to say that the thought of antagonism to the Empire and the wish to extinguish it never crossed the mind of the barbarians. The conception of the Empire was too universal, too august, too enduring. It was everywhere around them . . . it had that connection with the Christian Church which made it all embracing and venerable." Pp. 19, 20. Nominally the Roman Empire lived on until 1806, first by union of Charlemagne's Frankish kingdom and Italy, then by the union of Germany and Italy brought about by Otto the Great, and lastly as hardly more than a German confederation. Still the name offers emphatic testimony to the strength of the Roman tradition.

Germans, when the rule of the powerful had been substituted for the reign of law, when the great cities fell into ruin and their population vanished, when intellectual work became feeble and crude, and men's minds were concentrated upon religious problems alone. This time came somewhere between 378 A. D. and 600. Perhaps the most convenient date to fix upon is 395, for shortly after that Alaric begins his destructive march through Greece to Italy, and other German leaders, taking advantage of his attacks, break across the frontier. It was formerly customary to bring ancient history to a close in 476 with what was called the "Fall of the Roman Empire." Against such a division is the fact that although the deposition of Romulus Augustulus had important consequences, it did not possess the significance that has been popularly attributed to it. As Professor Bryce explains, "There was legally no extinction of the Western Empire at all, but only a reunion of east and west. In form and to some extent also in the belief of men, things reverted to their state during the first two centuries of the Empire, save that Byzantium instead of Rome was the centre of the civil government."[1]

The Committee of Seven has argued that the further history of Europe until the coronation or the death of Charlemagne be taught as a part of ancient history rather than as the beginnings of the Middle Ages.[2] This division has been gaining ground

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[1] *The Holy Roman Empire*, 26. Professor G. B. Adams further remarks: "Odovakar ruled the Germans who were in Italy as their king, and he was at the head of a practically independent kingdom, but he did not understand that fact as clearly as we do, and, in the theory of the time, he was still commanding a Roman army and guarding a Roman province under the emperor." *Civilization during the Middle Ages*, 73.

[2] This, says the *Report*, "secures an equitable adjustment of time, and a reasonable distribution of emphasis between the earlier and the later periods. If the pupil stops his historical work at the end of the first year, it is desirable that he should not look upon classical history as a thing apart, but that he should be brought to see something of what followed the so-called 'fall' of the Western Empire. Moreover, it is difficult to find a logical stopping-place at an earlier date; one cannot end with the introduction of Christianity, or with the Germanic invasions, or with the rise of Mohammedanism; and to break off with the year 476

in the schools and with text-book makers, and yet it appears of doubtful expediency. There is some danger that if the subject is so divided the pupil will lose sight of the fundamental changes which took place during the Barbarian Invasions. Furthermore, the addition of another period will necessarily shorten the time given to the treatment of the Empire. On the whole, there is good reason to believe that the year 395 offers a convenient place at which ancient history may be brought to a close.

The Ancient World.

Ancient history has generally been taught as Greek and Roman history, and often as incidental to the study of Greek and Latin. If this be the chief impulse to its study, there is danger of a neglect of some phases which are important from an historical point of view. This accounts for the comparatively slight emphasis placed upon the Greek colonies and upon the spread of Hellenic civilization after the conquests of Alexander the Great. Greece appears an isolated spot of light surrounded by vague forms, if not by utter darkness. The same influence has cut short the history of Rome with the battle of Actium or the death of Augustus.

It is the ancient world that the teacher must explain, not simply the brilliant career of either Greece or the Roman Republic. That world centred about the Mediterranean, and every fact has significance which explains how civilization was steadily pushed along the shores of this sea and how it gradually made its way inland. The idea of continuity should dominate the treatment of the material. Unfortunately little has come down to us in regard to some phases of this process, — the early history of the Phœnician and of the Greek colonies, for example, — but such knowledge as we possess should be used to give the impression of continuity in the development of ancient civilization. This will not keep the teacher from concentrating attention chiefly upon those phases of the story which naturally are most interesting, and which are also useful in explaining the

is to leave the pupil in a world of confusion, — the invasions only begun, the church not fully organized, the Empire not wholly 'fallen.'" P. 58.

circumstances in the midst of which Greek and Roman literature was created.

The history of Egypt gives the impression of the antiquity of civilization, and this fact should control the management of the subject.[1] The pupils should not remember the names of the Egyptian kings, save one or two like Ramses II., nor should they remember the details of Egyptian conquests. Such efforts are as unnecessary as they are fruitless. Conquests which left no impression upon the later map of Europe need not interest children.

Egypt.

Topics: influence of the Nile; antiquity of Egyptian civilization; sources of knowledge of Egyptian history; hieroglyphs. Meaning of dynasties; situation of Memphis, the seat of the Old Empire; pyramids at Gizeh. Thebes, the seat of the Middle Empire and of the New Empire; temple of Ammon at Thebes, temple of the sun at Heliopolis, Lake Mœris, constructed under the Middle Empire; the Shepherd kings; warlike kings of New Empire, particularly Ramses II., possibly the Pharaoh of the oppression of the Hebrews; buildings at Karnak and Luxor. Characteristics of Egyptian religion and of Egyptian arts. Treatment of the dead. Relation between Egypt and Assyria; relations with the Greeks, particularly after the time of Psammetichus; becomes a Persian province (525). The distinctions between the different "Empires" need not be insisted on, for they have little meaning for the pupil. The teacher may keep it in mind as a convenient means of marking the comparative antiquity of the great buildings.[2]

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[1] According to the Committee of Seven the survey of oriental history should be completed in not more than one-eighth of the time allotted to ancient history. "It should aim to give (a) an idea of the remoteness of oriental beginnings, of the length and reach of recorded history; (b) a definite knowledge of the names, location, and chronological succession of the early oriental nations; (c) the distinguishing features of their civilizations, as concretely as possible; (d) the recognizable lines of their influence on later times." *Study of History*, 55.

[2] *History of Egyptian Art*, by Perrot and Chipiez, 2 vols., full of pictures. Egyptian architecture is also illustrated in the Perry Pictures and in the Helman-Taylor Pictures. For the relation between Egypt and Greece, Holm, *History of Greece*, I. 91 ff., Abbott, *History of Greece*, I. 55-56. Sheldon's *Studies in General History* gives a few extracts from

Assyria and Babylon are interesting particularly for the bearing they have upon Hebrew history. It should be sufficient to describe the characteristics of the Tigris-Euphrates plain, to contrast its ancient wealth with its present desolation, to exhibit its civilization through pictures of the monuments which have survived, and to point out the connection with Hebrew history.

Assyria and Babylon.

Greek legends of Ninus and Semiramis; distinction between the older Babylonian kingdom, Assyria, the later Babylon; locate Nineveh and Babylon; extent of dominion of each at height of power; Sargon captures Samaria (722), causing "captivity of the Ten Tribes"; Sennacherib's siege of Jerusalem and the biblical narrative; fall of Nineveh (606); Greek tale of Sardanapalus. Babylon under Nebuchadnezzar; capture of Jerusalem, beginning of Babylonian captivity (586); conquest of Tyre (574); Cyrus captures Babylon (538).[1]

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the sources illustrating Egyptian civilization, for example, an extract from the "Book of the Dead," p. 10, from a hymn to the Nile, of the time of Ramses II., p. 12, inscriptions about Ramses, p. 14. These selections may be written on the board. A few of them will require explanations which are not contained in the ordinary text-book, and without which the pupil will be puzzled rather than enlightened.

[1] *History of Chaldean and Assyrian Art*, Perrot and Chipiez, 2 vols. A judicious selection of passages from the prophets who were contemporary with the later career of Assyria and Babylon will greatly enliven the interest of the pupil, because such selections are sources in the strict sense of the term. The prophets were actors in the great drama of oriental history. Professor Fisher, in his *Universal History*, p. 50, has pointed out a number of pertinent passages. In reference to the fall of Nineveh, he quotes from Nahum: "The chariots shall rage in the streets, they shall jostle against one another in the broad ways." "Take ye spoil of silver, take the spoil of gold: for there is none end of the store and glory out of all the pleasant furniture." In reference to Babylon he quotes from Isaiah: "Babylon, the glory of kingdoms, the beauty of the Chaldee's excellency . . . shall never be inhabited;" "neither shall the Arabian pitch tent there; neither shall the shepherds make their fold there." "Wild beasts of the desert shall lie there," "owls shall dwell there." The underworld is astonished at the coming of the king of Babylon to the abode of the dead. The great dead accost him, "Art thou also become as weak as we?" "Thy pomp is brought down to the grave." They ask scornfully, "Is this the man that made the earth tremble, that did shake kingdoms?"

There is peculiar difficulty in dealing with Hebrew history because of its close religious associations. Many names about which cluster strong religious traditions are more familiar than the names of Pericles or of Cæsar, but it is impossible to teach the story of Abraham or of Moses as one would explain Cæsar's exploits. The child, however, confuses familiarity with historical certitude. There is the further difficulty that the whole theory of Hebrew history is being reconstructed, so that only a few external facts can be taught without entering the field of serious controversy. The easiest solution of the problem would be to omit any consideration of the subject, but Hebrew history is certainly as important as the history of Assyria and of Babylon, and it would be strange to omit in a course on general history all consideration of the people to whom modern Europe owes its religious ideas and many of its principles of conduct. Furthermore, no literature is richer than the Bible in tales which portray in simple but clear outline all those phases of experience which bear upon the development of character, and it is an incomparable opportunity lost when the child's imagination and his impulses to action have not been touched by a study of this great panorama. The Germans teach the Old Testament history in connection with the instruction in "Religion," but their aim is not so much historical as religious.

The Hebrews.

The following topics on Hebrew history suggest an indispensable minimum: Hebrew ideas as to the origin of their people and how they were settled in Canaan; contrast between characteristics of Hebrew religion and religions of other ancient oriental peoples; organization of a kingdom under Saul and David; Solomon, the temple, relation to Tyre; division of the kingdom; destruction of the northern kingdom; capture of Jerusalem and the Captivity; period of the return; final conquest by the Romans.

The importance of Phœnicia is often unrecognised, because so little is known about the continuous growth of Tyre and Sidon that there is scarcely any nucleus of ordinary historical

incident to which to attach the descriptive facts of Phœnician life. The Phœnicians were the first of the ancient peoples to spread their civilization over the sea to distant shores. They were compelled to become mariners because their land, between Mount Lebanon and the Mediterranean, was too narrow to support the large population, especially after the downfall of the Hittite empire and after the Hebrews had driven many of the Canaanites to the coast. Their land was the natural home of sailors, just as later were Portugal and Holland. To realize the extent of their influence, it is necessary to study the geography of their colonies and trading-stations, and to remember that Carthage carried on the work of Sidon and Tyre in the western Mediterranean. This Phœnician influence was exerted either in the east or the west for nearly a thousand years. They did not create so much as adapt what they had learned from others, but under the circumstances such a work was quite as important.

Phœnicia.

There is some difference of opinion in regard to the importance of their influence upon the Greeks. Holm declares that the Greeks received from them nothing of importance except the alphabet. But it is evident that as traders and colonizers they brought the scattered peoples of the ancient world together, and thus furthered the development of its civilization. With the rise of Greek sea power in the eighth century the importance of the Phœnician cities begins to decrease, but the settlement at Carthage created a centre for Phœnician influence in the west which endured until nearly two centuries after Tyre was destroyed by Alexander the Great. Carthage was Rome's great antagonist, and her history becomes known largely through the conflict with Rome.

Topics for Phœnicia and Carthage: situation of Phœnicia, second founding of Tyre 1028; Tyrian dyes; Phœnician trade routes; settlements in Cyprus, in Greece, and on the shores of the Ægean Archipelago; settlement at Gades (Tarshish); founding of Carthage, 814; story of Hanno's voyage around Africa. Conquest of Tyre by Nebuchadnezzar; destruction of

Tyre by Alexander (332); Carthage as the rival of the Greeks in Sicily; Carthage as the rival of Rome; extent of the Carthaginian empire; Punic wars and destruction of Carthage (146). In the twenty-seventh chapter of Ezekiel there is a graphic description of the wealth and activity of Tyre.

Persia.

There is so close a connection between the Persians and the Greeks that even pupils who have not been accustomed to study ancient history as a whole have become familiar with the names of Cyrus, Cambyses, Darius, and Xerxes. The lateness of Persian history brings it down beyond the period of earlier Greek history, so that a knowledge of each is necessary for the understanding of the other, just as the lateness of Carthaginian history implies much of the history of Greece and of Rome. This situation has its dangers. Pupils are often able to pass up and down several chronological series, the incidents of which they relate without feeling the connection. Consequently, if Persian history is treated separately before Greek history, it must be reviewed in connection with the wars and with the efforts of the Delian League to clear the Persians out of the Ægean and western Asia Minor.

Topics for Persian history: distinction between Medes and Persians; Zoroaster and the Persian religion; Cyrus and his conquests; Cambyses and the Greek colonies in Asia Minor; story of Crœsus; Darius; extent of his rule; organization of the Persian kingdom; decay of power; overthrow of the Persians by Alexander.

CHAPTER XIII

GREEK HISTORY

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[1] Report of Committee of Seven.

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Significance of Greece.

THE two principal forces which made for the unification of the ancient world were Greek culture and Roman administration. It is consequently important in teaching the history of Greece to emphasize those things which were peculiarly characteristic of its career, rather than to burden the memory of the pupils with many details of its petty wars.[1] If

[1] Professor Seignobos, in his text-book on *La Grèce ancienne*, has carried out this idea in radical fashion. Out of a total of five hundred and fifty-nine pages, he has devoted at least two hundred to general subjects like the legends, the gods, religious customs, commerce, and the arts. Much of this matter is put in the early part of his book, with the result that the pupil receives an impression of unity of race which does not disappear during the study of city jealousies and conflicts. The same result is facilitated by reducing the story of the Peloponnesian war to reasonable limits; he gives it only thirty-six pages.

Botsford's *History of Greece* embodies a similar plan, although the de-

their attention is directed too exclusively to the political rivalries of the various cities — Athens, Sparta, Thebes — they will look upon Greek history as a number of distinct histories and will not feel the unity of Greek life. Such mistakes may be avoided by a wise selection and arrangement of the material.

It cannot be expected that every school will adequately study each of the long list of topics that bear upon the life and customs, the art and the religion of the Greeks, for the length of time given by different schools to the whole subject varies widely, but such topics must receive their share of attention and are not to be omitted altogether on the plea of lack of time. This applies even to the legends with which early Greek history is filled. As Holm remarks, "a knowledge of these traditions, which influence the historical consciousness of educated men more than critically established facts . . . is a part of the knowledge of history itself."

It is well to put the treatment of these topics as early as possible, in order that the pupil may start with the idea of the unity of the Greek race, revealed in its common traditions and customs. There are some topics that from their nature must be reserved for a later treatment. These deal with the glories of Athens or the later development of the arts, architecture, and literature.[1]

It is also necessary to keep in view the extent of Greek influence. This extent was both geographical and chronological.

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scriptive material is treated with much greater brevity and is skilfully interwoven with the general narrative, instead of being put in separate chapters. He also gives only about thirty-six pages to the Peloponnesian war.

Oman's *History of Greece* represents the opposite method. He gives only fifty-seven out of five hundred and forty-six pages to similar subjects, and devotes one hundred and twenty-six pages to the Peloponnesian war. See remarks of Committee of Seven, *Report*, 56.

[1] Professor Seignobos has inserted chapters on all other subjects prior to his narrative of the Persian wars. Three of them, the Greek colonies, the early development of commerce and the arts, the common customs of the Hellenic race, he gives after a sketch of the early history of Sparta, the "Tyrants of the Peloponnese," and the "First Centuries of Athens."

The Greek race was scattered from the Caucasus mountains to the straits of Gibraltar. Not all settlements left a record of themselves in history, but they all to a greater or less degree exerted an influence in the spread of Hellenic civilization. This is illustrated in the history of Sicily. At first the Greek colonies were communities possessing a distinct piece of territory and thoroughly separate from the natives, but eventually these natives adopted the Greek language and customs and became Hellenized. Considering this matter from a practical point of view, it is evident that the teacher cannot deal in detail with all the Greek colonies. Their significance can be emphasized in a better way by studying their geographical distribution, noting the time during which this colonial expansion went forward, the relations of these Greeks to the natives, and their relation also to the cities which had originally sent them out.

The Hellenic World.

The familiar glories of Greece were won in about two centuries, so that the whole time during which Greek influence was exerted is often lost sight of. The period of colonial expansion came long before these famous centuries, and some of the most valuable work that Greece did was accomplished after those centuries were over. This later work is frequently neglected. Some writers bring the subject to a close at the battle of Chæronea, strangely ignoring the results which flowed from Alexander's conquests in the east. It should be remembered that at the beginning of the Christian era the eastern Mediterranean was Greek, although it was administered from Rome. The Gospels were written in Greek; without Greek, Christianity could not have been effectively propagated. It was a Greek philosophy that undertook to explain the Gospel to the reason, and which created the doctrines of God made authoritative in the Nicene creed. Finally, it was the Hellenic culture which wellnigh made a nation out of the peoples of the eastern Mediterranean, so that they were able better than the west to resist the barbarians and succeeded in defending the remnants of empire until the

Permanence of Greek Influence.

Middle Ages themselves came to a close. In two senses, therefore, Greece has exercised a permanent influence: first, through the study of Greek art and literature in the west, during the days of the Roman Republic and Empire, and since the Renaissance; and, second, through the long perpetuation of what is called Hellenism in the east. The pupil in the high school is unable to appreciate these considerations as the mature student may, but he should not be allowed to think that when Philip was victorious at Chæronea, or even when Corinth was destroyed, the drama of Greece was ended. He must be taught to keep in mind the relations of a people to the larger world which surrounds them and to the generations which follow. Only in this way can he form a true conception of the world. He can receive the right attitude as readily as the wrong attitude. The instruction is not so important for its immediate results in knowledge as it will become, because it furnishes a framework into which all his later reading will be fitted. If the framework be narrow and cramping, it will act as an obstacle to any intelligent notion of the historical process.

Periods.

Greek history falls naturally into periods. The first ends about the year 500 and "is concerned with the formation of the Greek race and the Greek character."[1] The second includes the years 500 to 404, the glorious period of Greek history, with the defeat of the Persians, the leadership of Athens, the age of Pericles, but also with the disasters of the Peloponnesian war and the decay which followed. Then came long years of internal strife, from 404 to 338, marked by the supremacy of Sparta and of Thebes, and by the influence of Syracuse, ending with the triumph of Philip of Macedon over the cities of Greece. The fourth period extends until the destruction of Corinth in 146. Greece is henceforth

[1] Holm, *History of Greece*, I. 6. The division into periods suggested is that of Holm, somewhat modified. Each one of these periods may easily be subdivided. Botsford subdivides the earlier portion of the first period into the Tribal Age, the Mycenean Age (1500–1000, about), and the Epic Age (1000 to 700).

merged in the Roman Empire, and can hardly receive separate treatment, so that there is no fifth period in the strict sense of the term. But the teacher should, as already suggested, explain the survival of Greek influence and the tremendous effects it subsequently produced.

Geography.

Although it is always necessary to know the geography of a country if one would understand its history, there is no instance in which this is quite so important as it is in the case of the Greeks. This might be inferred from the fact that the pupil has constantly to deal with petty states rather than with the country as a whole. One can know much of the history of England without being able to locate Kent, or Norfolk, or Gloucestershire, but the history of the Greeks is unintelligible without an accurate idea of the position of Attica, Bœotia, Corinth, and Laconia. And yet this is only a minor reason for the study of Greek geography. The most cogent reason comes from the important results in history which arose directly from the geography or topography of Greece. The fundamental facts are an interior broken by mountains, and a long, ragged coast-line. Greece is about one-tenth the size of Spain and Portugal, but possesses a coast-line as long as theirs. The unity of Greece was maintained only by the convenience of water communication. The mountains that shut in each district were so rugged, and the passes which pierced them so narrow and difficult, that each was as distinct from the other as if it had been separated by an arm of the sea. "The Greeks were forced by the configuration and nature of their country to take to the sea, and consequently to pursue what was new."[1]

The location of cities may be postponed until the names of these are brought up in the course of the story, but the general geographical character of the country must be studied as an introduction to the subject. This may best be done by means of relief maps, or what are called physical maps. The types of mountain scenery may be shown in selected pictures. The

[1] Holm, I. 30.

pupils themselves should construct maps of different parts of Greece, or at least fill in outline maps.

Topics: relation of Greece to the Balkan peninsula; relation of island groups to the mainland; natural boundary-line of Thrace on the south; natural boundary between northern Greece and Hellas proper; distribution of mountain ranges and river valleys; character of the west coast of Asia Minor; climate, rainfall, and water-supply, in relation to agriculture; aspects of nature in relation to Greek religious ideas.[1]

In addition to these general facts, the pupil should learn the more important geographical features of Greece and of neighbouring lands; for example, the divisions of Greece itself, the position of such islands as Crete, Rhodes, Samos, Chios, Lesbos, of the Hellespont, the Propontis, the Bosphorus.

Tales.

It is important that the pupil become acquainted with the best known tales of ancient Greece before he begins the study of Greek history. These tales were the creation of the Greek spirit, and they make an atmosphere through which the history of the country may best be appreciated. If the pupils have had sufficient supplementary reading in the elementary school in connection with their language work, they have read some of these tales. They should also have been reviewed in the sixth grade after the work in history is begun, if the scheme suggested in this volume is adopted. At the beginning of the high school work it will be necessary only to go over a few of them once more, that the existing interest of the pupil may be taken advantage of in the further study of the subject.

The tales of the heroes were associated with particular Greek towns or districts.[2] In the following list these places are given:

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[1] For the geography of Greece, Freeman, *Historical Geography of Europe*, I. 18 ff.; all general histories of Greece, particularly Curtius, I. 9–46.

[2] These tales are found in many versions, among which are the following: Bulfinch, *Age of Fable* (DeWolfe, Fiske, & Co.); Cox, *Tales of Ancient Greece* (McClurg); Church, *Stories of the Old World* (Ginn),

Argos: Perseus, the Gorgon Sisters, and Medusa; Tantalus.

Thebes: Hercules (also connected with Argos), the Serpents, the Twelve Labours he performed as servant of Eurystheus. Cadmus and Europa, illustrating the tradition of the relation to the east. The Seven against Thebes.

Thessaly: The Argonauts. The Centaurs; Peleus, Thetis, and Achilles.

Corinth: Sisyphus; Bellerophon, the winged steed Pegasus, the Chimæra.

Attica: Cecrops; Theseus, Procrustes and his bed, the Minotaur, the Labyrinth and Ariadne.

Crete: Minos, Dædalus, the Labyrinth.

Homer.

In one sense the stories told in the Homeric poems belong with these legends; in another they serve a more direct historical purpose, because they throw light upon the condition of the Greeks at the time when they were composed. From the information they contain, together with the remains of prehistoric Greece found by excavating the sites of Tiryns, Mycenæ, Orchomenus, and other cities, can be constructed a fairly complete picture of what Greece was at the beginning of her career.[1]

The pupils, especially those who are not to study Greek, should be made familiar with the best selected stories from Homer. This work can be done in modernized versions, or, better, in translations.[2]

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only the story of the Argonauts and the Seven against Thebes, the remainder of the book being taken up by Homeric tales; Gayley, *Classic Myths in English Literature* (Ginn: a revision of Bulfinch); Guerber, *Myths of Greece and Rome* (Am. Bk. Co.). They are freely treated in Hawthorne's *Wonder Book* and *Tanglewood Tales.*

[1] Botsford, pp. 4–17, embodies in an interesting description of "The Prehistoric Age," indications both from recent archæological researches and from Homer. Dr. Schliemann, through his excavations at Troy, Mycenæ, and Tiryns, gave a great impetus to this archæological work. Although his theories have been in many cases superseded, his works remain valuable as a storehouse of facts. They are *Troy and its Remains* (1874); *Mycenæ* (1878); *Ilios* (1881); *Troja* (1883); *Tiryns* (1886). Also valuable, C. Tsountas and J. I. Manatt, *The Mycenean Age.*

[2] For the Homeric tales, see versions already mentioned in Chap. VIII; translations of Homer, besides those mentioned in the same

Another preliminary topic is the religion of Greece. Some writers treat this subject separately from the customs of worship. Such a method is unfortunate. We are acquainted with the Greek gods chiefly through the tales of the Greek poets. The average pupil is not acute enough to discover in these tales much trace of genuine religious feeling. He may think that the Greeks had no real religion, and may not even pay them the scant respect the early Christians accorded in declaring these gods to be demons. This unhappy impression is hard to correct without sacrificing too many of the fascinating stories told by the Greeks. It may be partly corrected by a change in the manner of presenting the material; in other words, by first describing the religious ideas and customs of the Greeks, and afterwards explaining the characteristic anthropomorphisms of popular theology.

Religion.

If this principle be adopted, the first topics should be: worship at the domestic hearth; public worship, sanctuaries, sacrifices, prayer, divination; festivals; oracles, of Zeus at Dodona, of Apollo at Delphi; shrine of Apollo at Delos; temple of Zeus at Olympia, the games in his honour; the Pythian, Isthmian, and Nemean games; Amphictyonies.[1]

After the pupil has learned that the Greeks were a religious people, and that their piety was genuine, though less sombre than our own, it will be time enough for him to learn some-

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list; *The Iliad*, trans. by William Cullen Bryant; *The Odyssey*, a prose translation by Butcher and Lang; *The Odyssey*, trans. by Bryant. The Report on Sources by the New England History Teachers' Association suggests the following selections from Homer as particularly useful: — *Iliad:* The Council Meeting of the Greek Leaders, Book II. 54–440; The Parting between Hector and Andromache, Book VI. 370–503; The Death of Hector, Book XXII. 128–515; The Funeral Games of Patroclus, Book XXIII. 184–897. *Odyssey:* The king's daughter Nausicaa goes to the river with her maidens to wash the clothes of the family, Book VI. 1–125; The Palace of Alcinous, Book VII. 82–132. (From the MS. by courtesy of the Committee). Fling, *Studies*, I. No. 1, pp. 2–10, contains selections from Lang, Leaf, Myers, *Iliad*.

[1] Fling, *Ibid.*, selections from Pausanias, pp. 10–15.

thing of Greek popular theology. It must be remembered that the Greeks had no highly organized priesthood with authority to define the doctrines of God, and that the work of bringing together and uniting in a system the traditional notions of the gods peculiar to a hundred localities was left to the poets. The Hebrew and the Christian religions might not have seemed altogether dignified if they had been similarly treated. It is not the polytheistic element of the Greek theology that endangers its dignity. "The polytheism of the Greeks was, whatever we monotheists may say to the contrary, by no means an irrational religion. It endeavoured, while recognizing the divine control of human fate, to account for good and evil fortune to good and bad men alike, by the action of different deities not always acting in harmony with one another."[1] In dealing with the gods, the teacher should emphasize those characteristics which to the Greek mind embodied the powers of nature. Zeus must be at least dreadful, even if his conduct was not correct.[2]

Mythology.

It is a question at what point in the course the more extended treatment of the Greek religion should be placed. The pupils should realize that Greek religious ideas developed from age to age, and yet they will not long retain a clear notion of the process of change, so that the main thing is to guard their understanding of this subject from the misconceptions already discussed.

It is necessary to explain briefly the theory the Greeks had of their origin, the significance of the name Hellenes, the division of the people into Dorians,[3] Ionians, and Æolians, their

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[1] Holm, I. 132–133.

[2] It is difficult, and perhaps unnecessary, to keep the Greek divinities distinct from the gods of Rome, for the Roman names are the more familiar, — Jupiter than Zeus, Diana than Artemis. Mahaffy, *Social Life in Greece*, 348–384; Harrington and Tolman, *Greek and Roman Mythology*.

[3] Botsford does not accept the tradition of a Dorian invasion. He says: "The truth seems to be that the Dorians inhabited these three countries (Argolis, Laconia, Messenia) from the earliest times, but were not so named till after Homer." p. 28. Cf. Holm, I. 138–139.

geographical distribution, the contrast between Hellenes and "barbarians," the notion the Greeks had of their indebtedness to the Egyptians and the Phœnicians, the expansion of the Greek population to the islands of the Ægean and the coasts of Asia Minor, the Æolians on the north, the Ionians in the centre, and the Dorians on the south. All these topics should receive only passing attention, especially if the time for the whole subject is short, because there is such a mixture of fact and legend that the young pupil will be seriously confused. The founding of the Greek colonies may be described either before or after the early history of Sparta and of Athens. If after, a stronger emphasis will be placed upon Hellas itself, and at the same time sufficient attention will be given to the spread of Hellenic influence through the colonies.

The Early Greeks.

In treating the earlier period of Greek history, the teacher should, so far as possible, distinguish between well-substantiated historical facts and the tales that tradition has handed down. While the pupil may be interested in the tales whenever they are interesting and significant, he should understand that they throw no certain light upon the actual historical process. Stories are to be told as stories, and history as history.

Sparta: situation; the Spartans;[1] Periœci; Helots; education of Spartan boys and girls; ideals of conduct; military communism; organization of army and method of fighting; double kingship; council of elders; assembly of freemen; ephors.[2]

Story of Lycurgus;[3] tales of the Messenian wars; of the wars against the Arcadians, and the Argives.

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[1] Compare the theory of the origin of the Spartans in Botsford, pp. 28–29, with the traditional views. In such cases the teacher should impress upon the pupil's mind the difference between a proved fact and an hypothesis more or less ingenious.

[2] Fowler, *City-State*; Gilbert, *Constitutional Antiquities of Sparta and Athens*; Greenidge, *Handbook of Greek Constitutional History*. Fling, I. No. 3, contains selections from Xenophon's description of Spartan life in the Hellenica (Dakyns' trans., Vol. II.: Macmillan).

[3] Plutarch.

Sparta dominant in the Peloponnese in the sixth century, through the Peloponnesian League; nature of this league.

Athens: story of Codrus; disappearance of the kingship and rise of the archonship, duties of the different archons, particularly the legislators or "thesmothetæ"; privileged position of the nobles, wealthy traders become their rivals, the peasantry sink into slavery.

Draco, meaning of "Draconian," extent to which Draco improved the situation.

Solon,[1] as archon and legislator (594), his remedies for the distress of the peasants, further protects them by admitting them to the assembly and to a new supreme court (the Heliæa), purpose of his change of the coinage to the Chalcidic standard, commercial advantage of the change.[2]

Constitutional History.

It should be remembered that if Greek history is taught in the first year of the high school to pupils with crude political ideas, the reforms of Solon, together with the later reforms of Cleisthenes, must be presented only in their broader outlines. Changes in constitutional structure do not interest children of that age. An unnecessary emphasis on such details will render the whole subject distasteful. They will be interested in an account of the way the Athenians managed their city, if it be given to them as a picture of ancient life rather than as a lecture on the theory of the origin and development of the Athenian constitution.

The study of the Greek tyrannies may come in naturally as an introduction to the history of Pisistratus. Although it may seem like explaining the unknown by the unfamiliar, a little interest may be added to the subject by telling the story of two or three Italian tyrants of the Renaissance period.

Tyrants: Cleisthenes of Sicyon; Cypselus and Periander of Corinth (655–582); Pisistratus takes advantage of the political dissensions in Athens to become tyrant there, length of this tyranny (560–510); Pisistratus establishes a free peasantry,

[1] Plutarch; Herodotus, Bk. I., chapters 29, 30, tells the story of Solon and Crœsus.

[2] Fowler, Gilbert, Greenidge; and Botsford, *Development of the Athenian Constitution.*

beautifies the city, and renders its alliances strong; overthrow of the family.

Cleisthenes: manner of his return to Athens, appeals to the peasants against the nobles who begin their former oppressions (508); nature of the change he made in the organization of the tribes, and the effect of this upon the dissensions between the men of the Hills, the Plain, and the Shore; ostracism as a means of bringing party strife to an end; success of these reforms; failure of Sparta's efforts to restore tyranny.

Colonies.

At this point, if not earlier, there should be a study of the Greek colonies. This must be mainly geographical because, with the exception of Syracuse, these colonies have not left a long story of their career. It is to be noted that cities that played a secondary part in the events for which Greece is most celebrated were the founders of the principal colonies. For example, Megara founded Byzantium (afterwards Constantinople), Corinth founded Syracuse, the people of Miletus founded no fewer than eighty settlements in the Black Sea, Phocæa founded Massilia (Marseilles). On the other hand, Athens founded no colony of note, and took no deep interest in colonization until the period of the Delian League. The era of colonial expansion begins in the eighth and continues into the fifth century. It is an expansion northward for the control of the shores of Thrace, of the waterways to the Black Sea, and of the Black Sea itself. Here the motives were fisheries, mines, a supply of grain, particularly from southern Russia. The Black Sea was at first strange and terrible, but the Milesians changed its name to the Euxine, or the "hospitable." This colonial movement extended also into the west, reaching as far as Spain and Gaul, and to the south, founding Cyrene on the coast of Africa, and Naucratis in Egypt. Although its impulse came from an expanding population and the desire for trade, its results upon civilization were noteworthy. Freeman says: "In most of these colonies the Greeks mixed to some extent with the natives, and the natives to some extent learned the Greek language and manners. We thus get the beginning of what we may call an artificial Greek nation, a

nation Greek in speech, feeling, and culture, but not purely Greek in blood, which has held its place in the world ever since."[1]

The location and historical significance of the following colonies should be studied:[2] —

Northern Ægean, Hellespont, Bosphorus, etc.: Chalcidian cities, founded by Chalcis and Eretria, 800 and after; Sinope, by Miletus, 770; Cyzicus, by Miletus, 756; Trapezus, by Miletus, 756; Thasos, by Paros, 706; Odessus, by Miletus, (?); Panticapæum, by Miletus, (?); Byzantium, by Megara, 658.

Egypt: Naucratis, founded by Miletus, after 570.

Africa: Cyrene, founded by Thera, 633.

Sicily and Western Mediterranean: Cyme, founded by Chalcis and Cyme, c. 1050; Syracuse, by Corinth, 734; Corcyra, by Corinth, 734; Sybaris, by Achæa, 721; Rhegium, by Chalcis and Messenia, 715, or earlier; Croton, by Achæa, 710; Tarentum, by Sparta, 708; Acragas (Agrigentum), by Gela (Rhodian colony), 580; Massilia, by Phocæa, 600.

These colonies are selected as significant for reasons which in each case are obvious. They may be found specifically stated in Abbott, I. 333 ff., or in Holm, I. 267 ff., 358 ff.

Topics for the study of Greek colonization:[3] different motives leading to colonial establishments, civil troubles, trade, fisheries, mines, etc.; character of settlements in each case; relation to home city; relation to natives; subsequent influence on local civilization; ultimate fate.

Topics for more special study: Magna Græcia; Acragas, Pha-

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[1] *Historical Geography of Europe*, 37.

[2] This list, with the dates, is adapted from Abbott, I. 363-365.

[3] References, in addition to Abbott and Holm, already mentioned: Lucas, *Introduction to the Historical Geography of the British Colonies*, 52-55; Cunningham, *Western Civilization*, 86-91; Freeman, *History of Sicily*; and all histories of Greece.

After his chapter on the colonies, in order to emphasize the forces that made unity, Professor Seignobos inserts a chapter on the early development of commerce and the arts, and another on the religious customs characteristic of the Hellenic race. Dr. Botsford aims at a similar result in a chapter on the "Growth of National Unity through Literature and Religion."

laris, and the story of the Brazen Bull; the tyrants of Syracuse, Gelo, Hiero.

A study of the lives of several of the literary men of Greece reveals the larger community of the Greek world, correcting the impression of isolation received from the history of particular cities. This is indicated by several names in the following summary: —

Pindar, b. near Thebes, c. 522; generally resided at Thebes; intimate friend of King Amyntas of Macedon; at court of Hiero of Syracuse, 476–472; d. Argos, 448.

Æschylus, b. near Athens, 525; fought at Marathon, Salamis, Platæa; resided at Athens, at court of Hiero about 467; left Athens, 459, "perhaps in disgust at the growing power of the democracy," for Gela, Sicily; d. 456.

Herodotus, b. Halicarnassus, c. 490–480; took part in Athenian colonization of Thurii, in southern Italy; d. c. 424.

Euripides, b. at Salamis on day of battle; resided at Athens; left Athens, 409, first for Thessaly, afterwards for Pella, court of Archelaus, King of Macedon; d. 405.

Plato, b. Athens, 427; left Athens, 399; visited court of Dionysius of Syracuse; returned to Athens, 388; visited Dionysius the Younger, 367, 362; d. 347.

Aristotle, b. Stagira (Thrace), 384; father physician to Amyntas II. of Macedon; went to Athens, 367; to Mysia, 345; became tutor to the young Alexander, 343; after Alexander started on expedition to Asia came to Athens; obliged to leave after Alexander's death; d. at Chalcis, 322.

Polybius, b. Megalopolis, c. 204; son of a general of Achæan League; transported to Rome, 169; set at liberty, 150; present at destruction of Carthage, 146; employed by Roman government to reorganize Greek towns after Greece becomes a Roman province; d. 125.[1]

By the study of these topics, whether just at this point or earlier, the pupil should gain a comprehensive notion of the extent and the nature of Greek civilization, and be ready to understand the significance of the great struggle which was

[1] It is not intended that Greek literature be taught at this point. These facts are given merely for the reason stated above.

so soon to break out between the Greek world and the Persians, supported in the far west by the Carthaginians. This is the first of the historic conflicts between Europe and Asia. High school pupils may be too young for their imagination usefully to sweep the larger field of such historic movements, and yet an occasional effort of this kind may fit them for a better understanding of the world's history.

Persian Wars.

The struggle began in western Asia Minor before the reign of the tyrants on the mainland of Greece was concluded, but its chief incidents fall in the early years of the fifth century. Its result was not merely the defeat of the Persians, but the establishment of the Delian League under the leadership of Athens, which opened a new era in the internal history of Greece. This era closed with the downfall of Athens at the end of the Peloponnesian war in 404.

It is particularly necessary, in dealing with a period filled with incidents of such surpassing interest, that the teacher does not lay an almost equal emphasis upon each battle and each great man that appears in the story. It is better to remember three or four men well than to be able simply to identify a larger number of famous names. Those who should make a clear and permanent impression on the imaginations of the pupils are: Miltiades, Themistocles, Aristides, Pausanias, Cimon, Pericles, Alcibiades, Lysander. There may be reasons for including men like Brasidas, Cleon, and Nicias in such a list, but if it is made too long, the result will be that no one man will stand forth with a clear-cut outline. So, also, a battle should be studied only if it be famous like Marathon or Thermopylæ, or if, like Leuctra, it introduced a new method of fighting, or if its consequences were decisive of some great cause like the destruction of the Athenian armament at Syracuse. If there is time, it is advisable to study such incidents in detail, for the interest which is aroused will enliven other less detailed work.

As an introduction to the struggle, there should be a review of the rise of the Persian empire and the extent of its dominions and of its resources.

Persian wars: relations of the Greek cities to Crœsus, king of Lydia, and to Persia after his downfall, how these events affected their prosperity and their position as centres of Hellenic civilization; causes of the Ionic revolt (499–494), the way the Athenians and the Eretrians became involved; nature of the Athenian victory at Marathon (490),[1] and its effect upon the position of Athens among the Greek states.

Events between the first and second Persian invasions: fate of Miltiades; effect on the government of Athens of choosing archons by lot from the nominees of the townships; Themistocles [2] and Aristides;[2] naval policy adopted at the suggestion of Themistocles and its consequences; league for defence against the Persians, policy of the Peloponnesian states.

Second Persian invasion: Thermopylæ and Artemisium (480); the Athenians abandon their country; how Themistocles forced the allies to fight at Salamis, make-up of the Persian fleet at Salamis, reasons which led Sparta to advance into central Greece and fight the battle of Platæa (479); fruits of Salamis gathered at Mycale; treason of Pausanias and its effect on the position of Sparta.[3] War in Sicily between the Greeks and the Carthaginians, Himera, result on the position of Syracuse.

Delian League.

After the decisive defeat of the Persian armament the interest centres upon the use Athens was to make of the prestige she had gained in the struggle; in other words, upon the Delian League in its first and second phases. The Greeks never showed the capacity for organization which later distinguished the Romans. This defect in their political character was the result of their physical environment and their previous experience, which developed in them strong particularist tendencies. The creation of the League was Athens' great opportunity. Although Athens acted at first rather as the leader than as the master of the allies, she later attempted to bring them thoroughly under her control, and

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[1] Account of the battle in Herodotus, Bk. VI. chapters 107–117.

[2] Plutarch. In Perrin's *Plutarch's Themistocles and Aristides*, the historical and legendary elements are distinguished.

[3] From Artemisium to end of Salamis, Herodotus, VIII. chapters 40–95. See also Æschylus, *Persians*, lines 359–438, "as the account of an eye-witness and combatant which must always hold a primary place among the records of the time." Rawlinson, *Herodotus*, IV. 283, n. 3.

so exposed herself to the accusation of establishing a new sort of tyranny. During this period, also, Athens adopted a more aggressive colonial policy, establishing in many strategic places in the Ægean cleruchies, or communities of Athenians who retained their rights of citizenship. They were, therefore, in aim and in their relation to the mother city, different from the customary Greek colony, and resembled, rather, the Roman military colonies.

In the study of this period there should also be a brief explanation of the attempt of Athens to control Greece north of the Isthmus of Corinth, and even to extend her influence to the Peloponnese by an alliance with Argos and other cities. But as most of the cities which are involved in this conflict rarely enter the story of Greece, it is better to seek to reach the result through a general description rather than by an insistence on details.

Athens: policy of Themistocles after the war, jealous conduct of Sparta, attack on Themistocles, he is ostracized; Cimon and his policy.

League of Delos: the need of defence against the Persians out of which it grew (477), reason why Athens rather than Sparta gained the leadership, its religious basis; difference between this League and the Peloponnesian League; power Athens possessed, position of the other cities, extent to which their independence was abridged, distinction between the cities in the contribution they made to the common fund; the war fleet so created, and its use by the Athenians. The Persians driven from the Ægean and its shores; Naxos and Thasos, revolted allies reduced to subjection, terms granted them.

Athens: influenced by Ephialtes and Pericles cuts loose from the Peloponnesian League, becomes the ally of Argos and Thessaly, endeavours to build up a Bœotian League hostile to Thebes, brings the treasury of the Delian League to Athens and attempts to transform the League into an empire (454?), end of the Athenian continental alliance at the Thirty Years' Truce (445).

Pericles:[1] the office of general and its powers, effect of his policy of paying for public service, especially on the jury, in ren-

[1] Abbott, *Pericles.*

dering Athens more democratic, the functions of these jurors, the Heliæa and its jurisdiction over cases involving Athenians and the allies; the use Pericles made of the surplus Delian revenue in strengthening and beautifying Athens; restriction of the citizenship to persons whose parents were Athenians.[1]

Although it may not be possible to give much attention in the several fields of history to the development of art and of architecture, there are special reasons why an exception should be made in the case of the Greeks. Such a study, brief and unsatisfactory though it may be, will be valuable not merely for its own sake, but also because it emphasizes the extent and continuity of Greek civilization.

Art.

Brief list for such a study: buildings and their decorations; the general plan of the Acropolis, the Parthenon (structure, style, the pediments, the frieze), the Erechtheum (style, Caryatids), the Propylæa, the so-called Theseum, the theatre of Dionysus, the temple of Poseidon (?) at Pæstum, the temples at Agrigentum (Acragas) and Selinus.

Sculpture (besides those already referred to, for example, on the pediments of the Parthenon): the pediment figures from Ægina, the Hermes of Praxiteles, the Apoxyomenus of Lysippus, the Victory of Samothrace, the Aphrodite of Melos, the reliefs from the altar at Pergamum.[2]

Schools with small classes and with unusual facilities may be able to carry on the study of Greek art in the manner suggested by the Committee of the New England History Teachers' Association. This calls for the loan, for example, of a set of Parthenon photographs to each pupil. Each one is to have also a set which will bring out by contrast the excellence of the Parthenon marbles. "For instance, in the pediment lec-

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[1] Fling, I. No. 2, gives selections from Aristotle on the Athenian constitution, bearing upon the conditions about the year 330, but which throw light also upon the earlier constitution.

[2] Tarbell's *History of Greek Art* contains pictures of nearly all these buildings and figures. See also Gardner's *Handbook of Greek Sculpture* and Sturgis' *European Architecture*, both well illustrated. Cheap reproductions abound; particularly the Perry Pictures, the Helman-Taylor series, etc.

ture, Carrey's *Drawings of Pediments*, the pediment groups from the temple of Zeus at Olympia, pediment of the Madeleine, of the British Museum, etc."[1]

Characteristics of Greek life: manner of living, houses, dress, structure of society, particularly the part taken by slaves; position of women; children and their training; manner of holding public assemblies and tribunals; orators, sophists, rhetors; the theatre, tragic poets;[2] Aristophanes; Socrates; Thucydides, compared with Herodotus.[3]

Peloponnesian War.

The period closes with the great tragedy of the Peloponnesian war. Like so many wars in the history of Europe, this had its deep-seated causes and its more apparent occasion. The study of these causes will furnish the teacher an opportunity to review the career of Sparta up to this time, and to compare the position which she had held with the ambitions of Athens. Sparta had been the enemy of the tyrants, but had promoted the rule of the oligarchies, and so had little sympathy with the Athenian democracy. She had not attempted to found a closely organized empire like the League of Delos in its second phase, and yet none the less was she determined to maintain her traditional supremacy. She believed Athens was endeavouring to found a power that was ruinous to her own position, and to become a tyrant city in the Greek sense of the word, so far as the minor states were concerned.

The war was not continuous, but it was substantially one war, just as the Hundred Years' war was a single struggle, although

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[1] See further, *Report*, I. p. 38. It has now been shown that these drawings were not by Carrey.

[2] Particularly illuminating, Mahaffy, *Social Life in Greece*. The poets, especially Aristophanes, illustrate the conditions in Athens. See also Xenophon's *Hellenica*. For Socrates, Xenophon's *Memorabilia*.

[3] The New England History Teachers' Association suggest the following from Thucydides as useful selections on the Peloponnesian war: The Funeral Oration by Pericles, Bk. II. chapters 34–46; Siege of Platæa, II. 71–78, III. 20–24; Naval Battle at Syracuse, VII. 69–71. The account of the capture of Sphacteria should also be added, IV. 28–38.

broken by the Peace of Bretigny and the Treaty of Troyes. In studying its progress even with a text-book that describes the military events with considerable detail, the teacher should concentrate attention upon its most characteristic incidents, like the siege of Platæa, the struggle for the island of Sphacteria, the last fights about Syracuse, the battles of Arginusæ and of Ægospotami.

The events of the war furnish an opportunity to study the new Athenian empire subjected to severe strain. The attack on Melos was a confession on the part of the Athenians that this empire was founded on force. It was like Napoleon's invasion of Portugal or England's bombardment of Copenhagen in 1807. The revolt of Mytilene and the measures of terror which Athens adopted illustrate the same thing.

The war also opened the way for the recovery of Persian authority in western Asia Minor. By their disunion the Greeks invited the destruction that they had with difficulty warded off in the earlier part of the century. Persian subsidies are a decisive element in the second phase of the struggle.

Topics: quarrels of Athens with Corinth and Megara; surprise of Platæa (431); ravaging of Attica, pestilence at Athens, destruction of Platæa; revolt of Mytilene (428); the politicians Nicias and Cleon; struggle at Sphacteria and the rejected overtures for peace; loss of Amphipolis and of Athenian power in Chalcidice; death of Cleon; Peace of Nicias (421).

Syracuse.

Between the first and second periods of warfare comes the disastrous expedition against Syracuse in which the Spartans took only an indirect part, sending Gylippus, whose skill in managing the defence largely contributed to the defeat of the Athenians.

Second part (called the Decelean War), 413–404: treachery of Alcibiades; bargain between Tissaphernes and the Spartans; decisive importance of this Persian intervention; the Athenians choose four hundred to take charge of the war (411); Alcibiades rejoins the Athenians, his return to Athens, and final loss of influence; Lysander and the Persian Cyrus;

battle of Arginusæ (406) and the punishment of the generals; Ægospotami, the fall of Athens and the terms of peace.

The next includes the years 404–338, and its theme is the internal conflicts of the Greek cities. Persia was to regain by lavish use of money, and by aiding the Greek cities against each other, what she had lost in a direct attack. This must be kept before the pupil as one of the most important features during the years of Spartan supremacy. Another is the rule of the oligarchies resting on Spartan support.

Spartan supremacy: the Spartan alliance with the rich in Athens and other conquered towns, oligarchies like the Thirty Tyrants and the Councils of Ten, supported by Spartan harmosts and garrisons; Thrasybulus and the expulsion of the Thirty (403); expedition of the Ten Thousand impels Artaxerxes to attack Greek cities in Asia Minor, and this brings on war with Sparta, under leadership of Agesilaus; Persian gold stirs up enemies in Hellas; Conon wins the battle of Cnidus (394) and rebuilds the long walls of Athens; the Athenians revolutionize the art of war by perfecting light-armed troops; death of Lysander and recall of Agesilaus; terms of peace of Antalcidas (387).

Sparta was to receive a more deadly blow than any she had felt in the struggle that led to the Peace of Antalcidas. It was to come from Thebes, whose citadel she had treacherously seized. The brief period of Theban supremacy is more interesting in the annals of war than in the general affairs of the Greek states, for the overthrow of the old system of alliances brought a confusion which Epaminondas was powerless to remove. The change in the art of war introduced by Epaminondas was so simple that it can easily be understood by the pupils.

Thebes.

Topics: Spartan war with Chalcidian cities gives Phœbidas an opportunity to seize citadel of Thebes (383); Spartan attack on Peiræus and the new Athenian maritime confederacy; uprising of Thebans under Pelopidas; decisive battle of Leuctra (371); uprising of the Peloponnese against Sparta; Epaminondas' first campaign in the Peloponnese and his policy;

Thebans invite Persian intervention; Epaminondas' last battle, Mantinea (362).[1]

The fortunes of Syracuse after the defeat of the Athenian expedition should be followed to the end of this period, with an explanation connecting them with the beginnings of Roman control.

Topics: attack of the Carthaginians gives rise to tyranny of Dionysius; Carthaginians finally restricted to Lilybæum and Drepanum (391); Sicily subject to Syracuse; Dionysius attacks the Greek cities in southern Italy, which are also threatened by the Sabellian tribes on the north; Timoleon (345–337) rescues Syracuse from tyranny of Dionysius the Younger; progress of Hellenic civilization in Sicily.[2]

After the close of the battle of Mantinea, there is an opportunity to give a review of the condition of the Greek cities which thus far have played the chief part; and this is important in order to form an intelligent opinion of the gain or loss to Greece of the supremacy of Macedon which was soon to come.

Macedon.

The succeeding years to 338 cover the rise of Macedonia under the leadership of Philip. The conflict is especially interesting, since the new Macedonia was a territorial power rather than a city-state, like Athens or Sparta. It is also interesting because of Philip himself, and because of his great antagonist, Demosthenes.

Topics: Philip's early life, his rise to power in Macedonia; Philip's desire to extend the territory of Macedonia brings him into conflict with the Athenians, whose prosperity rests upon their trade, particularly the grain trade by the Hellespont to the Black Sea; Demosthenes' first Philippic leads Athenians to despatch a fleet north, and Philip pauses; Philip makes war on Olynthus, provoking the Olynthiac orations of Demosthenes, fall of Olynthus; through Sacred War Philip secures a position in Amphictyonic Council; Macedonian troops appear in Pelo-

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[1] Plutarch's *Pelopidas.*

[2] Freeman, *History of Sicily*, III., and his *Story of Sicily.* Histories of Rome, like How and Leigh, Shuckburgh, Pelham.

ponnese; in the Sacred War against Amphissa Philip seizes Elatea; Athens and Thebes resist, are defeated at Chæronea; by terms of peace Greek cities possess autonomy, but authoritative leadership given to Philip.

Alexander's Empire.

The importance of the succeeding period, from 338 to 146, lies in two facts: first, in the spread of the Hellenic influence through the east after the victories of Alexander the Great, and second, because this period offers the connecting link between Greek and Roman history and brings out the element of continuity in the development of the ancient world. In order to make the connection complete, it is well to prolong the story of the different kingdoms that the successors of Alexander founded as far as the date of their absorption in the empire of the Roman Republic. Greek history, in the narrow sense of the word, has little left of interest to the pupil.

Topics: beginnings of Alexander's reign; destruction of Thebes; composition of his army; victories at Granicus and Issus; method of besieging Tyre and fate of the city; founding of Alexandria; Arbela; march to India; discovery of the sea route to India; break-up of his empire upon his death; dominions of Cassander, Lysimachus, Seleucus Nicator, Ptolemy Soter; time during which each of these endured.

Hellenism in the East: Alexander's policy in founding Greek cities; Alexandria, its trade, its library and scholars, Eratosthenes and his theory of the earth; Antioch; character of the Greek cities in the east; increasing use of the Greek language; effect on the Greeks of oriental luxury.[1]

For the history of Greece itself, the remaining topics are the Lamian war and the death of Demosthenes, the Achæan and the Etolian Leagues, the condition of the Greek cities at the beginning of Roman dominion.[2]

It is not necessary for the pupils to learn the dates of all the

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[1] Mahaffy, *Alexander's Empire*, Wheeler, *Alexander*, Dodge, *Alexander*. Fling, I. No. 4, Alexander's methods of warfare from Arrian (Chinnock's trans.).

[2] Fling, I. No. 5, selections from Polybius (Shuckburgh's trans.).

important events in Greek history. A few should be selected, and other events remembered in relation to these. The incidents of the second Persian invasion can be grouped about Salamis. The pupil will find no difficulty in remembering that Thermopylæ immediately preceded Salamis, and that Platæa and Mycale followed it in the next year. With Salamis also the battle of Himera can be associated, for the Greeks believed the two took place on the same day. The League of Delos was the consequence of the Athenian triumph. The following dates have either a special importance or they lend themselves to such groupings.[1]

Dates.

776. The First Olympiad.
658. Founding of Byzantium (later Constantinople).
594. Solon's archonship and reforms.
510. Expulsion of Hippias, beginning of career of Cleisthenes.
494. Destruction of Miletus.
490. Marathon.
480. Thermopylæ and Salamis.
454. Usual date assigned for transfer of Delian treasury to Athens and beginning of transformation of League into an empire.
432. Beginning of the Peloponnesian war.
415. Sicilian expedition.
404. End of Peloponnesian war.
387. Peace of Antalcidas, first blow to Spartan supremacy.
371. Leuctra, destruction of Sparta's power, beginning of Theban supremacy.
362. Death of Epaminondas at Mantinea, end of power of Thebes.
338. Chæronea, supremacy of Philip.
332. Destruction of Tyre, founding of Alexandria.
323. Death of Alexander the Great.
274. The Romans conquer Magna Græcia.
241. The Romans annex Sicily.
197. The Romans conquer the Macedonians.
146. Greece becomes a Roman province.

[1] Botsford gives a convenient list of events in chronological order, printing in bold-faced type the more important dates.

CHAPTER XIV

ROMAN HISTORY (TO A.D. 395).

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THE scope of the instruction in the history of Rome is controlled by the place of the course in the school programme. If it is to come at the outset of work in the secondary school, the selection of matter and the method of presentation must be different from what these will be if it is put in later and if its object be chiefly preparation for a college entrance requirement. Other differences of treatment will arise according as Roman history furnishes the subject for a year's work or for a half year's work, following Greek history, or again, for only a small fraction of a year in a course on general history. In these suggestions upon the teaching of Roman history, it will be assumed that the course is either a part of a one year course in ancient history, or that it occupies a year by itself, and that it is given in either the first or the second year of the high school.

Scope.

It has already been argued that ancient history may conveniently be brought to a close about the year 395 A.D. This implies the necessity of teaching the history of the Empire as a part of the history of Rome. Roman history has so long been considered subsidiary to the study of Latin literature that the Empire has been ignored, except as a proper subject for the course in general history. It is undoubted that Rome did more for later civilization during the imperial period than during the Republic. The Republic effected the conquest of all the lands about the Mediterranean, but it fell

Close.

before it had been able to assimilate them. Two centuries of imperial administration were required to complete this task. The heritage which the Romans left to succeeding generations has been briefly summed up in the following words: "A highly perfected system of law, a model of the most effective absolutism, and the union of the ancient world in an organic whole."[1] Each element of this was the creation of the Empire. If Roman history is to be studied as something more than an introduction to the Latin of the Augustan Age, it must not close with the battle of Actium or the death of Augustus, but must be continued at least until the fourth century is over.

Difficulties.

In teaching Roman history, there are difficulties that do not arise in teaching the history of Greece. There is so much of law and government, and these are relatively uninteresting, if not incomprehensible, to children of high school age. They find Greek history charming because of its personal character, — a series of heroic men, or a series of heroic cities almost equally personal; but much of Roman history seems taken up with a constitutional development which is hard for children to comprehend, because they are not old enough to enter deeply into political affairs, and further, because the constitutional development of Rome is so remote from the governmental notions which they may have imbibed in their daily experience.

Early Roman History.

In studying the growth of Rome, it is also difficult to mark the time where authentic history begins. When the Romans commenced to write history, they were already far removed from the events which they attempted to describe, and, possessing few records upon which to base their work, copied from earlier or contemporary Greek annalists. And yet their curiosity about the early development of the city, and their zeal in working over the fragmentary traditions which had come down to them, led to the creation of detailed narratives, buttressed with dates, carrying the story back to the very foundation of the city. The uncritical world regarded this

[1] Adams, *Civilization during the Middle Ages.*

story in quite the same way as it looked upon the tale of the Punic wars, or Cæsar's career in Gaul. When the new historical school arose, and Niebuhr began the reconstruction of Roman history, the world was reluctant to confess frankly that it knew very little about Rome before B. C. 265. Text-book writers accordingly continued to describe the career of early Rome with every appearance of precision, except that they occasionally inserted statements that much of the matter rested upon unverifiable tradition.[1]

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[1] It is interesting to note here the attitude taken toward this matter by several recent makers of text-books somewhat more comprehensive than the ordinary text-book for use in the secondary school.

A conservative view of the historical value of the traditional stories of the regal period is given by E. S. Shuckburgh, *History of Rome*, pp. 58–59. He says, "In the first place they contain the account of the origin of the city and its institutions, with which the Romans themselves were long content. And if this account is to be regarded as founded on things existing, rather than really telling us how they came about, yet it enables us to understand these institutions more fully, and to see them with somewhat the same eyes with which the Roman citizen regarded them. In the second place, they convey a correct view in the main of the actual progress made by the city from its beginning, first to internal order and freedom, and then to independence and even supremacy among its neighbours." This he maintains, whether "the history of the kings be partly true or wholly false. . . ." Less conservative is the opinion of Professor H. F. Pelham, in his *Outlines of Roman History*, pp. 12–16. He says in conclusion, "In it [the regal period] materials of various sorts and kinds, and brought from very different quarters, are found side by side. Intermingled with fragments of genuinely old and native tradition we find pieces of world-wide folk-lore . . . stories, some drawn from the inexhaustible stores of Greek legend, or invented by the scarcely less inexhaustible imagination of Greek chroniclers, others representing the naïve attempts of the soberer Roman mind to find an origin for the most ancient of their usages, institutions, and monuments. All these various materials were gradually combined and arranged by the efforts of successive generations; but the orderly and consecutive narrative, with its apparatus of names and dates, which was thus produced, had even less claim to be considered history than the mass of disconnected tales of which it was composed." Professor Pelham also remarks that authentic history does not really begin until about 265.

See, also, How and Leigh, *History of Rome*, 34 ff., for a criticism of the legends of the regal period, and an attempt to rehabilitate much of this early history. In contrast to the attitude of Shuckburgh and How and Leigh, note the statements of the Italian historian, Pais, in the first

If the critical historians do not know how the early Roman constitution came into being, why should children be required to learn the traditional story, or a rationalistic modification of this story? Even if some facts are generally agreed upon, how is the pupil to appreciate nice distinctions between fact and tradition? Is that traditional history so sacred that it must be learned whether it be true or not? As the Committee of Seven remarked, "It sometimes seems as if the ghost of Livy were with us yet."[1]

Children should be familiar with the legends that cluster about the names of the kings and of the heroes of the early Republic, and these they should know as they know the story of Lycurgus or of Codrus. But constitutional reforms that may never have taken place except in the imagination of Greek and Roman annalists are altogether different. In themselves they are not interesting, and there is no excuse for forcing them into the child's memory unless they are true.

Much the same may be said of the story of Rome's early wars with her Latin neighbours. The interest that attaches to a growth from such narrow limits to the dominion of the world hardly justifies the teacher in asking the child to follow the fortunes of a legendary war with the Volscians and the Æquians, or even with the city of Veii. These stories should be learned with other similar stories, without an attempt in a systematic

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volume of his *Storia di Roma*. "In the case of the history of Roman legislation before the Decemvirate, we are confronted with accounts not originally true, and not only altered by later changes, but produced by real and deliberate falsification." The whole story of the Decemvirate he declares to be "the result of unskilful attempts to combine self-contradictory traditions, and to have at bottom no historical or chronological value." He also says, "The pretended constitutional history of Rome, described by the annalists of the second and first centuries, is in direct opposition to the honest and sincere declaration of Polybius, who asserted that it was difficult to explain the beginnings and successive modifications, and to foretell the future phases of the Roman constitutions, since the institutions of the past, both private and public, were unknown." See Professor S. B. Platner's article, "The Credibility of Early Roman History," *Am. Hist. Review*, Jan. 1902.

[1] *Report*, 54.

way to restore the process by which Rome made her early conquests.

The efforts of the pupil should be economized, so that when the historical period is reached, he can obtain some conception of the Roman Republic and its development into an empire of world-wide power. For many pupils the story of the early conflict between the Patricians and the Plebeians furnishes them with all they remember about the government of the Roman Republic. What they learn first leaves the deeper impression. Pedagogical reasons support considerations from history in favour of reducing the early history of Rome to a group of tales illustrating the echoes in tradition of the stormy career of the city on the Tiber, and to a brief description of what is actually known about its early organization.[1]

Geography.

As Italy was the basis of Roman power, its geography should first receive attention. The present generation has been so thoroughly trained in the idea of a united Italy that it fails to note the physical conformation of the country which has made union long doubtful. It is shut off from northern Europe by the Alps, and forms a distinct whole, but a whole broken up into parts by the Apennines and by the minor rivers, so that these parts were for centuries able to maintain an historical separateness. For the Romans, Italy did not include the valley of the Po; it was simply the peninsula. Moreover, they had annexed Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, before they subdued what we call northern Italy. Another important fact of Italian geography is the slope of the peninsula

[1] Professor Seignobos, in his admirable text-book on *L'Histoire du Peuple Romain*, for the use of the French schools, is careful to keep the distinction between history and legend before the minds of the pupils until they reach the period of authentic history. For example, instead of soberly telling the reforms of Servius Tullius, he says: "Legend of Servius Tullus. The sixth king, Servius Tullius, was regarded as an organizer," and adds, emphasizing the distinction by the use of smaller type, the stories of his work, his manner of obtaining the throne, his organization of the army in centuries, his wall, etc. Even the name of this king he treats as a legend. The history of Rome down to the First Punic war is briefly told, and the famous tales related always as tales, not as history.

toward the west and southwest. The eastern valleys are short and rugged. Civilization grew up in the west. It was only in the extreme south, in what was called Magna Græcia, that the country invited the building of cities and the development of civilization. Italy has few harbours, and its people never were driven to the sea, as were the Greeks or the Phœnicians. Such facts, and the more detailed characteristics of mountain and river systems, should be understood before the historical work begins.[1]

The Ancient City.

Since the Romans created no rich mythology or body of legends like those of the Greeks, it may be advisable to begin with a brief study of what is actually known of early Rome, its situation; its neighbours, the Etruscans and the Latins; its social structure, supposed origin of the distinction between Patricians and Plebeians; its officers, consuls, and tribunes; the dictatorship; the senate; its assemblies, comitia curiata, comitia centuriata, assembly of the Plebeians. Following this, there may be a description of the Roman religion and religious customs, comparing and distinguishing these from those of the Greeks.

After this is done, the pupil may study the three sets of stories, and the probable truth that underlies them, — the stories of the regal period, of the early struggles of the Romans against their enemies, and of their domestic conflict growing out of the difference in rights between the Patricians and the Plebeians.

It is possible to make the list of stories for the regal period long or short, according to the time at the disposal of the class. Some at least should be learned.[2] The following list is suggested: —

Romulus; the twin brothers, death of Remus, Rape of the Sabine Women, treason of Tarpeia, union of Romans and Sabines.

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[1] This preliminary survey can best be made by the aid of a relief or physical map.

[2] Macaulay's *Lays of Ancient Rome*, Guerber's *Story of the Romans*. For the teachers, these tales are well told in How and Leigh.

Numa, the lawgiver; the Nymph Egeria, the temple of Janus.

Tullus, the warrior; the Horatii and Curiatii, punishment of Mettus Fufetius and destruction of Alba.

Ancus Martius; legendary founder of Ostia, builder of the Pons Sublicius.

Tarquin the Elder; story of the eagle, legendary builder of the Circus Maximus and the Cloaca Maxima.[1]

Servius Tullius, the organizer; his division of the people into centuries, his wall,[1] his death, and the conduct of his cruel daughter.

Tarquin the Proud; the story of the poppies, purchase of the Sybilline Books, the answer of the Delphic oracle, expulsion of the family.

Stories of the early Republic: —

Lars Porsenna, Horatius Cocles, Mucius Scævola.
Battle of Lake Regillus, the Dioscuri.
First Secession of the Plebeians (traditional date, 494).
Coriolanus.
The Fabii (479?).
Cincinnatus.
The Decemvirs, Appius Claudius, Virginia (451–449?).
The second Secession (449?).
Siege of Veii and Camillus.

Although many of the stories that were told of Roman prowess after the siege of Veii rested on no more secure foundation than the legend of Camillus, it is not so necessary to keep up the distinction, because few of them are as famous as the earlier stories, and there are more well-ascertained facts to which the pupil's attention should be directed.[2]

Lines of Development.

In the history of Rome, there are three processes which the teacher must never lose sight of, for together they make up the substance of the story. These are the development of political society, the expansion of power, and the assimilation of conquered peoples; or to state the matter more concretely, the growth and transformation of the consti-

[1] These are now regarded as later constructions.

[2] Professor Seignobos remarks, "The history of these wars is very imperfectly known; the Romans, in regard to the conquest of Italy, knew scarcely anything save a few facts, mingled with many legends." P. 56.

tution and the conquest and absorption of neighbouring states. The whole subject must be divided into somewhat different periods, according as one or another of these interests is dominant. If the constitution is the subject of study, the convenient periods are: 1, the early and obscure struggle for political equality, ending about the year 300; 2, the slow transformation of society under the strain of the conquest of Italy, the Punic wars, the wars in Greece, etc.; 3, the revolutions, from the Gracchi to Cæsar; 4, the founding of the Empire; 5, the later Empire. With the expansion of Roman authority in mind, the divisions would be: 1, conquest of Latium; 2, Italy subdued; 3, conquest of Mediterranean basin; 4, conquest of Gaul, Britain, Pannonia, Mœsia, Dacia, and the struggle to establish a military frontier on the north and east.

Assimilation of the Conquered.

There were also well marked stages in the growth of the policy of treating conquered communities. While the Romans were struggling for the mastery in Italy, though they sometimes ruthlessly slew or enslaved the inhabitants of defeated rivals, sending Romans to take the place of the inhabitants, they occasionally conceded self-government to their defeated rivals, and in addition, either the full franchise at Rome, or the prospect of acquiring it, and if not that, at least all the other rights of Roman citizenship, or the position of allies free from the burden of tribute. This policy apparently lasted until after the war with Pyrrhus. It was succeeded by a policy of jealous exclusion from the rights of citizenship, which, however, the uprising of the Italians brought to a sudden close.[1] The assimilation of Italy south of the Po is fairly complete by 89 B.C. The provinces which were created after the First Punic war were given self-government, but were without protection against the rapacity of the Roman governors until Cæsar reformed the provincial administration. From Cæsar's time on the imperial power pushed the policy of assimilation vigorously until, in 212 A.D., the edict of Caracalla granted citizenship to the inhabitants of all the provinces.

[1] For the reasons of the change, Mommsen, I. 538–539.

Although it is unwise to encourage pupils in superficial generalizations, the teacher should show them the relations of the individual incidents to the larger processes, which never ceased to go forward.

The Constitution.

If it be conceded that the pupil can but dimly picture to himself the development of the Roman constitution, it becomes important to simplify the work that is demanded of him. The less significant in the career of the city should be treated briefly or left out altogether. Accordingly, the early struggle between the Patricians and the Plebeians must be subordinated to the character of the Republic in the third and second centuries. There should be enough of the undisputed facts to show the contrast between the old nobility of hereditary privilege, and the new nobility of wealth, which came into existence with the disappearance of the last barriers to Plebeian ambition, enough also to show the peculiar character of that unique institution, the tribunate. But it is the later Republic, the conqueror of the world, which must be comprehended. If the pupil can understand the way this Republic was managed by the senatorial oligarchy, he is likely to realize what the Gracchi aimed at, what Sulla did, and to see how the condition of the city and the machinery of government gave an opportunity for a man of genius, like Cæsar or Octavian, to seize autocratic power.

What are the principal topics for the study of the constitution of the Republic? The senate and the tribunate, the relation of the senate to the magistracies, to elections of magistrates, particularly its use of the tribunes, and the opportunity in the tribunate for an attack on the senatorial oligarchy, the function of the assemblies and their control by the senate through the magistrates. The early Empire should be explained on the basis of the interpretation of these Republican magistracies, and in this way the pupil will not think into it all the associations of the word emperor. In contrast to this stands the Empire after the work of Diocletian and Constantine. The warning must be repeated, that all this should be treated in very elementary fashion, for

high school pupils have no political experience to assist them in interpreting the experience of the Romans. While the teacher should look at the constitution as a whole, most of the actual instruction about it should be incidental to the general history of Rome. It is better to note what the senate does from time to time, than to be content with a description of its powers. The history of the tribunate may be studied with particular advantage in this way, for many famous tribunes appear in the history of the city, C. Licinius Stolo, Gaius Flaminius, Tiberius and Caius Gracchus, Marcus Octavius, Saturninus, Marcus Livius Drusus, Publius Clodius, etc. Whenever opportunity offers, the teacher may correct and complete the ideas in regard to the government that the pupil has previously received, although he must avoid the error of forgetting that an office or an institution may undergo change and development.

Expansion.

The expansion of the Roman power follows steadily the career of the city, so that looking at the process as a whole, it is enough to see that at a certain time Rome was supreme in Latium, at another she extended her influence into southern Italy, and won control of the entire peninsula, and that next she began to acquire territories outside, which were held as conquered provinces. This last movement was not to be checked until the ancient civilized world was brought under Roman sway, and until the Germans destroyed the legions of Varus in the Teutoburg forest.

As Roman territory is pushed gradually to the confines of Italy, and afterwards from shore to shore of the Mediterranean, the terms which were granted to the conquered should be emphasized, so that the whole process of assimilation will become intelligible.

It is necessary now to indicate the topics which should be emphasized.

Early struggles: The early Roman army, in contrast to the Spartan army and the Macedonian phalanx; probable time at which Latium was conquered; significance of the capture of

Veii; Allia and the capture of Rome by the Gauls, legends about the siege of the Capitol.[1]

The Licinian laws give at least one consul to the Plebeians (367); further steps toward equality of the two orders; the Hortensian law (286); tendency toward substitution of a nobility of office-holders for a nobility of birth.

Conquest of central Italy: Cære, Cæritan rights; revolt of the Latins, terms granted them (338); Latin rights, Roman maritime colonies; Samnite wars, the story of the Caudine Forks, the battle of Sentinum (295), results, status of Samnites as allies, annexation of Sabine Territory, Roman territory extends to Adriatic, colony of Venusia; punishment of the Gauls.

Conquest of southern Italy: review history of Magna Græcia from point of view of Greek history, review its relations to Sicily; Tarentum; cause of presence of Roman fleet in Tarentine waters; Pyrrhus, his relation to Alexander's empire; Heraclea (280), and Beneventum (275); terms granted to Greek cities. Review different terms thus far conceded to conquered rivals, and extent of Roman power prior to Punic wars.[2]

Conquest of Mediterranean Basin: Punic wars: review Carthage in relation to Tyre; size of Carthaginian empire in 265, former wars between Syracuse and the Carthaginians; previous relations of the Romans and the Carthaginians; intervention at Messina and successes on land; creation of a fleet, Mylæ (260); Regulus "carries the war into Africa," legend of his embassy and death; Drepana (249), and the legend of the sacred chickens; Ægates (241); terms of peace. Revolt of the Mercenaries and the seizure of Sardinia.[3]

Conquest of Cis-Alpine Gaul, and its causes.

Provincial system: theory under which land was held, local rights, independent communities (Syracuse during life of Hiero), powers of governor; opportunities for corruption.[4]

Second Punic war: Hamilcar's attempt to build up an empire for Carthage in Spain; Hannibal; attack on Saguntum

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[1] Brief criticism of the legends, How and Leigh, 87–88.

[2] See particularly Mommsen, I. 535 ff., for a discussion of the status of the conquered towns and the colonies. Briefer statement, How and Leigh, 133–135.

[3] Bosworth Smith, *Carthage;* A. J. Church, *Carthage* (in *Stories of the Nations*); Ihne's *History of Rome* gives special attention to Carthage. Selections from Polybius on the First Punic War in Fling, *Studies*, I., No. 7.

[4] Mommsen, II. 82–88.

(219); passage of the Alps; battles of Trebia (218), Trasimenus (217), and Cannæ (216); Fabius, the Cunctator; Hannibal in the south, steadfastness of the allies and Latin colonies; Syracuse goes over to the Carthaginians, is captured (212); Hannibal loses Capua (211) and Tarentum (209), battle on the Metaurus (207); war in Africa, battle of Zama (202), Scipio Africanus; terms of peace, annexations; Hannibal's subsequent career.[1]

Second Punic War.

In studying the First and Second Punic wars, the teacher should concentrate the attention of the class upon those features of the struggle which appeal to the imagination and the intelligence, the Roman method of conducting sea fights, the structure of ships of war, Hannibal's strategy, particularly on the Trebia, at Lake Trasimenus, and at Cannæ. If this is successfully done, these names of battles will be given a distinctive meaning and will serve to throw light on the ancient art of war in its various forms. The career of Hannibal is probably the chapter in all Roman history most interesting to young people, for it possesses the heroic picturesqueness so characteristic of Greek history. This fact should be made use of to tide the interest of the pupil over pages of soberer political development. Moreover, there are so many famous battles in the history of Rome that it is necessary to select only the most notable for special explanation, otherwise the subject will be transformed into a long series of battles and annexations. The same remark is applicable to the wars which closely followed until Rome practically controlled the basin of the Mediterranean.

War with Macedon: review Macedon from death of Alexander the Great to the beginning of the second century; attitude of king of Macedon during the Second Punic war; Cynoscephalæ (197), the reason the Macedonian phalanx did not prove invincible; peace without annexation and the Congress at Corinth.

War with Antiochus the Great: Magnesia (190); collapse of the empire of the Seleucidæ.

[1] From a military point of view, *Hannibal*, by Theodore A. Dodge.

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Later conquests: Macedonian Monarchy destroyed (168); Greece becomes a Roman province (146); review later Greek history to this point.

Destruction of Carthage (146); conduct of the Romans in this affair; province of Africa.

Kingdom of Pergamus bequeathed to Rome (133); the province of Asia.

Province of Narbonne in southern Gaul, created after struggles with the Allobroges and the Arverni (121).[1]

Rome now had a province on every shore of the Mediterranean basin, although in the east the kingdom of Egypt still existed, as well as the remnants of the empire of Antiochus the Great, and although the farther east was threatened by the rise of Mithradates, king of the Parthians. Each of the wars in the long list from the beginning of the Second Punic war was the natural sequel of the struggle which had just preceded. This connection is more important than the details of the fighting. A careful geographical survey of what had been accomplished during the period, together with a resumé of the characteristics of the Roman administration of provinces, may bring the subject to a close.

Influence upon Rome.

These wars affected the character of the Roman Republic. It is accordingly necessary at this point in the development of the city to look into the structure of the government, the economic results of such continuous fighting, the inevitable growth of a standing army, with a strong military spirit, the condition and characteristics of the inhabitants of Rome itself, the changes in the interests of the people produced by prosperity and by contact with the eastern nations, particularly with Greece.

Structure of society: the nobles, what conferred nobility, distinction from old Patrician nobility; possibility of becoming ennobled, nobles are the only senators.

Knights: original meaning of the term, meaning after rich men cease to serve in the cavalry, opportunities offered at Rome

[1] On the later phases of this process, Mommsen, III. 13–91.

or in the provinces for gaining riches, money-lending and contracting, farming the taxes, publicans.

Plebeians: ancient Plebs, new urban Plebs, effects of the Samnite and Second Punic wars upon the small freeholders, growth of great estates at their expense, narrow opportunity for free labor, means of support, privileges as Roman citizens.

Slaves: when they begin to form a relatively large element of the population, origin of the supply, kinds of work which they performed, treatment by their masters, freedmen.[1]

Machinery of government: senate, composition, precedence among senators, attitude of senators toward new men, their influence over the magistrates, their relation to a young man ambitious to succeed in the cursus honorum, particularly their relation to the tribunes in distinction from the ancient antagonism between the aristocracy and the tribunate, their control of legislation through the magistrates.

Magistrates: cursus honorum, powers of the censor over the status of the individual citizen, the consuls and their duties, their relation to the comitia centuriata; the tribunes, their powers and their ordinary use of these, their control of the concilium plebis or assembly of the Plebeians.

Assemblies: comitia curiata, and the duties that remained to it, comitia centuriata and the officers elected by it, with its part in legislation; concilium plebis, the usual medium of legislation, called and controlled by the tribunes.[2]

A further study may be made of the influence of Greek culture upon the Romans, but this need be touched only incidentally in an elementary course.

To the Fall of the Republic.

From 133 to the fall of the Republic the dominant interest centres in the political controversies within the city, rather than in the further extension of Roman territory eastward and northward. For example, the extraordinary powers which Pompey received belong quite as much, if not more, to the growth of personal authority in Rome than to the suppression of piracy in the eastern Mediterranean, or the

[1] Mommsen, III. 92–108; on all phases of the subject, How and Leigh, 287–331; Pelham, 158–198.

[2] References already given; and Tighe, *Roman Constitution;* Fowler, *City-State;* How and Leigh, Appendix I. *Assemblies at Rome.*

conclusion of the war with Mithradates. But the pupil must note, as he proceeds, the widening of the domain, so that at the end he may understand the steps by which the whole territory was brought together. In order to give unity to the treatment of the period, it is advisable to consider the different political controversies in the light of the existing structure of society and control of government, and in the light of the subsequent fate of the Republic. This might be a wrong method for mature students, because slight tendencies gain a factitious importance if they afterwards appear as prophecies of future change, but the elementary pupil can grasp only the large outlines of a political movement, and events must be placed clearly in their relations to one another if he is to see their significance. A chronological table will bring out the time relations of the revolutionary struggles of the last century of the Republic. Marius and Sulla were scarcely out of their childhood when the Gracchan revolution came to an end; Cæsar, Pompey, and Crassus learned politics from Marius and Sulla; and a new generation of politicians — Antony, Lepidus, and Octavian — seized the power that fell from Cæsar's hands. It is true the conditions rather than the men were chiefly responsible for what occurred, and yet the personal relation of these groups of lives is not without significance. Such chronological résumés may be multiplied to advantage with useful results.

The following topics will bring out chiefly the revolutionary struggles from 133 to 27, mentioning incidentally the additions to Roman territory.

Tiberius Gracchus (133), his solution of the land problem, creation of small farms out of public land illegally occupied; the use of the tribunician power to veto the schemes of Gracchus, which forces him to a coup d'état, he is slain by a mob of nobles.

Caius Gracchus (123–121), attack on the senate, attempt to substitute his personal rule by a retention of the tribunate with its power, failure of re-election, fighting in Rome during which he is killed.

The attempt to retain the tribunician power, and through a bold use of the concilium plebis, the law-making body, to reconstruct the constitution, anticipated the policy of Cæsar and Octavian a century later.[1] Caius Gracchus did not control the military power. Here lay the difference, but his enterprise was equally revolutionary. It was more radical than would be a reconstruction of the British constitution by some prime minister who was ready to use his unique power, provided he could have the support of his majority in the Commons.

Coup d'État.

With the exception of the sedition of the year 100, which was a repetition of the Gracchan conflict in a less respectable form, the interval between the death of Gracchus and the Sullan revolution is filled with new wars, the war with Jugurtha,[2] with the Cimbri and Teutones, a premonition of the danger which threatened from the north and which was later to destroy the Roman state, and the far more important struggle with the Italians, as a consequence of which Roman citizenship was granted to all the inhabitants of what was then known as Italy, and the admirable system of local self-government in municipalities was created. This new policy towards the Italians should be carefully explained, because it marks an epoch in the assimilation of conquered peoples.[3]

Sullan revolution (88–78): Sulpician attack on the senate and attempt to take from Sulla the command in the Mithradatic war; this attempt defeated by Sulla's army, significance of this use of troops; behaviour of the Marian party while Sulla was in Asia, his triumphant return, proscriptions and dictatorship, personal government in behalf of the aristocracy (as Caius Gracchus attempted to establish personal government in behalf of the popular party), strengthening of the senate, attack on the tribunate; abdication of Sulla.

Preliminaries of Cæsar's career: Pompey and Crassus, their

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[1] *On the Gracchi*, How and Leigh, 343–357.

[2] Fling, *Studies*, I. No. 8, contains selections from Sallust's *Jugurthine War*.

[3] How and Leigh, 407–408; Mommsen, III. 299–302.

relation to Sulla, extraordinary powers conferred on Pompey in the east (67); Cicero and the conspiracy of Catiline; Cæsar's relation to Marius and Sulla, enters the political combination known as the First Triumvirate (60), his consulship and the beginnings of his conquest of Gaul, conference at Lucca (59), Pompey remains in Italy instead of going to his province, growing antagonism of Pompey and Cæsar after death of Crassus, scheme to destroy Cæsar; civil war (49), powers conferred on Cæsar during the war, Pharsalia (emphasized), Thapsus and Munda (referred to and located geographically to make clear the comprehensiveness of Cæsar's operations), Cæsar becomes imperator, his use of the different magistracies conferred upon him; character of his policy and reforms; death (44).

Establishment of the Empire: Second Triumvirate (43), clash between Antony and Octavian, Actium; Octavian resigns his position as triumvir, receives the name of Augustus (27), special power conferred upon him, share of power left with the senate, character of the early Empire.[1]

At the conclusion of the study of the establishment of the Empire should come a review of the characteristics of the Augustan Age, its literature in connection with that which immediately preceded, its religious tendencies, its public works, the condition of the people, and the social problems which the government must face.

It would be well to review the provinces of the Empire, especially noting those which had been added since the con-

[1] According to Bury, the Principate, the technical name of the early imperial authority (Octavian was Princeps), rested (*a*) on the proconsular imperium, (*b*) the tribunician power, (*c*) the special laws de imperio (23 B. C.). By one of these special laws his imperium was defined as maius or superior. He probably also received the ius edicendi, or right of issuing magisterial edicts. He could convene the senate, and could make the first motion, ius primæ relationis. But he refused the censorship because he desired to preserve the senate as an independent body. He could control its acts, however, by his veto as tribune. The senate, therefore, becomes the real legislative body, issuing senatus-consulta. Senatorial committees formed a sort of cabinet. The new imperial treasury "had to defray the costs of the provincial administration, the maintenance of the army, the fleets, the corn supply," etc. *The Student's Roman Empire*, chapters 2, 3.

quest of the Mediterranean basin had been effected, and to explain how these provinces were divided between the senate and the emperor. In this connection the work of Augustus in strengthening the northern frontier should be considered, as well as his failure to push the frontier to the Elbe.

Provinces.

To the pupil, the period of the Empire must be confusing, if not altogether incomprehensible, unless the matter is carefully organized, and unless a judicious selection be made from the list of emperors of those whose names should be permanently remembered. If the history be told chronologically by reigns, the task for the memory will be hopeless. It may be difficult to say just what emperors should be remembered, although this is not a question of how many the *scholar* should know, but of how many it is possible for the boy or girl of fifteen to retain distinct impressions about. Several of the most picturesque villains may at once be eliminated, for their personality did not necessarily damage the imperial administrative machinery, and was therefore relatively without importance. Others who are generally known for nothing except the startling way in which they attained the purple or lost it may also be omitted. These characteristic cases can be summed up in the symbolic history of one or two, with an explanation of the frequency of such incidents.

Empire.

Which emperors are best worth noting? After Augustus: — Tiberius, Nero, Vespasian, Titus, Trajan, Hadrian, Marcus Aurelius, Decius, Aurelian, Diocletian, Constantine, and Theodosius. Each of these men has some significance: Tiberius as the organizer of the imperial administration, Nero for himself and his evil deeds, Titus because of his capture of Jerusalem, Trajan, Hadrian, and Marcus Aurelius as examples of the Empire at its best, Decius for his vigorous effort to stamp out Christianity, Aurelian because of his restoration of imperial authority after its long eclipse, Diocletian and Constantine the reorganizers, and Theodosius because of his success in staying temporarily the forces of disintegration.

The general subjects which should be made clear are: the wars for a better military frontier, the Roman army, the development of the Roman administrative system, roads, aqueducts, and other public works, growth of the Roman law, attitude of the Empire toward the Christians, transformation in the structure of the Empire itself.

First century of the Empire: review the provinces added by Augustus, Tiberius (14–37) abandons the Elbe frontier and makes the Rhine the northern boundary, his work in organizing the administration, causes of his later tyrannical conduct, Sejanus; conquest of Britain; Nero (54–68), characteristics of his career, the burning of Rome (64), the attempt to throw the odium of this upon the Christians;[1] insurrection against Nero; Vespasian in Judea, his character as emperor, capture of Jerusalem (70); Titus (79–81); conquest of Britain, the marking out of a *limes*[2] between the Rhine and the Danube. *The "five good emperors"* (96–180): Trajan's conquest of Dacia (106); Trajan's attitude toward the Christians; the literary men of the "Silver Age," Tacitus, Pliny,[3] Juvenal;

[1] The account of the Neronian persecution by Tacitus and in Pliny's correspondence with Trajan, illustrating the Flavian attitude, are found in the *Pennsylvania Translations and Reprints*, IV. no. 1, and in Fling, *European History Studies*, II. no. 1. Here is a case where the study of the sources is beset by peculiar difficulties. It is natural for the teacher to take up first the account of the Neronian persecution, because it came first, and to regard the remarks of Tacitus by themselves and simply in relation to the subject he is describing. But it is a fact that Tacitus wrote his account after the letters of Pliny and Trajan were written, and that Tacitus received some of his impressions of the Christians from this investigation in Bithynia. Consequently, if the teacher wishes to explain the attitude of cultivated Romans towards the Christians, he should take up Pliny's letter first. If the teacher wants to study what took place, the account in Tacitus must come first, although Tacitus, for the events of the Neronian persecution, must be regarded as an historian, rather than as a "source," for he was a mere child at the time of the fire, and must have got his information from others many years after the event. The teacher should read carefully Ramsay, 197 ff., and 227 ff. Undoubtedly these two pieces of material have a great intrinsic value in arousing interest, but at the same time they must be handled with scholarly consideration.

[2] See Mommsen, *Roman Provinces*.

[3] Fling, *European History Studies*, I. No. 9, contains selections from Pliny's administrative correspondence with Trajan.

Hadrian (117–138) as an administrator, "Hadrian's wall"; Marcus Aurelius (161–180), character, attitude toward Christians, death of Polycarp and persecution at Lyons (177), Marcomanic war (a premonition of future troubles on the frontiers).

Condition of the Empire at the beginning of the third century: destruction of the Prætorian Guards, the Prefects Papinian and Ulpian, and the development of Roman law; gradual loss of authority by the senate; disappearance of the middle classes, the peasantry sinking towards serfdom; Christianity and the Decian persecution, Cyprian of Carthage.[1]

Transformation of the Empire: confusion in the disposition of the imperial power between 180 and 270; new enemies on the east, Persia and Palmyra, Zenobia; Aurelian (270–275) restores the authority of the Empire and drives back its enemies; the Bagaudæ in Gaul; Diocletian's (284–305) scheme of imperial reform, the emperor becomes an oriental monarch, reorganization of the provinces and the assimilation of Italy to other parts of the Empire for purposes of taxation, the army given a separate organization distinct from the government of provinces; Diocletian's systematic attempt to destroy Christianity.[2]

Constantine (306–337) *and afterwards:* rise of Constantine, his early reforms, edict of toleration,[3] adoption of Christianity, position of the adherents of older religions after Christianity is made the official religion; council of Nicea;[3] founding of Constantinople; Julian, his struggle against the Germans, his "apostacy"; settlement of the Goths in Mœsia, causes of their revolt, Hadrianople (378); Theodosius (378–395).

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[1] In *Penn. Tr. & Rp.*, IV. No. 1, are accounts of the Martyrdoms at Lyons and Vienne, Lactantius on the death of Decius, Cyprian's Letter, just before his death, and an account of his martyrdom.

[2] *Penn. Tr. & Rp.*, IV. No. 1, contains the accounts of Diocletian's edicts given in Eusebius. The same number contains the Edict of Toleration by Galerius (311), and the Decree of Milan (313).

[3] See *Penn. Tr. & Rp.*, IV. No. 2, for creed and canons of Nicea. In Isaac Boyle's *Historical View of the Council of Nice*, there are several letters translated from the ecclesiastical historians Socrates and Theodoret, and which are unusually interesting. They are from Alexander, Bishop of Alexandria; from Constantine to Alexander and Arius; from Arius to Eusebius, Bishop of Nicomedia; from Eusebius, Bishop of Nicomedia, to Paulinus, Bishop of Tyre; and two other letters from Constantine. C. F. Cruse's Ed. of *Eusebius*, Philadelphia: Lippincott. 1865.

List of dates which may be committed to memory: —

- B.C. 753. Traditional date for the founding of Rome.
- 509. Traditional date for the founding of the Republic.
- 390. Battle of Allia and burning of Rome by the Gauls.
- 338. Dissolution of the Latin Confederacy; partial assimilation of the Latins.
- 290. Samnites defeated; become allies.
- 272. Romans conquer Tarentum and become masters of Italy.
- 264. Outbreak of the Punic wars.
- 218. Beginning of Hannibal's campaign in Italy.
- 202. Defeat of Hannibal at Zama.
- 197. Battle of Cynoscephalæ; defeat of the Macedonians.
- 190. Battle of Magnesia; defeat of Antiochus the Great.
- 168. Battle of Pydna and destruction of the Macedonian monarchy.
- 146. Greece becomes a Roman province, Corinth destroyed; Carthage destroyed, the province of Africa created.
- 133. Rome receives bequest of kingdom of Pergamus and creates province of Asia; attempts at reform by Tiberius Gracchus, his death.
- 89. Citizenship granted the Italians at end of Social war.
- 82. Sulla becomes dictator.
- 58. Cæsar begins the conquest of Gaul.
- 49. Civil war breaks out between Cæsar and Pompey.
- 44. Assassination of Cæsar.
- 31. Battle of Actium.
- 27. Beginning of the Empire.
- A.D. 64. The Great Fire in Rome, first persecution of Christians.
- 98. Trajan becomes emperor.
- 180. Death of Marcus Aurelius.
- 284. Beginning of Diocletian's reign and reforms.
- 312. Battle of the Milvian Bridge; Constantine becomes sole emperor.
- 325. Council of Nicea.
- 378. Battle of Hadrianople.
- 395. Death of Theodosius.

CHAPTER XV

MEDIÆVAL HISTORY

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Difficulties.

THE course for the second year in the secondary school is beset by uncertainties. Even those who urge that history be given during each of the four years are not agreed either upon what should come the second year or just what ground this course should cover. Some wish a course in mediæval and modern history, others in English history. If mediæval and modern history be chosen, the period at which it should begin is a matter of discussion, the more recent schemes adopting the date of Charlemagne's death as the starting-point, but others still adhering to the traditional line of division between the ancient and mediæval world. Those who would put English history in the second year and mediæval and modern history in the third must include in English history a broader view of Continental affairs, and in the European history will pass rapidly over the mediæval period, as partially treated already, to reach the time when England and Europe are no longer so closely connected. Such variations in the plans of programme reformers, and many more variations in the actual practice of teachers, make it impossible to map out the work for a course in general European history which shall fit each case.

Length.

The present chapter will suggest methods of treating the events from 395 A. D., to the middle of the sixteenth century. It is not intended to argue that the interval between these dates be generally considered a distinct period. The division is adopted largely for convenience, and in order that the principal theme of the course marked out for the third

year may be the founding of America as a phase of English and European history.

It is true, also, that the mediæval system was destroyed, not at the outset of the Renaissance and the Reformation, but after their success had become acknowledged in such public transactions as the Religious Peace of Augsburg, Elizabeth's Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity, and the French edicts early in Charles Ninth's reign that gave the Huguenots a legal existence.

The Middle Ages should be given a distinct treatment, whether they form the subject of a separate course or are only one topic in a course on general history. They constitute a period with well-marked characteristics, and are neither a mere continuation of the Roman imperial era nor a dark gulf separating the ancient and the modern world.

Continuity.

There is some advantage in studying this period through English or French history, for the development of national life offers an element of continuity which preserves the pupil from the sense of confusion. And there are few phases of mediæval history which cannot be illustrated from the history of England and particularly from the history of France. But there is also the danger that the work will be coloured by the modern idea of nationality, and that the comprehensive scope of mediæval life and institutions may not be perceived. This might be better than meandering through the thousand years from 400 to 1400 according to the method frequently pursued. The centre of interest shifts so rapidly that the pupil is bewildered. First he follows the different Germanic tribes over the Empire, hurrying from Mœsia to Spain and Britain, then gazes helplessly at a kaleidoscopic confusion, principally in Gaul. His eye finally rests upon the firmer outlines of the Carolingian monarchy, but with the downfall of Charlemagne's empire there is another blur, relieved by the career of the Ottos, until the crusades and the struggle between the Empire and the papacy comes in to dominate two centuries. Incidentally, there is a lesson or two on Mohammedanism, the feudal system, the monasteries, and the papacy.

Such confusion may be avoided without abandoning the attempt to teach mediæval history directly. The lack of unity in the subject is only apparent. Indeed, there is quite as much unity in mediæval society as in ancient or in modern society. For the school the problem of treatment is difficult simply because the very thing that imparts this unity, that is, the great institutions of the Middle Ages, are in many of their aspects beyond the circle of the pupil's interests and of his powers. The difficulty cannot be avoided, because hardly anything that took place during the period can be understood apart from these institutions. If one were to ask the difference between the early Capetian monarchy and the Bourbon monarchy, it would be enough to reply, "Feudalism." And in the same manner the Church sums up the characteristic differences between the intellectual, moral, and religious life of the modern man and that of his mediæval ancestor. While an adequate comprehension of these institutions is impossible to children in the high school, there are many things about them, and in a sense symbolic of their character, which are quite as interesting as any other historical fact. It is the business of the teacher to seek these out, and through them to give unity to the management of the subject, so that the pupil may be saved from aimless wanderings through a multitude of disconnected events.

Unity.

Although the great institutions of the Middle Ages are to furnish the theoretical centre of interest, or the theme, they must not monopolize attention or force a treatment in other than the chronological order. To take up the feudal system descriptively, and merely discuss the historical origin of this or that feature, would not be an historical treatment. The familiar ground from the Roman Empire to the Renaissance must be covered, but the teacher must not in the midst of details lose sight of the distinctive features of mediæval society to which each group of incidents should contribute some impression of an origin, a tendency, or of the mature result, so that through an emphasis or an explanation here and

there the pupil may gradually perceive the real character of the whole.

At the beginning the pupils should know what the Middle Ages started with, the more obvious features of Roman life and the imperial régime, the armies, the roads, the great landed estates with their slaves and tenants, the burdens which rested on the people, the extent to which Roman civilization had become the civilization of the West. Such things are well within the comprehension of the child because he is familiar with the same things in his own community. In studying the Germanic invasions, he should not conclude that anarchy everywhere took the place of the old order, so that society had to begin again. The invaders were comparatively few, and except in Britain, where the fight was so stubborn that both the defenders and their institutions perished, the conquerors were powerless to impose a wholly new order of things, even if they had wished to do this. There are some things that brute force cannot accomplish. Accordingly, after the general history of the invasions has been studied, the pupil's attention should be directed to the form in which parts of the Roman system survived. What was the new military organization? Were the roads and bridges kept up? How did the invasions affect trade and the cities which trade creates? Did the rich land-owners lose their estates, or were they able, as patrons of their weaker neighbours, to gather up some of the power which must be exercised in every community and which the crude German could not grasp? How did the bishop come out of the struggle? What became of the slaves, of the half-free tenants, or of the petty land-owners? Such questions as these will suggest continuity and development in the midst of what seems almost wholly destructive.

What the Middle Ages started with.

The growth of the church must also be kept in mind from the beginning. Its history is difficult to teach because the church is regarded primarily as a religious organization, perhaps even a sect, and so outside the limits of ordinary history except in certain great moments, like

The Church.

the preaching of the crusades, the humiliation of Henry IV. at Canossa, and Innocent Third's conflict with King John. Protestants often carry their antagonism to the present Roman Catholic church into their conception of the mediæval church, and trace out a genealogy of independent sects, extending to the early days of Christianity, in order to look upon these as the precursors of modern Protestantism, a sort of Apostolic Succession of dissent. But the pupil, if properly directed, will soon find out that the church was not like modern churches, that it did many things now left to the state, and that it had powers which only a state is supposed to possess. In order to perform its functions, a great administrative system, a body of law, with courts and lawyers, came into existence. At one time civilization lay chiefly within the church; outside were ignorance, war, and often ruthless oppression. If therefore the Middle Ages are to be understood, the pupil must understand this great institution.[1]

Papacy.

There are some phases of the subject which require a maturer development of interest and power than can be looked for in the high school pupil. The older student may find the process by which the jurisdiction of the papacy was slowly extended over the west a fascinating illustration of the growth of institutions, but the efforts of children must be more modest. In the accounts of popes like Leo I. and Gregory I. they may learn what influence the earlier bishops of Rome possessed, and that it was partly through being the *servi servorum dei*, by performing important services, that they attained their primacy in western Europe. The career of Boniface is a further illustration. Incidentally he established the jurisdiction of the papacy in Germany, but his work was chiefly significant because through the organized forces of Christianity he pushed the limits of Frankish civilization steadily

[1] Professor J. H. Robinson says: "It would hardly be exaggerating its importance if we said that the chief interest of the earlier Middle Ages lies in the development of the Roman Catholic Church; that of the later Middle Ages in its controlling influence at the height of its power." *Report of the American Historical Association* for 1899, I. 533.

eastward, making possible Charlemagne's political successes in the same region. A glance at the map of mediæval Germany shows how important a part the church took in its creation.[1]

The rise of the monasteries, and particularly the Benedictine Rule, presents another phase of church life. Although one or two aspects of the ascetic theory cannot be discussed in the class-room, features of the monastic life, the work for civilization done in new lands by the monasteries, are pertinent. In studying the Benedictine Rule, the teacher may use the source method, because the directions are so simple that they are easily interpreted, although it is not always easy for young pupils to see the reasons for a particular provision. For example, section 33 says the monk "should have absolutely not anything: neither a book, nor tablets, nor a pen — nothing at all." Further on, to "call anything his own" is pronounced a "most evil vice." Such passages require an interpretation based on a deeper knowledge of human nature. If the selections from the Rule are judiciously made, and the teacher carefully directs the studies of the class, such reading will be profitable. The later history of monasticism is quite as instructive, and furnishes figures still more picturesque. This includes the rise of the order of Cluny, the career of St. Bernard of Clairvaux, the orders of St. Francis and St. Dominic.

Monasteries.

As in each historical subject, the first step is to go over the field geographically. For mediæval history this is quite as important as for the history of Greece. It has already been remarked that the physical features of northern Europe profoundly affected the development of its history. These the teacher should allude to from time to time, as the events themselves illustrate their influence.

It is also necessary to keep in mind the important changes and to group them intelligently. The most general changes are the movements of population, which are often studied as separate incidents, but which should also be grouped. These are the Germanic invasions, the southward

Movement of Population.

[1] Droysen, *Handatlas*, plates 34, 35.

movement of the Slavs into the Danube valley and the Balkan peninsula, the coming of the Magyars, the Danish and Norse invasions, the reaction of the Germans eastward under Charlemagne and the Ottos, the advance of the Turks, and the crusades. The object of such a grouping is to make clear the racial elements of modern Europe.

The topical development of the subject until the age of Charlemagne may be briefly summarized as follows. Because of the length of the period (395–1560) covered in this chapter, attention can be called by topical summaries to only the most salient features of the subject.

The Roman Empire: its later organization into provinces, dioceses, and prefectures, illustrated from Gaul; the city, the unit of local government; the emperor, the source of authority, the central administration; the frontiers, especially the *limes* in southern Germany, the wall of "Hadrian" in Britain, and the open frontier in the east; the army and its composition, recall the part the army had played particularly after 180; social organization, classes, tendency of the middle class to partial loss of freedom, the slaves acquire a recognised position as members of society, increasing wealth and power of the great nobles; causes of these changes in the financial burdens of the Empire, in the crushing load resting on the curials of the cities, and in the exemption of the nobles from taxation.[1]

The Church: organization in the fourth century, the Arian controversy as affecting the career of the Germans through the work of Ulfilas; the growing power of the bishops, particularly of the bishop of Rome, extent to which the bishop of Rome's jurisdiction was recognised in the west during the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries; the anchorites and the early

[1] *Penn. Tr. & Rp.*, VI. No. 4, contains Notitia Dignitatum or "Register of Dignitaries of the Empire" about 395. Selections from Ammianus Marcellinus (see index Bohn ed.) may also be read with profit; one passage describing a battle between Julian and the Alemanni in *Penn. Tr. & Rp.*, VI. 3, pp. 30 ff. Hodgkin, *Dynasty of Theodosius*, I. 54; Adams, *Civilization during the Middle Ages*, 14–38; and Bury, *Later Roman Empire*, I. 25–49, are instructive. Dill's description of Roman life in the century of the invasions clears up many difficult matters. Oman, *Art of War*.

monks, Benedict and his Rule (528), significance of the early monastic system and its civilizing influence.[1]

The Barbarians: location of the German tribes, the Celts, the restless Asiatics; extent to which the Empire was already Germanized, occupations which had fallen into the hands of the Germans, German character of the army; organization and condition of the German tribes outside the Empire, state of civilization, ideas of law, religion, organization for fighting; Ulfilas (311–381) and his Christian Goths.[2]

The Invasions.

In studying the earlier emigrations, it is advisable not only to follow the line of march of the peoples, but also to consider together the peoples that affected the subsequent development of a single land, like Gaul. Pupils may be able to describe the wanderings of the Visi-Goths and of every other tribe of invaders, but are not able to give the history of Gaul during the invasions. They cannot use their knowledge in any other order than that in which they acquired it. The teacher should aim in this, as in other kinds of work, to make knowledge usable. From the point of view of results, the Ostro-Gothic invasion of Italy is a passing incident, chiefly important because of the commanding figure of Theodo-

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[1] Dill's *Roman Society* throws light upon the growing power of the bishops. For Leo, see Milman, *Latin Christianity*, Bk. II., chap. iv. Professor Lavisse calls Leo the most remarkable personage in the Empire during the fifth century, Lavisse et Rambaud, *Histoire générale*, I. 210. He describes (pp. 241 ff.) the position of supremacy in the affairs of the city of Rome held by Gregory, who was the richest proprietor in Italy at a time when landed property and power were synonymous. Gregory was the superior of the city prefect; he had charge of public works and charities; his deacons were at the head of the seven quarters of the city, and the people were grouped about the churches. Sketch of Gregory in Schaff, *History of the Christian Church*, IV. 211–229. Excerpts from the Rule of Benedict are found in Henderson, 274–314, and in a briefer selection in Fling, II. No. 6. See also Emerton, *Mediæval Europe*, 555–581.

[2] *Penn. Tr. & Rp.*, VI. No. 3, contains Cæsar B. G., Lib. VI. cc. xxi.–xxiv., on the "Germans, and the Germania of Tacitus." Selections of the Germania also in Fling, *European Hist. Studies*, II. No. 2; in *Univ. of Indiana Extracts from the Sources*, No. 9; in Kendall, *Source-Book*; Lee, *Source-Book*; Colby, *Selections*. Special works, Gummere, *Germanic Origins*. Mommsen's *Provinces*.

ric, but not so permanent in its influence as the coming of the Lombards. The study of the migrations will be more interesting if emphasis be put also upon the names of places left as monuments of these emigrations of peoples, such as England, Sussex and Essex, Normandy, Franconia, Saxony, Austria, Burgundy, France, and Lombardy.

The Invasions or Migrations:[1] recall earlier attacks by German tribes, — Cimbri and Teutones, Ariovistus, the Goths in the third century — location of the Goths in the fourth century, pressure from the Huns (who were they?), admitted into Mœsia, insurrection, and battle of Hadrianople (378), military significance of this battle, pacification of the Goths by Theodosius.

Visi-Gothic march through Greece and Illyricum; Stilicho, terms offered Alaric, relation of Alaric's movements to the invasion of Ratger (Radagaisus), and to the denuding of the frontier of Gaul, so facilitating the invasion of Gaul by the Vandals, Alans, and Suevi (406); removal of the legions from Britain; three sieges of Rome, conduct of the Goths toward the churches during the sack of the city (410); final settlement of the Visi-Goths in Gaul and Spain and their relations to the Empire.

Vandals, etc.; march through Gaul and Spain, in Africa (429).

Burgundian settlements in the Rhone valley.

Fall of Rome.

The teacher should note the gradualness of the invasions. This fact becomes clear if the relations of several are emphasized. Those that fall between 400 and 414 belong together as one grand movement, although not consciously combined in every case. It was a generation before another attack of so dangerous a character was made against the European provinces of the Empire. This was under the

[1] Selections from sources on the whole subject in the *Source-Books;* Colby, Kendall, and Lee, in Gee and Hardy's *Documents Illustrative of English Church History.*

Principal authorities are Hodgkin's *Italy and her Invaders* (phases briefly treated in his *Theodosius* and his *Theodoric*), in Bury's *Later Roman Empire,* and in the general histories of England, France, Germany, and Spain.

leadership of Attila, and was followed by the Vandal sack of Rome. During the same years the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes were making their first incursions into Britain. On the Continent there was a lull for about another generation, and then came the Frankish invasion of Gaul, and the Ostro-Gothic invasion of Italy. It is not urged that this way of putting the matter sums up accurately the whole series of phenomena, but it will keep the pupil from the notion that the Roman world went down with such a crash that every contemporary must have realized the significance of what was taking place and have been overwhelmed by the tragedy of such ruin.

Second group of invasions: Attila[1] and his empire, battle of Chalons (451), invasion of Italy, founding of Venice, Leo and Attila, dissolution of Attila's empire, Gaiseric's sack of Rome (455), "Vandalism," increasing disorganization of the imperial power.

Angles, Saxons, and Jutes: nature of the conquest of Britain (449–), the petty kingdoms, conversion of the English by Gregory's missionaries (596–) and by the Celtic missionaries, unifying influence of the church.

Third Group: Clovis and the Franks conquer Syagrius at Soissons (486), importance of the conversion of the Franks to the orthodox faith, extent of the Frankish power at the death of Clovis (511).

Theodoric: Odovakar and the "Fall of Rome" (476); character of Theodoric's kingdom of Italy (493), relation to the emperor at Constantinople, effect of the fact that the Ostro-Goths were Arians upon the success of his experiment.

The reaction under Justinian (527–565): overthrow of the Ostro-Gothic and Vandal kingdoms, territorial extent of the Empire at Justinian's death, Justinian's work in codifying and reforming the Roman Law, his work as a builder, the splendours of Constantinople.[2]

The Lombards in Italy (568): they upset a part of Justin-

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[1] In Bury's *Later Roman Empire*, I. 213–223, is an interesting glimpse of "Hun Life" from Priscus.

[2] Bury particularly, also Oman's *Byzantine Empire*. For the Roman Law, Muirhead in *Encyclopædia Britannica* and Morey, *Outlines*, see also the outline of Topics in Munro's *Syllabus*, 14–17. Selections from the Institutes in Fling, *E. H. S.*, I. No. 10.

ian's work, reasons why they failed to found a united kingdom of Italy, the Arian difficulty.

Since by the end of the sixth century the old Roman world had given place to a new order, it is well to study the results of the invasions as a whole, and to see what the characteristics of the new régime were. Such work will be facilitated by taking as an example a region like Gaul, and making incidental comparisons with the state of affairs elsewhere.

Results.

Results: relative numbers of the invaders, extent to which they were destroyers or settlers, extent to which they dispossessed the occupants, effect of the invasions upon the great cities,[1] decay of mechanic arts and of commerce, new systems of government; new laws[2] and courts, compurgation, the ordeal,[3] wager of battle; the new nobility, condition of the freeman, slavery gradually gives way to serfdom; beginnings of new languages indicate completion of fusion.

Mohammedanism: Mohammed's personal career, nature of his religious reform, Moslem calendar, Hegira (622), the Koran, his work becomes military, extent of Mohammedan conquests during the century after his death; organization of the new power, effect of its rise upon the Eastern or Byzantine Empire; character of Saracen civilization.[4]

The Franks: confusion following the death of Clovis, general characteristics of Frankish history until the rise of the Carolingian Mayors of the Palace, function of this office; the work of Boniface (c. 680–755) and its relation to the extension of Frankish influence eastward, Austrasia and Neustria;

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[1] Crawford, *Ave Roma Immortalis*, I. 92 ff.; Lanciani, *The Destruction of Ancient Rome;* Kitchin, I. 67–80.

[2] For example, *The Salic Law,* Henderson, 176 ff. By means of well-chosen questions the pupils may succeed in drawing intelligent inferences on the state of Frankish civilization from this document. See Adams, *Civilization during the Middle Ages,* chap. v., "What the Germans added."

[3] *Penn. Tr. & Rp.*, IV. No. 4.

[4] Fling, *E. H. S.*, II. No. 3, contains selections from the Koran. See also Lane, *Selections from the Ku-an*, and Muir, *The Coran, its Composition and Teaching* (S. P. C. K.). Muir, *Life of Mahomet;* Bury's *Later Roman Empire*, Burke's *Spain*, Freeman's *History and Conquests of the Saracens*, Lane-Poole's *The Moors in Spain*, Oman's *Art of War*.

Charles Martel and the Mohammedans at Tours (732); coronation of Pippin (751), called into Italy to defend the pope against the Lombards, declining power of the Empire in Italy, the results of the image-breaking controversy, Pippin's Donation, amount of territory left the Empire in Italy.

Growth of Feudal Society.

The tendency toward a redistribution of power and a reorganization of society becomes still more striking with the advent of Charlemagne, whose personal exertions stayed it here and there, but who was obliged to yield on more than one spot.[1] When Charlemagne's strong hand was gone, the pent-up forces again asserted themselves, and within the century, in France at least, feudal society was constituted in the form which was to remain dominant until the days of Louis IX. and Philip IV.

Some of the steps in this process are also intelligible to pupils of high school age. They can enter into the situation of the free land-owner whose little farm lay uncultivated while he went to the wars against the Saxons, and can see the reasons for the creation of a body of soldiers, each of whom owed military service in return for a gift of land from the king. Possibly also they can, by careful explanation, be led to see how natural it was for such men to gain power over the weak as their patrons, particularly if they were royal officers, and how they could even divide some of the king's powers among themselves. When a man had combined these functions in himself, the feudal system was almost complete.

Charlemagne (771–814): his conquests, significance of his conquest of the Saxons, and of the Lombards, extent of his control; relations with the papacy, renewal of the Donation of Pippin; significance of his coronation at Rome, the sense in which the Empire was restored, theories of the coronation; organization of his rule as Frankish monarch and as emperor; the revival of learning at his court; his contemporaries, Egbert of England and Haroun-al-Raschid of Bagdad.[2]

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[1] Emerton, *Introduction to the Middle Ages*, 233–234; Kitchin, I. 137–153; Adams, *Growth of French Nation*, 43–46.

[2] *Penn. Tr. & Rp.*, VI. No. 5, selections from the Laws of Charles

Decline of Charlemagne's Empire: Louis the Pious, the projected divisions of the Empire, humiliation of Louis; Strasbourg Oaths and the treaty of Verdun (843); general character of the period that followed, until 987 in Frankland (or France), until 911 in Germany, and until 962 in Italy.[1]

The Invasions renewed: the Norsemen along the coasts of western Europe, the Hungarians overland from the east, the Danes in England.[2]

Feudalism.

After the downfall of Charlemagne's empire has been described and before the new monarchies of England, France, and Germany are taken up, the feudal system, itself the result of these processes, should be carefully explained. This task is difficult, more difficult than teachers sometimes appear to imagine. It is as if one should undertake to analyze and explain modern society, its structure, its industrial organization, and its political institutions, and all in a dozen pages.

The subject is ordinarily approached from the highly abstract point of view of social structure, something quite incomprehensible to the boy or girl of fifteen or sixteen. It would be better to study first the life of the common people, who, in a sense, were below rather than in the feudal system, and from the manor or the burg to move up to the noble, count, or bishop,

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the Great. The important capitulary for the *Missi* is also in Henderson, pp. 189–201. *Penn. Tr. & Rp.*, III. No. 2, contains selections from the capitulary *de Villis* and an "Inventory of an Estate of Charles the Great," pp. 2–6. Einhard's *Life* will interest children, because of its graphic description of Charlemagne's appearance and habits. Consult Bryce for coronation and significance. Compare Einhard's account of the coronation with the three given in Bryce, to show the pupils the nature of testimony. For education, West's *Alcuin*.

[1] The teacher should be careful about expressing contempt for Louis the Pious, and should consult more than one estimate of his character. The situation rather than the weakness of individual men accounts for the ruin of Charlemagne's empire. See Emerton, *Mediæval Europe*, 15, and Kitchin, *France*, I. 154–157. Strasbourg Oaths translated in Emerton, 26–27.

[2] In a sense this new shifting of population lasted until the decisive defeat of the Hungarians at Lechfeld (955) and until the Norman conquest of England (1066).

who was in authority; to attempt to perceive the limits of his power by the experience of the people with actual nobles; and finally, proceeding always from the ground, to trace out those ramifications of the system which the pupil may fairly be asked to become acquainted with. One or two detailed illustrations may make this suggestion more intelligible.

Manor.

The economic unit of mediæval society is the manor.[1] Although it was subject to change like all the rest, its typical form was stable enough to be treated as characteristic of a long period of time. The teacher should conduct the pupils in imagination over such a one, explaining the different sorts of people, villains and slaves, and the lord who ruled them; showing how curiously the land was divided, how it was cultivated, comparing the agricultural system with our own, noting the treatment of forests, pastures, and streams; pointing out the lord's domain and describing the dues of service and produce, and other rights which belonged to him. Different cases may be considered, some where the manor was managed by a steward for a distant lord or for the king, or where it was all that the resident lord held. After this, the relations of the individual lord to his seigneur or lord may be explained, and the amount of local authority conceded to him. Here is the time to direct the pupil's attention to the revocable character of grants of land, that is, to the benefice. The pupil sees the land concretely; he is able to realize that the lord holds it of some higher lord, and with it certain governmental rights, because he does something in return, acts of military service, assistance at court in administering justice, payment of aids and reliefs, and because he has entered into the state of vassalage, a highly honourable relation.[2]

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[1] For descriptions of the mediæval manor, see Thurston, *Economics and Industrial History*, 49–62. Cunningham, *Outlines of English Industrial History*, 28–45. More detailed information may be found in Ashley, *Economic History*, Seebohm, *English Village Communities*, and in Cheyney, *Industrial and Social History of England*, more briefly Emerton, 509 ff.

[2] The details of feudalism are well described in Adams, *Civilization*

There are two aspects of the matter that it is more difficult to make comprehensible to children whose experience of affairs is so meagre; one of these is the unit of sovereignty, and the other the dominating influence of the fief. The lord who possesses a grant of immunity which keeps out of his domain the law officers of his suzerain is in reality a petty sovereign, for with the right of administering justice in serious cases usually goes the right of private war, of coining money, and other rights which are regarded as incidents of sovereignty. The pupil can hardly understand the subsequent history of Europe, particularly the growth of the new states, unless he realizes how the sovereignty of the state was by such grants parcelled out and localized, so that the problem before the Capetian kings, for example, was the recovery of sovereignty.[1] They would not have put it in such words, but instinctively they worked toward this end. Once the pupil sees that the lord who had the right of judging without appeal was the actual king, mediæval politics becomes clearer. Now, this local sovereign might be the monarch himself, or a duke, or even a lesser baron. Theoretically, it would be impossible to say who possessed such rights; this must be determined by looking up each case. The king had his immediate domain over which he ruled directly; so

Difficult Topics.

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during the Middle Ages, pp. 194 ff., and in Emerton, *Mediæval Europe*, pp. 477 ff.

[1] For documents illustrating growth of personal dependence, *Penn. Tr. & Rp.*, IV. No. 3, pp. 3–6, especially documents 2, 4, 6. For seizure or grant of sovereign authority, see grants of immunity in the same collection, pp. 11–12. The capitulary of Kiersey, p. 14. The point of the grant of immunity lies in such words as "in entire immunity, and without the entrance of any one of the judges for the purpose of holding the pleas of any kind of causes," which practically conceded sovereignty. The teacher should note that most of these documents are formulæ, not particular instances of grants. It is from the analysis of contracts of all sorts which have been preserved that the general features of the feudal system have been drawn. The system never existed: a multitude of bargains existed; their common characteristics, properly described, are the system. For certain aspects of feudal society, Fling, *E. H. S.*, II. No. 5.

also did the dukes or counts who ruled under him, but all of them might have vassals who possessed similar rights and within whose lands the suzerain could not interfere. To put the matter in another way, the people of one manor might look to the king for justice, while those of the next might look to a petty baron, a count, or a duke.

The fief is still more fundamental. It was to this that everything was attached, — rights, duties, and privileges. It was generally, but not necessarily, a piece of land. A man's position in a particular locality was measured by the fief he held there. Even a king might become a vassal, if he held a fief to which the obligations of vassalage were attached.

All the lighter sides of feudalism, the life in the castle, the training for knighthood, the tourneys, the methods of fighting,[1] may serve to keep the teaching of the feudal system in the high school from becoming abstract and repellent.

Decay of Feudalism.

The feudal system should not be forgotten in the later more stirring period of the Middle Ages; otherwise its function in preserving unity in the management of the subject will not be performed. The rise of the new monarchies, the crusades, the revolt of the communes, the organization of standing armies, the beginnings of taxation, the growth of a commercial class, and the revival of trade, are all related to the feudal system, and the relation should be brought out so that the pupil may realize how feudalism gradually gave place to a new order of things.

This line of thought may be summarized as follows: the mediæval manor or vill, demesne, the three fields, other land; the lord, his rights, privileges, and duties; the villain, tenure of land, relation to lord, weekly and occasional services; economic self-dependence of such a community.

Feudal society: feudal obligations of land-holding, immunities, subinfeudation, ceremonies of fealty and homage, education of young nobles, extent to which there was a feudal hierarchy.

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[1] See fascinating account of Louis VI.'s capture of Hugh of Puiset, in Hume, *E. H. S.*, II. No. 5, pp. 75–80.

The next subject is the beginnings of the new kingdoms. This should be treated generally except where, as in the case of Alfred the Great, a deep interest attaches to the details of the story. The pupils should understand that these beginnings were amidst scenes of turmoil and confusion, but they may postpone until a later study the attempt to trace the exact line of evolution.

New Monarchies.

Papacy: under Nicholas I., aims illustrated in the creation of the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals and the Donation of Constantine; degraded by the destruction of the Carolingian empire to the level of tenth century Italian politics.[1]

England: meaning of the Heptarchy, union of England under Egbert of Wessex, Alfred (871–901), and the Danes, Wedmore, significance of Alfred's work for English civilization; reopening of the quarrel with the Danes, Ethelred the Redeless, England added to Canute's dominions; the Norman Conquest (1066), battle of Hastings, William's policy toward the feudal nobles, his Domesday survey, quarrel about the succession.[2]

France: West Frankish kingdom in the latter part of the ninth and in the tenth century, countships become hereditary (edict of Kiersey, 877); Charles the Simple and the Normans; growth of the power of the successors of Robert the Strong, dukes of France, Hugh Capet king (987), nature of his power (he was, in effect, king of church and of people, suzerain of the great nobles), small amount of territory originally in royal domain, success of family in establishing hereditary principle.

Germany: the German duchies in the tenth century, Henry the Fowler (919–936) founder of cities; Otto the Great (936–973), attempts to centralize his power, crushes the Hungarians (955), intervenes in Italy, crowned emperor (962), his imperial domain compared with that of Charlemagne, theory of the Holy Roman Empire, his policy and the policy of Henry III. (1039–1056) toward the papacy.[3]

In the eleventh century the influence of the church is the dominant factor. From it came the Truce of God, the

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[1] Pseudo-Isidore, see note, p. 35; Donation of Constantine, Henderson, 519–329.

[2] Colby, Kendall, Lee, *Source Books; Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.*

[3] The classical authority is Bryce, *Holy Roman Empire.*

first effective effort to check the frightful ravages of seigneurial or private wars. One of its most strenuous leaders, Pope Urban II., uttered the call to the crusades. In the investiture conflict is seen the extent to which church and state were blended. Some of the incidents of this conflict, which passed at length into other phases, are among the most picturesque of the whole period, — Henry IV. at Canossa, Frederick Barbarossa at Venice, the bitter struggle for supremacy between Frederick II. and his papal foes. It is the investiture phase that throws most light upon mediæval history. The teacher should show what were the real difficulties of the situation, how the problem presented itself to both pope and emperor. It has already been pointed out that the bishops picked up some of the power which fell from the hands of the Roman administrators. As the church grew rich in land, and as land came to be the basis of public authority, the bishops became nobles. They differed from the ordinary noble in that they could not bequeath their office, and that they had ecclesiastical functions to perform. If the canons against the marriage of the clergy were not enforced, bishoprics and abbeys might, like countships, become hereditary, and the church become secularized. So long as the church nobles held fiefs which owed services to the state, the emperor and the kings could not allow the right of exacting homage and fealty, or of investing with the symbols of authority, to pass out of their hands. But the popes, under the influence of the Cluny ideal, were anxious that the church be protected from the invasion of worldly interests. In the act of investiture they saw the sin of simony, the sale of the Holy Spirit, because there was such a temptation before the eager candidate for ecclesiastical honours to buy with promises or with money the sudden elevation to power which went with a bishopric. Moreover, popes like Gregory VII. had dreams of universal dominion, when all powers should be subject to the see of Peter. It is by such a line of thought that the teacher may make this important incident of the Middle Ages serve to explain more than its

Church vs. Empire.

own story.[1] The policy of William the Conqueror should be compared with that of Henry IV., and the compromise of 1106 in England with the Concordat of Worms.[2] The teacher should guard against violent statements of Henry's character, for too many makers of manuals base their accounts wholly on the statements of Henry's enemies.[3]

Investiture Conflict: law of 1059 on papal elections; Gregory VII. (1073–1085), his policy toward the filling of vacant sees or abbeys, toward married priests, Henry Fourth's weaknesses, exact occasion of the quarrel, why Henry was forced to give way, Canossa; Henry's subsequent conduct, attitude of later popes toward him; his son's attempt, in 1111, to force substantial concessions from the papacy, Concordat of 1122; compare with Henry's policy that of William the Conqueror and Henry I. of England.

First Crusade.

Before taking up the second phase of the conflict between the Church and the Empire, the first crusade and the rise of the cities should be considered.

First Crusade (1096–1099): pilgrimages, effect upon them of the rise of the Seljuk Turks, condition of the Byzantine Empire since the time of Charlemagne, council at Clermont, Urban's speech, what Peter the Hermit did, what persons took the lead, their motives, their quarrels, their division of the spoil in Palestine and Syria.[4]

Towns.

In considering the rise of the cities, although attention may be directed chiefly to the cities of France, because of the effect of the movement upon the feudal system and the growth of royal power, the pupil should under-

[1] The most accessible single authority for this controversy is Bryce, *Holy Roman Empire.* See, also, Adams, *Civilization during the Middle Ages*, chap. x.; Milman's *Latin Christianity*, Bk. VII. chap. i. ff. For the documents, Henderson, 365–409.

[2] William the Conqueror's letter to Gregory, Lee, *Source Book of English History*, 121–122. The English Compromise, Lee, 128–129.

[3] A temperate account of Henry IV. is given in Emerton, *Mediæval Europe*, 240 ff.

[4] In *Penn. Tr. & Rp.*, II. No. 4 (Urban and the Crusades, Letters of the Crusaders) are many useful selections.

stand that the same movement produced important results in England, Italy, and Germany.

Towns: Mediæval commerce, trade routes, fairs, extent to which the Roman cities survived, origin of other mediæval towns, the merchant guilds, the craft guilds; impulse toward greater local independence, relation of the towns to the nobles in France, in Italy; time at which town movement becomes strong in each country; distinction in France between communal charters and charters of privileges; Venice, Genoa, Milan, Florence; origin of the German Free cities.[1]

On account of the different lines of development in European history that run along side by side, it is difficult to preserve the chronological order in dealing with any single phase. The order adopted here aims to keep in view the common relations of all.

Church and Empire again.

The second and third phases of the struggle between the Empire and the papacy are political in their motive, and there are no special difficulties in teaching them. They are not as significant as the investiture conflict. The first was a quarrel about precedence and about northern Italy; the second the attempt of each to ruin the other. One of the consequences of the seeming triumph of the papacy was the relative increase in the importance of the kingdoms which had once occupied a position subordinate in dignity to that of the Empire. This boded no good to the papacy, as Boniface VIII. realized at Anagni in 1303. The struggle between Philip the Fair and Boniface may well appear as the last act of the drama, and be so treated by the teacher.

Frederick Barbarossa (1152–1190): Arnold of Brescia at Rome, relations of Frederick with Pope Hadrian IV., his policy toward the Lombard cities, quarrel about the word "Beneficium," Roncaglian diet of 1158, revival of the Roman law and Roman ideas of imperial authority, the Lombard League, Legnano and the treaty of Constance (1183).[2]

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[1] On the French communes, valuable sources are in Fling, *E. H. S.*, II. Nos. 8 and 9, The Rise of Cities and the Trades of Paris. For England, *Penn. Tr. & Rp.*, II. No. 1, English Towns and Guilds.

[2] Henderson gives the principal documents, 410–430.

Henry II. of England: his claim to the throne, his reforms, quarrel with Thomas à Becket over the rights of the church, his Continental possessions, his relations to Louis VII. of France.[1]

Third Crusade (1189–): rise of Saladin, capture of Jerusalem (1187), difference in character between the third crusade and the first, death of Frederick Barbarossa, difficulties between Philip Augustus and Richard the Lion-hearted, Richard's achievements, return and imprisonment, his ransom (1194).[2]

The papacy at the height of its power: dangerous combination of territory in the hands of Frederick's successor, Henry VI., his sudden death (1197). Innocent III. (1198–1216), disputes over the imperial succession; Innocent's triumphs and failures, — the fourth crusade (the Latin Empire, 1204–1261), the crusade against the Albigenses (1208), his quarrel with John of England, with Philip Augustus.[3]

Fall of the Hohenstaufen emperors: Frederick II. (1215–1250), wins his heritage, his quarrel with the papacy about the crusade, San Germano, reopening of the quarrel, deadly determination of the contestants, execution of the last Hohenstaufen at Naples in 1268, Charles of Anjou receives southern Italy and Sicily, the great Interregnum (1256–1273), subsequent relation of the Emperor to Italy.

Monarchy in England and in France: Philip Augustus (1184–1223), extent of the domain at his accession, his war with John (1199–1216), conquest of Normandy and Anjou, reorganization of the royal administration and extension of royal authority, effect of the Albigensian crusade on the position of the monarchy, territory in the domain at Philip's death.[4]

John's quarrel with the barons, winning the charter (1215), its provisions about taxation, holding the Great Council, freedom from arbitrary arrest and unjust condemnation.[5]

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[1] Source books on English History: Hutton's S. Thomas of Canterbury in *English History by Contemporary Writers*, A. S. Green's *Henry the Second.*

[2] See note on first crusade, also *The Crusade of Richard I.*, edited by T. A. Archer (*English History by Contemporary Writers*).

[3] *Penn. Tr. & Rp.*, III. No. 1, The Fourth Crusade; Pears, *Fall of Constantinople.* For quarrel with John, Colby and Lee, *Source Books;* Stubbs, *Early Plantagenets.*

[4] Adams, *Growth of the French Nation;* Kitchin, *History of France;* Hutton, *Philip Augustus.*

[5] The Great Charter, *Penn. Tr. & Rp.*, I. No. 6. Henderson, 135–

The misrule of Henry III. (1216–1272), knights of the shire first summoned to "Parliament" (1254), Earl Simon summons the burgesses (1265).[1]

St. Louis (1226–1270), the typical man of the Middle Ages, his generous diplomacy in regard to Henry Third's continental possessions, through him the royal justice is elevated and consecrated, his development of the royal administration, his crusades and death.[2]

Edward I. (1272–1307), the charters, Parliament, Philip IV. (1285–1314), of France, the influence of the lawyers: Boniface VIII. attempts to force Edward and Philip to stop taxing the clergy (1296), Edward's method of coercing the clergy, Philip summons the first Estates General (1302), Boniface seized at Anagni, his death, the Babylonian Captivity.[3]

Hundred Years War.

Among the causes of the Hundred Years War was the dispute between Edward III. of England and Philip VI. of France over the succession to the French crown. In discussing this subject the teacher should be careful not to mislead the pupil by insisting that the Salic law kept women, or those whose sole claim was through a woman, from being seated on the throne. It is probable that the Salic law had nothing to do with the matter. The early Capetians were fortunate in having sons old enough to share the throne with them during their lifetime, and when this custom of anticipating coronations was given up they still left sons to whom the crown passed on their death. The difficulty arose when Louis X. died leaving only a daughter. In two cases, before Philip of Valois won the crown for himself, daughters were ignored, and so it was easy for Philip to add another precedent, and help establish a rule of succession which was to

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148, *Old South Leaflets*, No. 5. Important sections, — 12, 14, 20, 39, 40. See also Colby, Kendall, Lee, for selections on the struggle.

[1] For selections in addition to Source Books, W. H. Hutton's *Misrule of Henry III.*, and J. Hutton's *Simon de Montfort and his Cause* (Contemporary Writers' series). Creighton, *Simon de Montfort.*

[2] Joinville, Life of St. Louis, in *Chronicles of the Crusades.*

[3] Henderson, 432–437, *Penn. Tr. & Rp.*, III. No. 6, the Bulls "Clericis Laicos" and "Unam Sanctam." Creighton, *History of the Papacy during the Reformation.*

save the French monarchy from the peril of being placed by marriage in some combination of territory dangerous to French interests. This rule of succession came to be popularly called the Salic law, after the law of the Salian Franks about the holding of land. If the old law had actually been followed, women could not have held land; but it was one of the advantages of the situation in France that women could hold great fiefs, and so these fiefs could be annexed by marriage to the royal domain.

The Hundred Years War: quarrel between Edward (1327–1377) and Philip (1328–1350) about Flanders, Edward's claim to the French crown; Crécy (1346); the Black Death (1348–1349) on the Continent and in England, statutes of Labourers in England and in France; Poitiers (1356), Etienne Marcel and the revolution in Paris, the Jacquerie, Peace of Brétigny (1360), the establishment of a new line of dukes in Burgundy (1363), the union between Burgundy and Flanders (1384), state of France in the last days of Charles the Wise.[1]

Development of Parliament in Edward Third's day, resistance to the encroachments of the papacy in the first statutes of Provisors and Præmunire, John Wycliffe, Wat Tyler's insurrection (1381), Lollardry, deposition of Richard II., statute for the burning of the heretics.[2]

The madness of Charles VI., quarrel between the Armagnacs and the Burgundians, Agincourt (1415), murder of John the Fearless, Treaty of Troyes (1422).

The territory controlled by the English and by the Dauphin at the death of Henry V. (1422), early history of Joan of Arc, she saves Orleans, crowns the Dauphin at Rheims (1429), is taken prisoner and burned as "relapsed," separation of the Burgundians from the English, final triumph of Charles the Fortunate, the English retain only Calais (1453).[3]

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[1] Ashley, *Edward III. and his Wars* (Contemporary Writers), G. Macaulay, Froissart; selections particularly on Crécy in Fling, *E. H. S.*, II. No. 4. Statute of Labourers, Henderson, 165–168, Lee, 206–208. For Black Death, Source Books, *Penn. Tr. & Rp.*, II. No. 5; also Whitcomb, *Source Book of the Italian Renaissance* (15–18), for Boccaccio's account of the plague at Florence.

[2] Colby, Kendall, Lee.

[3] Oliphant, Lowell, biographies of Joan of Arc. Account of her trial in Lea, *The History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages.*

The study of the last half of the fifteenth century will give an opportunity to review the gradual evolution of the French monarchy and the consolidation of France. The simpler phases of this process are comprehensible to pupils in the secondary school.

France.

Louis XI. (1461–1483): and Charles the Bold of Burgundy, Louis seizes the Duchy on the death of Charles (1477), treaty of Arras separates Walloon Flanders from France (1482), Louis receives Anjou and Provence at the death of King René (1480), and of his nephew (1482), together with the claim on Naples; Brittany annexed by marriage of Charles VIII. and Anne (1491).

Monarchy in France: gradually gains the right to tax within the domain of the seigneurs, gradually subordinates the seigneurial courts to the royal courts, permanent land tax in 1439, permanent standing army, all the great fiefs belong to royal domain.

Yorkist and Lancastrian: Wars of the Roses, Richard III., his treatment of the Princes, Henry Tudor's claim, battle of Bosworth Field (1485).

The Tudor monarchy: weakness of the nobility, royal authority strengthened by Court of Star Chamber; arbitrary taxation, benevolences, forced loans, use of the Statute of Liveries; succession of Henry VIII. (1509), execution of Empson and Dudley, marriage with Catherine of Aragon.

Germany: the Hapsburgs, development of the Electoral College, the mark of Brandenburg, the Teutonic Knights in Prussia, the Golden Bull of Charles IV. (1356), the schemes of Maximilian.[1]

Italy: in the fifteenth century.

The Church: nature of the papal court, gradual extension of papal jurisdiction over appointments, methods of taxing the church, premonitions of trouble, the Schism, the Reforming Councils, Wycliffe and Huss, the popes during the Age of Despots.[2]

Spain and Portugal: struggle of the Christians against the Moors, growth of the four kingdoms — Aragon, Castile, Navarre,

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[1] Bryce; The Golden Bull in Henderson, 220–261.

[2] *Penn. Tr. & Rp.*, III. No. 6., particularly 26–33, containing the decrees of the Council of Constance and current criticisms of the church. *Penn. Tr. & Rp.*, II. No. 5, pp. 9 ff. on Wycliffe and the Lollards.

Portugal; marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella (1469), conquest of Grenada (1492), marriage of Joan, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella to Philip the Handsome, son of Maximilian of Austria and Mary of Burgundy, with the results of this marriage in the consolidation of territory in the hands of the future Charles V.[1]

Advance of the Turks: rise of the Ottomans, they enter Europe (1356), conquer Hadrianople (1360), under Bajazet (1389–1402) they leave to the Empire only Chalcidice and the region immediately about Constantinople, fall of Constantinople (1453).[2]

Mediæval Life.

Immediately before the treatment of the Renaissance there should be a survey of the characteristics of mediæval life so far as they have not been touched incidentally. This should include a brief study of some of the great pieces of architecture, like the cathedrals at Chartres, Amiens, Canterbury, Durham, and Paris; an account of the development of the Universities; of the appearance of the new orders of preaching friars, the Dominicans and the Franciscans; besides topics taken from the mode of living among different classes of people.[3]

Renaissance.

It is difficult to give an adequate treatment of the Renaissance, because it is a movement remote from the experience of any but older and more cultivated persons. The Renaissance was a revival of learning, a discovery of antiquity, a quickening to critical questions, an awakening of the mind to interests which had been stifled during the Middle Ages, the cultivation of a finer taste in literature and in art, and as a condition for the development of all these tendencies, the revolt of the individual against tradition and authority. It is only the outward manifestation of these things that the pupil can appreciate, — the search for old manuscripts, the study of Greek, and printing of the ancient works, the erection of beau-

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[1] Burke, *Spain*, Lane-Poole, *Moors in Spain;* Stephens, *Portugal.*

[2] Finlay, *Greece;* Oman, *Byzantine Empire.*

[3] Sturgis, *European Architecture*, Rashdall, *Universities*, Compayré, *Abelard and the Origin and Early History of Universities*, *Penn. Tr. & Rp.*, II. No. 3, *The Mediæval Student.*

tiful buildings, and the pictures painted by men like Michæl Angelo and Raphael.

It is particularly important that the pupils understand that this movement began long before Constantinople was captured by the Turks. Its beginnings go back at least to the revived study of the Roman Law in Italy in the days of Frederick Barbarossa. Petrarch was its greatest apostle in the fourteenth century. Greek teachers began their work before this century had closed. The dawn came slowly; it was no sudden burst of light in the last years of the fifteenth century.

Renaissance: Dante, Petrarch, the Greeks in Italy, creation of libraries, Michæl Angelo and Raphael, invention of printing, the books first printed, famous printers, Erasmus and his Greek Testament, the Oxford reformers.[1]

Reformation.

In dealing with the Reformation the difficulties are of another sort. Its results are still matters of controversy between the Protestant churches that sprang into being and the Catholic church, which in a special sense is the heir of the mediæval church. But it is possible largely to avoid the difficulties of the subject by approaching it from a purely historical point of view. And the object of including it with the mediæval history in a single treatment facilitates the matter. The Reformation did destroy the unity of the mediæval church and so brought the Middle Ages to a close. Just how this change was accomplished, and by what legal settlements public acknowledgment was made that the old order was destroyed, is the aim of the study of this subject. Topics that are likely to arouse controversy cannot altogether be omitted, but it should be the aim of the teacher to describe what actuated the different parties or leaders without insisting that one

[1] Whitcomb's Source Books of the Italian and the German Renaissance. *Penn. Tr. & Rp.*, No. 1, for selections on the Oxford Reformers. Froude's and Emerton's Biographies of Erasmus and Seebohm's *Oxford Reformers* contain translations from his letters and writings. Roper's *Life of More* with the *Utopia* in the Pitt Press series. Symonds, *The Renaissance in Italy;* Burckhardt, *The Italian Renaissance;* Creighton, *History of the Papacy during the Reformation;* Robinson, *Petrarch.*

body of opinion was reasonable while another was absurd. Of course there should be no attempt to please everybody by "whitewashing" deeds that are black: the truth should be told, but the teacher should understand that historical facts are one thing and that the truth of creeds or systems of church government and discipline is quite another thing.

Reformation: Political situation in 1519, power wielded by Charles V. (1519–1556), danger to France from such a territorial combination, position of the French in Italy, attitude of the pope in consequence.

Luther's early religious experience, elements of oppression in the management of the church system of penance through the sale of indulgences, nature of Luther's attack, his gradual alienation from the church; appeals to Scripture and sound reasoning before Charles V. (1521), why the ban of the Empire was not effective, results of the decision at Worms in the rivalry between Charles and Francis I., Francis a prisoner at Madrid (1525), reopening of the struggle with the pope on the side of France, sack of Rome by the imperial army (1527), triumphs of Charles, futile effort to bring Zwingli and Luther to agreement at Marburg, the diet and confession of Augsburg (1530); the League of Schmalkald, death of Luther, war in Germany (1547–1548), the attempt of Charles to settle the religious question apart from the pope; rising of Germany under leadership of Maurice, Religious Peace of Augsburg grants power to the princes of settling religion as either Catholic or Lutheran.[1]

Henry Eighth's quarrel with the pope over the Divorce, the Reformation parliament cuts away papal prerogatives in England, makes Henry the head of the Church (1534), destroys the monasteries, which takes the mitred abbots out of the House of Lords, Henry's religious settlement, Protestant misrule in the days of Edward VI. (1547–1553), the reaction under Mary, Elizabeth's settlement (1559), with acts of Supremacy and Uniformity, the attempt to maintain a comprehensive national church.[2]

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[1] *Penn. Tr. & Rp.*, II. No. 6, Period of the Early Reformation in Germany, The Later Reformation; Hazlitt's *Luther's Table Talk* (Bohn); Wace and Bucheim, *Luther's Primary Works*, Schaff's *Creeds of Christendom*. Köstlin, *Luther;* Beard, *Luther*. Creighton, Vol. V. Ranke, *Germany during the Reformation;* Seebohm, *Protestant Revolution* (Epochs).

[2] Source Books. Prothero, *Statutes and Documents,* 1559–1625. Froude, *History of England;* Brewer, *Henry VIII.*

Francis I. (1515–1547) and the French reformers, Calvin's career until he fled from France, The Institutes of the Christian Religion, attempt to crush the reformers under Henry II., edicts by which the Huguenots in 1561 and 1562 were given a legal status.[1]

List of Dates: —

395. Death of Theodosius; division of the imperial power.
410. Alaric captures Rome and sacks the city.
451. Battle of Chalons (two years after invasion of Britain is begun).
476. "Fall of Rome."
486. Clovis conquers Syagrius and establishes the Franks in Gaul.
565. Death of Justinian.
622. The Hegira.
732. Moors defeated by Charles Martel at Tours.
800. Coronation of Charlemagne at Rome.
843. Treaty of Verdun; beginning of France and Germany.
878. Peace of Wedmore between Alfred and the Danes.
962. Coronation of Otto the Great at Rome.
987. Hugh Capet crowned king.
1066. The Norman Conquest of England.
1096. Beginning of the First Crusade.
1122. Concordat of Worms.
1187. Capture of Jerusalem by Saladin.
1215. Magna Charta.
1265. Beginning of the representation of the towns in Parliament.
1273. Rudolph of Hapsburg chosen Emperor.
1328. End of the Direct Capetians in France.
1348. The Black Death.
1384. Death of Wycliffe.
1420. Treaty of Troyes.
1453. Fall of Constantinople: English driven from France.
1485. Battle of Bosworth Field: beginning of the Tudor monarchy.
1521. Luther appears before the Diet at Worms.
1534. English Act of Supremacy.
1555. Religious Peace of Augsburg.

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[1] *Penn. Tr. & Rp.*, III. No. 3, Period of the Later Reformation, Baird's *Rise of the Huguenots*.

CHAPTER XVI

THE EXPANSION OF EUROPE: THE FOUNDING OF AMERICA

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See also Chap. XV.

Bruce, P. A. Economic History of Virginia. New York, Macmillan.

Egerton, H. A. Short History of British Colonial Policy. London, Mathuen & Co. New York, New Amsterdam Book Co.

Lucas, C. P. Introduction to a Historical Geography of the British Colonies. Oxford, Clarendon Press (1887). A compendious account of colonization.

Mahan, A. T. Influence of the Sea Power on History. Boston, Little, Brown & Co. London, S. Low & Co.

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See those already mentioned.

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Guides: —

See remarks on Allen, Bacheler, Channing and Hart, and Wilder, pp. 121–122.

Appleton's *Cyclopædia of American Biography* gives brief accounts of distinguished men. The articles in the English *Dictionary of National Biography* are more detailed and valuable. A few additional references are given in connection with topics of a special character.

In the chapter on the Programme for History it was suggested that the work in the third year of the secondary school as well as in the seventh year of the elementary school should be the founding of America, from the beginning of the discoveries to the close of the American Revolutionary War, as an important phase of the expansion of Europe. Although this suggestion may commend itself to some teachers, there are practical obstacles which may deter them from an attempt to carry out the plan. Accordingly any discussion of the period in order to be of use to the larger number of teachers must be adapted so far as possible to other schemes. It will be the chief aim of the explanations which follow to show how American colonial history may be taught from English history as the point of view and with glimpses of those features of the history of Europe which are necessary to a comprehension of either England or America. Those who wish to use the material in directing the separate study of English history may lay more emphasis upon the purely English parts of the scheme, while those who prefer to keep to the customary method of teaching American history can emphasize the American parts.

Founding of America.

There are special difficulties in attempting to distinguish between what should be taught in the elementary school and what high school pupils are able to understand. If, as in a German gymnasium, it were known that the pupil who takes the course in the elementary school is to traverse the field once more in the secondary school, the question of the selection of matter and the method of presentation would be less difficult. Under American conditions it may be necessary to teach in the elementary school phases of a subject which in Germany would be deferred until the powers of the pupil were more mature. And yet the manner of presenting the subject to the pupils of the two grades must differ because the pupils differ. Not only must the subject be explained, the pupils must be instructed. The younger the pupils are the more difficult the problem of teaching

In Elementary and Secondary School.

becomes. In this chapter, therefore, the nature of the subject will be discussed mainly with the pupil of the secondary school in mind, leaving to a subsequent chapter the task of suggesting how to teach younger pupils the elements of the same subject.

As in the secondary school the work is generally based on a text-book, it will be necessary to use more than one or to depend partly upon oral explanations. The latter plan may be wiser, for the purchase of text-books is considered a burden. If it is possible to use two, these should be either a general history and an American history or an English and an American history. In the latter case it will be necessary for the teacher to add explanations about Europe as the part of the European states becomes important.

Limits.

Although the course in mediæval history covered the field until about 1560, it did not include the discoveries, which are the first important topic of this course. There are several dates at which it might be brought to an end, but of these the most convenient is the close of the American Revolutionary War. There, if not earlier, the period of national history begins. It should not be forgotten, however, that the relations of America to Europe remained very close until after the Napoleonic wars, and, indeed, until the successful revolt of the Spanish colonies made of the Americas predominantly a group of autonomous states.

Theme.

During this time the theme of special interest changes often, marking in a vague way the limits of various periods. At first the interest centres upon the discoveries themselves, which so profoundly altered men's conception of the earth, and which deposed the Mediterranean from its supremacy and substituted the Atlantic as the centre of the civilized world. It is hard to say when the discoveries came to an end, for in one sense they have never ceased. In another sense they early became subordinate to the work of settlement and of exploration. Magellan's voyage may be taken as the conclusion of the first period, or perhaps Drake's voyage, although Drake's object was not discovery, but rather the plun-

der of the Spanish colonies and the Spanish treasure ships. Before the work of settlement was completed it became secondary in importance to the rivalry of the colonial powers.

About the same time in the English colonies the relations of the mother country to her settlements are forced into the foreground. At the end of the Seven Years War and the downfall of the French colonial power in Canada, these relations became critical. After 1775 it was evidently impossible to compose the quarrel, and the last period is one of revolution and the achievement of independence.

Object of Attention.

The course begins as a phase of the general history of Europe. Even those who consider colonial history chiefly as an introduction to the later history of the United States are forced to an impartial treatment of all the discoveries. As soon as settlements are made it is the English settlements which absorb attention; the French and Spanish colonies gain their interest by comparison and contrast. In the second phase of the subject, therefore, England becomes the centre of study, and here it is England herself more than the colonies that must furnish the point of view, for Englishmen made the settlements and they had no thought of becoming other than Englishmen. By the time the last phase is reached the centre of interest has crossed the Atlantic; it is in the colonies themselves. What begins as European history closes as American. It is the teacher's business to be so sensitive to such historical changes that some impression of them may be communicated to the pupil.

Beginning.

The work should begin with a review of those European states which were to share principally in the discoveries and later in the settlements. These states have already been studied as one of the products of the mediæval period. They should now be examined from the new point of view. It is particularly important to make clear to the pupils the elements in the situation which gave one state an advantage over another for the special work of discovery and settlement. Some of these considerations may require more knowledge or

more capacity to think than the average pupil possesses, but they should be presented in a simple form. For example, the pupils may be asked why the Germans did not distinguish themselves in these enterprises, what there was in the political life of Germany that rendered this impossible, and what effect the Reformation would probably have? They could also be asked whether France or England, once a beginning was made, would be the better able to pursue successfully a colonial career? Again, what there was in the history of Spain and Portugal that pushed these peoples forward as pioneers in the work of discovery? Such questions indicate the necessity of understanding the geographical situation of these states, their political condition, the quarrels with the neighbouring states, or the internal troubles that absorbed their attention, their industrial and commercial development, and the interest they possessed at the outset in the islands or shores on the way to the Indies, whether around the capes of Africa or straight west across the Atlantic.

There should also be a review of the mediæval trade routes, done concretely, so as to increase not to stifle the interest of the pupil. With this should go historical descriptions of the notions about the earth, its size, the relative distribution of land and water, particularly the theories of Ptolemy and the form in which they reappeared at the close of the Middle Ages, Marco Polo, and the information contained in his book about Japan and eastern Asia, Venice and Genoa as the great schools of sailors, the progress of navigation.

Discoveries.

In treating the discoveries, the central thought should be the growth through them of a more complete and correct knowledge of the earth. This need not be stated in so many words to the pupil, but it should control the selection of material and the management of it. The voyage of Columbus must be brought into its true connection with the work of the Portuguese under the inspiration of Prince Henry the Navigator. To accomplish this, it may be well to begin with voyages that were made even before the days of Prince Henry, particularly those to the Canaries. It is unneces-

sary to insist on many details of the work of Prince Henry's captains, but if the pupil turns from the long and often disappointing search for the cape of Africa to the scheme of Columbus, he will appreciate its boldness and the argument which commended it to Columbus.

Race for the Indies.

It will stimulate interest in the subject if it be presented as a race for the Indies, which in reality it was, — a race which begins when Columbus concludes, partly from the lengthening task of the Portuguese, that it would be easier to find the Indies by the bold project of sailing directly westward, and when he finally succeeds in enlisting the support of Spain. The elements of this race are (*a*) the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope by Diaz, in 1486; (*b*) the discovery by Columbus, in 1492, of the West Indies, which lay in front of the great barrier continents; (*c*) Vasco da Gama's voyage to India in 1497–1498; (*d*) Albuquerque's seizure of Malacca and the Spice Islands in 1511 and 1512, before (*e*) Balboa discovered the South Sea, and ten years before (*f*) Magellan reached the Philippines. In this race the Portuguese were successful, but the Spaniards eventually found greater advantage in the obstacle that had hindered them than did the Portuguese in the wealth of the Indies.

Topics: rediscovery of the Madeiras, the Canaries, and the Azores. Prince Henry the Navigator, passing of Cape Bojador, effect of the discovery that the African coast turned southward beyond coast of Guinea, manner in which Diaz passed the southern point of Africa.[1]

Columbus and Toscanelli's theories, the Toscanelli map, coasts touched in the first voyage, later voyages, his own view of what he had accomplished.[2]

Da Gama's Voyage to India, comparison between his achievement and that of Columbus.[3]

John Cabot, question about Sebastian Cabot's part in the discovery.

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[1] Prince Henry: biographies by Major and Beazley; E. G. Bourne, *Essays in Historical Criticism*, 173 ff.

[2] Columbus: biographies by C. K. Adams, Markham, and Winsor.

[3] Fiske, I. 498.

After this first group of discoveries is studied, it would be well to explain the questions which were still unsolved, showing what these were from contemporary maps, particularly the Cantino map of 1502, and that made by Bartholomew Columbus in the same year.[1] If these be compared with Toscanelli's map and Behaim's Globe, the progress of knowledge will clearly appear.

In connection with the attempt by the "Demarcation Line"[2] to establish the respective limits of Spanish and Portuguese control, the pupil should understand that this control was exclusive, and that sailors of other lands entered those waters at the peril of their lives. Illustrations: destruction of Fort Caroline, 1565; careers of Hawkins and Drake, the Buccaneers.

In the topics given above, the minor voyages are not mentioned. These may be added at the discretion of the teacher, but it is better that the pupils gain clear ideas of the great achievements than simply be acquainted with a long list of discoveries. After this work is understood, there should be a study of the way in which some of the most important questions which had been left were answered.

Topics: Balboa and the South Sea, Magellan's voyage; conquest of Mexico and Peru; expeditions of Ponce de Leon, De Soto, and of Coronado.[3]

Compare the work of the Portuguese in the east; capture of Malacca in 1511, beginning of trade with China in 1517, possible discovery of Australia in 1530.[4]

During this time of discovery the Spaniards had been organizing their conquests, and discovery was passing into settlement. It will make the later history of America plainer if there is a preliminary study of what the Spaniards attempted.

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[1] Channing, *Student's History of the United States*, 32.

[2] E. G. Bourne, in *Essay in Historical Criticism*, 193 ff.

[3] Magellan, biography by Guillemand; *Mexico* and *Peru*, Prescott; Sir Arthur Helps; note contemporary narratives by Gomara and Hernando Pizarro, given in Hart, *Contemporaries*, 49 ff., 53 ff.

[4] Beazley, 308 ff.

Topics: how were the new lands regarded? regulation of trade, arbitrary government and its control, right of Spaniards to proceed to America, treatment of the Indians, slavery in the West Indies.[1]

The pupils should understand the immense advantage which Spain possessed at the end of the first half century after the early discoveries. By the "New Laws" of 1542, Spain had reached the stage of perfecting an organization of her colonial empire before either England or France had made an effective settlement, indeed before England had attempted one. All the resources of France had been needed, until the middle of the century, to carry on the struggle with the Spanish-Hapsburg power. England, also, until Elizabeth's day, was too much engrossed with domestic affairs to follow up the work of Cabot.

Spanish Colonial System.

Save what the Spaniards had accomplished, the work of settlement began in the seventeenth century and received its character from the European nations which took part in it. England laid the more important foundations. For this reason, and because England made the settlements out of which America gradually was developed, English history becomes henceforth the starting-point of thought. It is necessary to understand Elizabethan England, as well as the England of the Stuarts, if one would understand the characteristics of the early colonies in America. The other nations that did important work were the French and the Dutch. Something of their history must be known in order to understand Canada and the settlements in the Hudson river region. Moreover, it would be difficult to study intelligently even the elements of English history during Elizabeth's time without studying French and Dutch history also, for Elizabeth was finally dragged into the tragedy of the religious conflict on the

Work of England.

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[1] For theory, Seeley; for organization, trade, etc., Moses, 27 ff., 55 ff., 68 ff., 263 ff.; for treatment of Indians, Fiske, II. 427–482; for slavery, same, and Ingram, *History of Slavery*.

Continent, in which the Dutch were struggling to rid themselves of their Spanish masters, and in which the French appear now on one side or the other, according as the Huguenots or their enemies are in control of the French kings.

In the following list of topics, while England is emphasized, the attempt will be made to suggest enough of the history of France and of Holland for the pupil to see the relation of this period to other parts of their career, and at the same time better to comprehend the character of the French and Dutch settlements in America.

Topics (introductory): Queen Elizabeth, characteristics, classes of Englishmen; Archbishop Parker's policy, Puritans, Separatists, Recusants; Elizabeth's treatment of the House of Commons, Lord Burleigh; the great sailors, Hawkins, Drake, his voyage around the world, Raleigh.[1]

There are reasons for treating this material as a part of the story of the reign chronologically told, but the development of that story should be simplified so far as possible, for it requires the attention of the pupil from the time when Mary, the deposed queen of Scotland, appears in England, to the defeat of the Armada or even to the death of Elizabeth.

By the year 1566 the affairs of Spain, the Netherlands, France, England, and Scotland became intermingled, so that Elizabeth, in spite of her efforts to hold aloof, was gradually dragged into the European conflict. The history of England became in a measure the history of Europe. From the conflict England emerged strong enough to undertake the work of colonization which was to begin early in the seventeenth century. Before this struggle is studied, it is necessary to understand the situation outside England.

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[1] It is particularly important to use the source books for such topics. The narratives of the voyages, for example, in Hart's *Contemporaries* and in Lee will interest the pupils. In Prothero's *Introduction*, with the documents referred to there, the teacher will obtain a clear idea of the Elizabethan Parliament. For the Recusants, Lingard. Lord Burleigh: biography by M. A. S. Hume.

For the Dutch: review the origin of the connection between the Netherlands and Spain, Philip Second's treatment of the Netherlands, the Beggars, the coming of Alva and the revolt.[1]

For France: the heiress of the Scotch crown becomes queen of France, her relatives, the Guises, the leaders of the conservative Catholic party. Mary's claim to the English throne, and Elizabeth's intervention in Scotland. Mary returns to Scotland, Catherine de' Medici, the Huguenots and their enemies, character of the civil war over the religious question.[2]

The Conflict: Mary Stuart in Scotland, her schemes and her overthrow, takes refuge in England, 1568; Elizabeth excommunicated by the pope 1570; Ridolphi plot; Alva ordered to invade England, capture of Brill, April, 1572; the Huguenots under Coligny urge French king to invade the Netherlands, Massacre of St. Bartholomew in August; Union of Utrecht, 1579; Parliament passes severe laws against the Recusants, 1581, Elizabeth dismisses the Spanish ambassador, Jan., 1584; murder of William of Orange, July, 1584; the Association to protect Elizabeth. Execution of Mary Stuart, 1587; defeat of the Armada, 1588; Elizabeth's ally, Henry IV., begins his struggle for throne of France, 1589; Henry declares war on Spain, 1595; Edict of Nantes, 1598; France and Spain make peace, 1598; England and Spain make peace, 1603; Twelve years Truce of Holland and Spain begins, 1609.[3]

These topics might be made more detailed, but they suggest the course of the conflict. The dates are added for the sake of clearness, not to indicate that they should be learned by the pupil.

During this struggle an event occurred which was to impel the rising Dutch Republic to push its maritime ventures into the eastern seas. Portugal fell into the hands of Spain, and the Dutch sailors, who had profited largely by the carrying trade of other European ports with Lisbon, especially since

[1] Blok, *History of the Netherlands;* Motley's works, brief treatment in Hume's *Philip II.* and in Harrison's *William the Silent.*

[2] Baird's *Rise of the Huguenots,* 2 vols., *Huguenots and Henry of Navarre,* 2 vols., treat subject from evangelical Protestant standpoint. Ranke, *Civil Wars and Monarchy in France.*

[3] Laws against Recusants, Prothero, 83 ff., 92 ff.; Mildmay, "Concerning the Keeping of the Queen of Scots," in Kendall, 164 ff.; Armada, Kendall, 178 ff.; Lee, 309 ff.

their revolt from Spain, were compelled to seek the products of the east in the east itself. In the next century they were to build up a trade empire on the ruins of Portuguese enterprise.

With these facts about the work of the sixteenth century in mind, the pupil is ready to put the English colonies in their historical setting. In order to keep them there, it will be necessary to pursue the same method after the era of colonization begins.

Until the death of Charles, it is possible to study the English colonies as incidents in the reigns of James and Charles, for they are certainly among the most significant phenomena of the period. The work of the Dutch and that of the French are interesting for comparison. It is best to separate the first settlements of the French in Canada from the better organized efforts during the reign of Louis XIV.

Local Colonial History.

If American colonial history is managed in this way, some of the customary details must be omitted. There is already a tendency among teachers to shorten the treatment of the colonial period in order to emphasize the more purely national history after 1783. Many facts of the early history of the colonies possess only a local interest, they have little significance for the movement as a whole. Such facts may be taught in the communities which they chiefly concern, for if they are omitted from the general treatment, there will be room for a more careful and detailed study of that which is important from the point of view of the whole country.

Topics, 1603–1649: character of James I., quarrel with the Puritans, vexation of the Catholics and the Gunpowder Plot, the Separatists go to Holland.

Founding of Jamestown, danger from Spain, arbitrary government under the first charters, policy of the Puritan managers of the Company leads to organization of the representative assembly of 1619, quarrel of James with the Puritans over arbitrary taxation and royal power, royal government substituted in Jamestown for rule of Company.

Plymouth, Mayflower voyage, the Compact, communistic

system of industry and its abandonment, development of representative government, relations with the Indians.

Charles breaks with Spain, the Thirty Years War and the reasons why England held aloof; Petition of Right, Charles attempts to govern without Parliament, Laud's efforts to introduce uniformity; motives of the Puritan emigration to Massachusetts Bay, these Puritans imitate the Independents of Plymouth in church government, character of their charter, evolution of representative government; Roger Williams and the founding of Providence; emigration of Connecticut, founding of New Haven; Union of 1643. The Calverts and the purpose of the Maryland settlement.

Charles attempts to levy ship money, causes of the trouble with the Scots, which necessitates the summoning of the Long Parliament, Parliament seizes supreme power, Strafford put to death, the king attempts to retaliate by accusing members of Parliament of high treason, civil war; rise of Cromwell, the Eastern Association, Solemn League and Covenant taken to procure aid from the Scots, Marston Moor, the Self-Denying Ordinance, the New Model, Naseby; causes of the second war, for instigating which Charles is tried and executed.[1]

While following such a line of thought as this, the teacher must summon to his aid all the picturesque incidents that give definiteness and quality to the story of England and the colonies. The historical curiosity of pupils is feeble. They are not so eager in their search for causes that they can go forward without some impression of the life and movement which belong to great events. The figures of the period should be made familiar: for England, James, Charles, Pym, Laud, and Cromwell; for the colonies, Captain John Smith, Governor Bradford, John Winthrop, and Roger Williams.

[1] Here, as in dealing with other topics, the teacher must distinguish between sources which he should study and those which he may ask the pupils to study. They may read Bradford's account of "Why the Pilgrims left England for Holland" (Hart, *Contemporaries*, 167 ff.), but they will not appreciate the Petition of Right (Lee, 348 ff.), which the teacher, however, cannot wisely neglect. He may also study with advantage the documents, Prothero (307 ff.), on the quarrel with James about religion and parliamentary privileges, and in Gardiner (41 ff.) on the ship money case, as well as others, altogether beyond the attainments of his pupils.

At the conclusion of the study, it would be well to sum up the principal features of English colonization by comparing these with what the pupil has already learned of the policy of Spain. The function of the Companies can also better be understood by explaining briefly the English and Dutch East India Companies and their aims by way of contrast.

English System.

The close relation of affairs in England and in America is clear from one or two additional facts. The early attacks on the Massachusetts charter failed because Charles I. was too deeply engaged in the success of his scheme of government by prerogative to pursue the matter persistently. Furthermore, the creation of Massachusetts Bay Colony was due to the tyranny of Charles and his archbishop which impelled the Nonconformists, as Professor Channing remarks, to "make use of their charter and to found a colony in New England, where they would be far away from king and archbishop." Professor Channing also says that the downfall of Laud "led to an abrupt termination of Puritan emigration from England; indeed, the movement began in the other direction, and many of the leading New England colonists exercised great influence in England during the time of the Commonwealth and Protectorate."[1] During the troubles in England a question arose which anticipated the quarrel with Parliament over a century later. Some of the English Puritans suggested that since power had fallen into the hands of Parliament and of a Puritan Parliament at that, Parliament might undertake the enactment of such legislation as Massachusetts desired. Winthrop declined, "lest in . . . after times . . . hostile forces might be in control, and meantime a precedent might have been established." The relations of the parliamentary party with Virginia are no less interesting.

Interaction of Events in England and America.

The character of the English colonies will become still clearer after the study of Dutch and French colonial enterprises.

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[1] Channing, *Students' History of the United States*, 95.

For the Dutch settlements the principal topics are: voyage and explorations of Hudson, the claims of the West India Company founded on these discoveries, patroonships, status of ordinary settlers, Stuyvesant and self-government at New Amsterdam, quarrel with New England over jurisdiction.[1]

For the French settlement during the early period: Cartier, France under Henry IV., grant to De Monts, Acadia, Champlain and his explorations, foundation of Quebec and Montreal, anxiety of Champlain for the religious character of the colony, the Jesuit missionaries; the crushing of the Huguenot La Rochelle, and the Huguenot sailors who helped the English capture Quebec in 1629;[2] Thirty Years War and the ambitions of France, one reason why colonization in Canada was not more actively pushed.

The appearance of Huguenot sailors in the English fleet that captured Quebec in 1629 is a striking illustration of how closely interwoven were the affairs of all the colonizing European states during this period. In itself the capture is without particular significance.

Of the three countries, England, Holland, and France, fortune at first favoured the English in the work of colonization, for the very troubles of England strengthened the English settlements in America, the emigration thither being checked only by the turn of affairs in 1640, while France after 1626 was too deeply engaged against Spain and the Empire to think much of colonies, and Holland after 1621 was obliged to fight against Spain until the peace of Westphalia.

Rivals.

With the execution of King Charles the situation increases in complexity. Several distinct lines of development appear, and it is more difficult to adhere to any division into periods. These different interests are England and her rivals, first the Dutch, and then the French; the domestic history of England, including the rule of Cromwell and the Restoration; the attempt to establish Stuart tyranny in England and

[1] Fiske, *The Dutch and Quaker Colonies.*

[2] Parkman's works are the classic treatment of this subject; see also Winsor, *From Cartier to Frontenac.* For relations of France to Thirty Years War, Perkins or Kitchin.

in America; the gradual separation of interest between England and the colonies as a consequence of the Navigation Acts and of other acts in restraint of trade. Of these the relations of the English to the Dutch are often ignored, although without some knowledge of these the original aim of the Navigation Acts will be misunderstood and the capture of New Amsterdam in 1664 will not be placed in its true setting.

Navigation Acts.

The Navigation Acts of 1651, 1660, and the following years, were devised to cripple Dutch carrying trade, rather than to annoy or cramp the colonies. England's early trade policy had been singularly liberal, permitting trade between the colonies and foreign countries, but as early as 1628 the Dutch were recognised as the true enemies of England by at least one or two far-sighted men. Thomas Mun declared, "They undermine, hurt, and eclipse us daily in our navigation and trade."[1] During the early part of the century the Dutch controlled the carrying trade of Europe as completely as did England a century later. Against this supremacy the Act of 1651 was directed. Such a step, combined with the causes of irritation that already existed, brought on the war of 1652–1654. And the supplementary acts were largely responsible for the war of 1664–1667, in which New Amsterdam was conquered. In 1670 came the famous Treaty of Dover, by which Charles II. became the paid agent of Louis XIV., but so great was the jealousy of the English mercantile interest toward the Dutch, who at this time were really fighting for the cause of liberty against the French king and a new Catholic reaction, that the cry was heard in Parliament, "Delenda est Carthago," and the English joined the French in the war of 1672. Before this war was over, New York fell into the hands of the Dutch again, but was restored to the English in 1674. At this time, in the presence of a new danger, the enmity between England and Holland began to abate. The daughter of the Duke of York, the Princess Mary, was married to the Prince of

[1] Egerton, *Short History of British Colonial Policy*, 62. Quoted from a pamphlet which was not printed until 1664.

Orange, the leader of the opposition to Louis XIV. A new era was about to begin, during which events more important than the transfer of New Amsterdam to the English were to take place, — the series of wars which ended in the downfall of the French power in America. The lines of division for the epochs vary according as one studies the internal history of England and her colonies or the way in which both were affected by world politics. In the first case the events from 1637 to 1688 form one long revolutionary struggle, and each must be examined as part of a whole. In the second case there is a short period of Dutch-English rivalry, from 1649 to 1674, followed by a much longer period of French-English strife. In explaining the subjects, the two series of incidents must never be separated in thought, although for practical purposes in organizing the work they may be treated separately.

With the approach of the Revolution of 1688, the student is taken out into the larger field of European politics. The overthrow of James II. was in a sense a move in the game against Louis XIV. It was one campaign of the War of the League of Augsburg. The War of the Spanish Succession was one of its natural, although remote, results. Then came an era of peace, only to be disturbed again when colonial jealousies became greater and the War of the Austrian Succession furnished an opportunity for the old antagonism to break forth into action. With the Seven Years War came the end of this phase of the contest and the proper close of an epoch. All these wars had their echoes in America, where they traditionally have been disguised under different names, King William's, Queen Anne's, King George's, and the French and Indian wars.

Topics, following in general the chronological order: the Commonwealth, Navigation Act of 1651, and the first Dutch war; Virginia and the Commonwealth; the Protectorate and Cromwell's personal rule, reasons why he failed to establish a permanent government, his foreign policy; the Restoration, persecution of the Non-conformists.

Corporation, Conventicle, and Five Mile Acts; Massachusetts Declaration of Rights; complaints against Massachusetts

and the Commission of 1664. Navigation Acts of 1660, etc., second Dutch war, conquest of the Dutch possessions; beginnings of New Jersey; William Penn and Pennsylvania; founding of the Carolinas.

Charles schemes to restore Catholicism in England, his relations to Louis XIV. and the treaty of Dover, Declaration of Indulgence and its recall, Test Act, withdrawal from the Dutch war, French intrigues and the fall of Danby, beginnings of political parties.

The Popish Plot, the failure of the Exclusion Bill, Habeas Corpus Act, gain of the king in popularity.

Virginia's governors under the Restoration and Bacon's Rebellion; renewed attack on the Massachusetts charter, a part of a general scheme to substitute royal for charter government, with attacks on charters of Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Maryland, "Stuart Tyranny" in New England under Sir Edmund Andros, also governor of New York.

James II., Monmouth's rebellion and the "Bloody Assizes," attempts to restore Catholicism, attack on the Universities, second Declaration of Indulgence and the trial of the Seven Bishops, succession to the crown, relation of the coming of William to the struggle between the Dutch and Louis XIV.

The Bill of Rights and the Toleration Act; William accepts the crown of Scotland.

The "Glorious Revolution" in America; the Provincial Charter for Massachusetts; treatment of the proprietors of Maryland and Pennsylvania.[1]

The European war which broke out in 1688 will be better understood, particularly its consequences in the colonies, if there is first a study of France and the character and development of New France in Canada.

Absolute Monarchy in France.

The pupils should understand the nature of the government which had been created in France by the successes of Richelieu and Mazarin, followed by the ambitious designs of Louis XIV. They should also see how this led to a greater vigour in furthering colonial enterprise and to the adoption of the paternal theory of management for the affairs of the colonies. After this work is done, they will

[1] For documents and contemporary literature see collections of sources mentioned in Bibliography.

be able to comprehend the course of the struggle which was to last three quarters of a century, and which was to end disastrously for France.

The principal points are: the position of France at the end of the Thirty Years War, and her gains from Spain at the Peace of the Pyrenees; personal government of Louis XIV., Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, invasion of Holland; Colbert, founding of the East India Company and the Company of the West, paternalism in New France, work of the intendant, explorations of Joliet, Marquette, and La Salle, Count Frontenac.[1]

The War of the League of Augsburg is important principally because it was the first serious check to the designs of Louis XIV., and, in the colonies, because of the terrible use made by the French of their Indian auxiliaries.

War of the League of Augsburg (*King William's War*): French troops ravage the Palatinate; battle of the Boyne; in America, attacks on Schenectady, Haverhill, and other towns, Sir William Phips takes Port Royal; Peace of Ryswick a little later; the French strengthen their position by occupying the mouth of the Mississippi.

West Indies.

The history of the West Indies is closely connected with that of the English and the French possessions in America. The interest which Americans must henceforth feel in these islands is an additional reason for including some account of them in this course of study. The English, French, and Dutch in the seventeenth century were more than ever inclined to set at defiance their exclusion from these waters by the Spaniards. The stirring adventures of the pirates and buccaneers make up the first phase. Soon the governments were forced to take a hand in the struggle, and out of it all came such prosperous colonies as Jamaica, Barbados, Martinique, and Guadeloupe. It is instructive to compare the governmental experience of the English colonies in the islands

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[1] Winsor, *Mississippi Valley*.

with that of those on the continent of America. The Navigation laws were almost equally odious to both.[1]

Aside from the wars in Europe which brought on wars in America, the history of the colonies during the first part of the eighteenth century is uneventful. The attempt to control the trade of the colonies and to direct their industrial life was arousing a feeling of irritation, not to say antagonism, which was to have important consequences later. These laws found their justification in the theory of the Colonial Pact. The mother country would protect the colony, and in some cases she would make concessions in favour of its natural productions, but, in general, she held that it existed for her benefit and must be allowed to do nothing which embarrassed her industries. During this period, also, the political experience of the colonists was enriched by the contests with the royal governors.

Eighteenth Century.

The internal history of England seems uneventful, although the system of government by prime minister and cabinet responsible to the House of Commons was gradually being created through one obscure precedent after another. But there never was a period when England gained more by war than during these same years. The great duel with France, which has been termed a new Hundred Years War, had begun in 1688 and was to last until 1815.

Events in England: Act of Settlement; Union of England and Scotland; quarrel about the Spanish succession, Louis XIV. recognises the Old Pretender as king of England, the Grand Alliance, battle of Blenheim; in America, second capture of Port Royal, massacres on the frontier, further defeats of the French by Marlborough, territorial changes in Europe and America at the Peace of Utrecht.

Founding of New Orleans, gradual occupation of Mississippi valley by the French.

The Carolinas under royal governors; founding of Georgia.

England, 1714–1744: the House of Hanover, the Old Pre-

[1] Payne, *European Colonies*, pp. 65–79; Egerton, *Short History of British Colonial Policy.*

tender, the South Sea Bubble, Walpole governs as prime minister, his attitude towards the House of Commons, war of Jenkins's Ear, fall of Walpole.

America: illustrations of attempts to legislate against industries; attempts to enforce the Navigation Acts.

In 1744 war broke out again, called the War of the Austrian Succession, or King George's War; and the struggle was practically continuous until the Peace of Paris at the end of the Seven Years War, for even though fighting ceased in Europe and America, it went on in India, under cover of assisting the native princes.

Renewed Wars.

The Principal Topics are: the new kingdom of Prussia, quarrel of Frederick the Great and Maria Theresa over Silesia, England becomes the ally of the Austrians and France of Frederick, the Young Pretender in Scotland; Dupleix captures Madras; the New Englanders take Louisburg; restoration of Madras and Louisburg at the close of the war.

Extension of French power in southern India under Dupleix, the French take formal possession of the Ohio valley, Clive captures Arcot (1751), the French build Presque Isle at Erie (1752), building of Fort Duquesne.

Washington at Fort Necessity, Albany congress; beginning of the war, Braddock's defeat, opening of the Seven Years War in Europe, with England on the side of Frederick and France in league with Austria, early defeats and successes of Frederick, Rossbach; battle of Plassey in India; fall of Quebec; Peace of Paris; the "three provinces" and the Indian country.

The characteristics of life in the colonies should be studied as a distinct subject, although facts of this sort should be used all the way through to give colour to the story of political development.

With the downfall of the French colonies in America its history becomes less international. Only Spain maintains a feeble rivalry to England in the control of American territory, and Spain's power is pushed back from the Atlantic coast to the region west of the Mississippi. From 1763, therefore, the interest is shifted, and the course becomes

Shifting of Interest.

more distinctly American history, although sight should not be lost of the political history of England, nor of the later relations of France and Spain to American history.

Causes of the Revolution.

The political and constitutional struggle that led to the revolt of the colonies is difficult to make plain, because it was not a simple tale of oppression, as popular tradition so often represents it, but, in part at least, a conflict between different theories of government. Americans are in much the same situation as are French republicans in regard to the French Revolution; they have been inclined to emphasize the grievances from which they suffered in order to seem loyal to the result. Fortunately the later writers on American history, both Americans and Englishmen, are inclined to look upon the controversy more dispassionately.

The English colonial policy cannot be understood if it is considered separately, for it was simply one example of the common attitude of the colonial powers of the eighteenth century toward their possessions beyond the seas, except that England was more liberal than the others. France had not merely laid similar trade restrictions upon Canada, she had governed autocratically; and this she did naturally because her own home government was in theory autocratic. And Spain carried this policy still further, excluding even colonists of pure Spanish descent from all share in colonial appointments. Whatever faults England may have committed, they were light in comparison with the acts of the other nations.

From the point of view of the old colonial policy, the acts of the British Parliament were not oppressive. This fact explains why Parliament was so warmly supported by English public sentiment until the nature of feeling in America came to be better understood. But the old colonial policy is now discredited and the British colonial empire has been preserved because that policy was abandoned by the middle of the nineteenth century. The position the Americans occupied was sound, not because it was altogether justifiable by legal precedents, but because it was the ground upon which all were to

stand within a century. The situation may be explained by comparing it to the controversy between Charles and Parliament. There could not be two supreme powers in England. Either Charles must abandon his notion of royal prerogative, a notion more or less justified by the history of the Tudor monarchy, or Parliament must be in danger of losing the position it had reached, to say nothing of extending its control over matters which deeply concerned such a body. So in 1765 Parliament must either govern the colonies according to the customary theory of the relation of colonies to the state, or it must confess that a rival power had supplanted it. No one then dreamed of the solution of the problem worked out in the case of Canada and Australia by the concession of responsible government. Furthermore, the whole matter was complicated by a scheme of George III. to apply to the colonies his notions of government in general, so that the cause of the Americans seemed to many enlightened men in England the cause also of English liberty.

These considerations should lead the teacher to manage so complex and delicate a subject with special care after he has himself become master of its intricacies. Phases of it are too legal to be appreciated by high school pupils, but the fundamental question can be understood, namely, whether Englishmen who had become accustomed for over a century to a large measure of self-government, and whose notions of liberty had been inherited from the stormy times of the conflict with Charles, were to see this privilege pass little by little from them into the hands of a body sitting three thousand miles away, deciding matters according to the suggestions of the new imperialism when it did not decide them on more selfish grounds.

Before the study of the subject is taken up, there should be a brief study of George III. and his notions of royal prerogative, his plans to obtain control, and the attitude of the English party leaders on this question.

It is well to divide the grievances between those of long standing, connected with England's trade and colonial system,

and those which were new and part of which grew out of the quarrel itself.

Topics: review the Navigation Acts and the attempts to enforce them, the "Molasses Act" of 1733, writs of assistance. Grenville's policy in regard to sugar and molasses, and his attempt to enforce the revenue laws.

The Stamp Act, English theory of representation. American theory of representation; effect on the situation by the change in the political situation in England (Rockingham ministry). The Declaratory Act.

Compare this Declaratory Act with the attitude of the American Congress toward the right to tax Porto Rico.

Townsend Acts, which attempt to levy duties on certain imports instead of laying internal taxes, which also attempt to free the governors from control by colonial assemblies by providing for the payment of salaries out of proceeds, and to render the whole effective, reorganize revenue service, and take cases out of the ordinary courts; danger of these measures.

Virginia Resolves of 1769; Non-Importation Agreements.

Boston Massacre; partial repeal of the Townsend Acts; Boston Tea Party; punishment of Massachusetts; gradual organization of the Americans through Committees of Correspondence; provisional assemblies where the government dissolved the colonial assemblies.

First Continental Congress; effect of the Quebec Act on the situation; its real object.

American Revolution.

The Revolutionary War is a subject of such absorbing interest that it may easily be dealt with in detail. There is reason why this should be done, for it is the heroic period of the Republic, although really not more heroic than the political struggle which preceded the clash of arms. Like all such conflicts, it will be better understood if an attempt is made to group its incidents into a few phases and not lay an equal emphasis on all battles.

Beginnings: Lexington and Concord; the attitude taken by the several colonies, difficulties which confronted Washington in organizing the army, reasons for the failure of the French in Canada to welcome the opportunity to throw off British control, siege of Boston, New York becomes the centre of

operations, difficulty of Congress in providing for defence, movement for independence, theories set forth in the Declaration of Independence.

War in the north (1776–1778): from the time when Washington is forced to retreat from Brooklyn Heights, and later across the Jerseys until his return to the Hudson River valley in 1778: battle of Long Island, Washington crosses to New York, disaster and retreat, restoration of situation by Trenton and Princeton, battles around Philadelphia, invasion of Burgoyne, capture of his army, the Conway Cabal, effect of the surrender of Burgoyne upon France, the work of Franklin; England declares war on France, relation of this to the "Hundred Years War," retreat of the British to New York.

War in the south: with incidental fighting in the north, 1780–1781: previous successes and failures of the British in the south, situation there in 1780; treason of Arnold; destruction of Gates's army, decisive minor actions, King's Mountain and Cowpens, Guilford Court House, Cornwallis moves into Virginia, Yorktown campaign, Greene's later campaign in South Carolina.

List of dates: —

1419. Prince Henry the Navigator begins his work at Sagres.
1486. Diaz discovers the Cape of Good Hope.
1492. Columbus discovers the West Indies.
1498. Da Gama reaches the coast of India.
1522. Magellan's sailors complete the circumnavigation of the globe.
1558. Accession of Queen Elizabeth.
1572. Massacre of St. Bartholomew.
1588. The defeat of the Invincible Armada.
1598. The Edict of Nantes.
1607. Jamestown founded.
1620. Plymouth founded.
1628. The Petition of Right; Massachusetts Bay colony founded.
1642. Civil War in England.
1648. Peace of Westphalia.
1649. Charles I. executed.
1660. Restoration in England.
1685. Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.
1688. The "Glorious Revolution": beginning of the War of the League of Augsburg, King William's War.

1713. Treaty of Utrecht reconstructs map of Europe.
1754. Fighting begins in the Virginia woods which brings on the Seven Years War and leads to the ruin of the French colonial empire.
1765. Stamp Act.
1775. Battle of Lexington.
1776. Declaration of Independence.
1778. The French become the allies of the American colonists.
1781. Yorktown campaign.
1783. Peace acknowledging independence of United States.

CHAPTER XVII

EUROPEAN HISTORY SINCE 1560

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Arrangement of Material.

THE treatment of Mediæval History in Chapter XV. closed with the preliminary settlements of the religious question effected about the year 1560. In the following chapter the succeeding incidents of European history, as far as the end of the American Revolution, were grouped with American colonial history. If the school programme provides for a course in general history managed according to the customary method, it will be necessary to give the material an arrangement somewhat different, and place the emphasis upon the development of the European system rather than upon the founding of America. It will be the aim of this chapter to suggest such a rearrangement, and afterwards to explain how the period from the end of the American Revolution may be treated.

The first change will affect the fifteenth chapter. Since the discoveries are not to form the opening incident of a new period of modern history, they may be studied as one of the most important events of the Renaissance.

The colonies cannot be ignored in this alternate scheme. They must now be considered as evidences of power and enterprise on the part of the nations that founded and controlled them, rather than as that expression of a nation's influence chiefly to be kept in view. They should be treated incidentally to the progress of European history itself.

The possession of sea-power was an important element in the founding of colonies; it was almost equally important in determining the relative strength of European nations, especially after commerce became a source of national wealth. This may be open to question in the case of several events of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, — notably the seizure of Silesia by Frederick the Great, the Austro-Prussian War of 1866, and the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–1871, — and yet it is justifiable, considering the influence exerted by England during the first fifty or sixty years of the nineteenth century.

From 1560–1600.

If the year 1560 be taken as the starting-point, the chief interest for the remainder of the sixteenth century centres in the further attempts to reach a settlement of the religious question, and to determine just where the frontiers of Protestantism were finally to be laid down. England gradually becomes the bulwark of the Reformation through the successful carrying out of Elizabeth's policy, while Philip of Spain, commanding the resources of America and supported by his famous army, strove to beat back the Protestants in the revolted Netherlands and in France. With the final sessions of the Council of Trent, in 1563, a beginning was made of the reorganization of the Catholic church. Henceforth the conservatives could say that there had been a "reformation in head and members," and that the schismatic Protestants were without excuse if they did not return to the fold.[1] The Jesuit Order had already been created, and a formidable army of missionaries was winning back to the church, foot by foot, the

[1] At the time of the Reforming Councils, in the fifteenth century, there had been constant agitation for what was called a "Reformation in head and members," that is, at Rome and throughout the church.

strategic ground of South Germany. France was torn by the religious wars, which were to continue almost uninterruptedly until the publication of the Edict of Nantes in 1598. In this treatment of the subject, as well as in that of Chapter XVI., the defeat of the Invincible Armada is the turning-point in the struggle. That disaster saved England; it also marked the limits beyond which the reaction could not go.

Seventeenth Century.

In the seventeenth century the development of the Bourbon monarchy in France, and the ruin of Germany by the Thirty Years War, should receive relatively greater attention than in Chapter XVI., although even in a course on strictly general history it is impossible to neglect the fact that the American child is likely to be more interested in English history than in either French or German history, because the events of the seventeenth century in England are so closely interwoven with our own colonial history.

Absolute Monarchy.

A comprehension of what is meant by absolute monarchy under Louis XIV. is necessary to an understanding of the later incidents in French history that led up to the Revolution.[1] The teacher should remember that the principal dangers from absolutism were in the political paralysis that came over the whole country because so much of what was purely local business had to be referred for settlement to the royal councils. Commonly speaking, absolutism was not dangerous to the liberty of the average man. It must be remembered that whatever be the theory of government, details must be managed according to precedent and with a regard for traditional rights and vested interests. There were certain established principles of administration to which the king himself must be subservient unless he would destroy his country instead of governing it. The phrase "I am the state" was simply a theory as to the ultimate source of authority, and in this respect corresponded to the phrase "the sovereign people." It was one thing to be sovereign and quite another

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[1] Kitchin, *France*, III. 146 ff.

to make that sovereignty effective. Democracies are beginning to realize this.

Another feature of French history which should be emphasized, particularly from the Peace of Westphalia, is the gradual building up of the northern and eastern frontier. This throws light upon the modern geography of Europe, and explains some of the questions which still agitate European politics. With Westphalia came the full cession of Toul and Verdun, and also of Metz, the city France was to lose in 1871. Alsace came too, another possession the loss of which France bitterly mourns. In 1659 Spain was obliged to cede a strip of territory in the Netherlands, to add to these cessions in 1668, and in 1678 to surrender the Free County of Burgundy. This Free County, or Franche Comté, was the last permanent gain of France on the east until Savoy and Nice came as a result of bargain with Victor Emmanuel in 1860. Such cessions cannot be studied in much detail, but enough should be said about them for the pupil to gain an intelligent comprehension of the means by which France reached its present limits, or those which it had until 1871.

Frontier of France.

Louis XIV's foreign policy should be explained in an elementary way, because it made France, instead of Spain, the object of fear, and the nation against which great alliances were directed. The situation was similar to that necessitated by Napoleon's even more aggressive policy. It is strange to find Holland and Spain fighting side by side, supported by England, against the power which earlier in the century, under Richelieu, had interfered to prevent Spain from effectively taking part in the Thirty Years War against Holland and the German Protestants.[1]

Foreign Policy of France.

With the opening of the eighteenth century came changes in European geography full of future interest. The struggle about the Spanish part of Charles V's great inheritance resulted in the transfer to Austria of the Netherlands, and also of Naples

[1] This period is discussed from the English point of view in Seeley's *Growth of British Foreign Policy*, 2 vols., Cambridge University Press.

and Sardinia. A little later the Duke of Savoy, who had received Sicily as his share of the spoils, exchanged it for Sardinia, and was allowed to assume the title King of Sardinia. This fact is important because of its relation to the unification of Italy in the nineteenth century. Another monarchy also began its career during the struggle over the Spanish inheritance. This was Prussia. In order to make Prussia's position clear, the teacher should explain the sources of the territorial power of the Elector of Brandenburg and the origin of the connection with Prussia.

Territorial Changes.

Until after the Peace of Paris the interest must be fixed upon the rise of Prussia and the conflict with Austria over Silesia, and upon the struggle between France and England which receives the principal emphasis in the other management of the subject.

As soon as these causes of strife are described attention turns to the character of the old régime in Europe, which was to make the French Revolution an upheaval of Continental proportions. This study centres upon the conditions in France, although the state of English and German society should also be understood. It is necessary, further, to see how England's progress in manufactures and in agriculture was preparing her to endure the shock of the conflict with France from 1793 until 1815.

Causes of the Revolution.

Topical summary of the Old Régime:—

England: improvements in methods of agriculture, Enclosure Acts, effect of these upon small proprietors, effect upon England's ability to furnish her own food; inventions of Kay, Hargreaves, Arkwright, and others, result in transformation of industry, effect upon England's industrial strength in comparison with that of rival states, growth of cities; parliamentary government after the fall of Lord North, the character of the representation, career of the younger Pitt, commercial treaty with France; foundation of penal colony in Australia.[1]

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[1] Cunningham's *Growth of British Industry and Commerce; Modern Times*, Toynbee's *The Industrial Revolution*, Jenks' *Australasia*.

France: condition of the peasantry, nature of their burdens from the remaining incidents of the feudal system and from the inequalities in taxation; the taille and the method of collecting it, the vingtièmes, the indirect taxes, the "Farm," inequalities in the gabelle; the nobility, their privileges and exemptions, absenteeism; the clergy, their contribution to the revenue, in comparison with their income, their control of the schools, of the civil status of the individual; the finances, the debt, relation of the American Revolution to this debt, financial expedients in meeting obligations; the philosophers and their attack upon the abuses of the old régime, Rousseau and his doctrine of popular sovereignty in the Contrat Social (1762).[1]

Germany: serfdom in Prussia and other German states, division of Prussian society into classes; the bureaucracy; the army and its organization.

French Revolution.

In dealing with the French Revolution the teacher must guard against the shallow view that it was a succession of dreadful riots culminating in a horrible orgy called the Reign of Terror. Naturally scenes like those of July 12–14, October 5–6, August 10, and 9 Thermidor, fill the imagination and crowd out the solid work of the Revolution. This is especially true in the case of children in the elementary schools who are scarcely old enough to understand the changes in the structure of society and the principles of government wrought by the Revolution. It should be possible to give the impression that although much was destroyed, nevertheless the Revolution was rather a hastening of processes begun long before than a decisive break with the past. To accomplish this emphasis there should be an elementary treatment of social changes and of the new administrative system. Scenes of riot cannot be ignored, but they should be treated as incidents of the change and not as revealing its true character. This does not mean that the teacher should explain away the injustices and the atrocities of the Revolution or should seek to excuse the Terrorists, it means that as the Revolution brought about

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[1] Lowell's *Eve of the French Revolution* contains the clearest discussion of these topics. For selections from the French philosophers see *Penn. Tr. and Rp.*, VI. No. 1.

those changes in French society which gave it its present character and laid the foundations of its permanent administrative organization, this is the fact that should stand in the foreground.

A study of the European situation immediately before the Revolution and in 1792 shows that this acted as a vortex, irresistibly drawing all European nations within its sweep.

The Revolution (1789–1795).

Beginnings: vain efforts of Turgot at reform, condition of the finances in 1786, failure of the Notables and of Parlement to bring relief, purpose for which the Estates General were summoned; conflict in the Estates General over the question of voting, the Third Estate defies the king, and gains control; court scheme of coercion and its results in Paris, establishment of new city governments in Paris and elsewhere, organization of the National Guard; war on the chateaux and the attempt of the new National Assembly to abolish feudalism, distrust of the king leads to his being brought to Paris, practically a prisoner.[1]

Constitution: new administrative divisions for the country, Civil Constitution of the clergy, nationalization of church property, new theory of the monarchy, relation of the monarch to the assembly, position of the ministry; experiment with a paper currency secured on land.[2]

Political struggle: effect of the pope's disapproval of the Civil Constitution upon the king's conscience, flight to Varennes, new efforts at compromise and the acceptance of the constitution by the king; conflict between the king and the Legislative Assembly over the question of the non-juring clergy, the king forced into war with Austria and Prussia; June 20; the king believed to be in conspiracy with the enemy, Brunswick's

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[1] The evils of the old régime are clearly stated in the Protest of the Cour des Aides, *Penn. Tr. and Rp.*, V. No. 2, selections from Typical Cahiers in *Penn. Tr. and Rp.*, IV. No. 5. This early period is well described by Von Holst. Taine's account must be accepted with reserve. The decree abolishing feudalism in *Penn. Tr. and Rp.*, I. No. 5, pp. 2–6, was not the final action. The teacher should look the matter up in a special work. The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen is in *Penn. Tr. and Rp.*, I. No. 5. There is also in the same number an interesting memoir drawn up by Mirabeau and bearing on the state of affairs after the king was taken to Paris.

[2] Selections from the Civil Constitution in *Penn. Tr. and Rp.*, I. No. 5. For paper money see A. D. White, *Paper Money Inflation in France.*

manifesto, August 10, the victory of the radicals and the continued advance of the allies brings on the prison massacres in September; the Prussians checked at Valmy, meeting of the Convention and proclamation of the Republic.

The Revolution and Europe: temporary victories lead to war of expansion and political upheaval, beginnings of strife in the Convention, trial and death of the king, France without friends, civil war in La Vendée; attempt through appointment of a Committee of Public Safety to infuse vigour into the administration, the Girondists driven from the Convention, the civil war becomes more general; moderate men lose control of the Committee, opposition in the Convention silenced, gradual formation of the Great Committee, rise of Robespierre to supreme influence; the law of Suspects and the Revolutionary army bring on the Reign of Terror, the ultras attack the church and attempt to establish the Worship of Reason, both ultras and moderates destroyed by the Committee of Public Safety under the influence of Robespierre, Billaud, and Collot; Robespierre's brief triumph, the worship of the Supreme Being, 22 Prairial, attempt of Robespierre to destroy some of the Terrorists leads to his own overthrow; the victories of France on all frontiers remove the fear of invasion and encourage the moderates to reassert themselves, the Thermidorian reaction, the new constitution, and the treaties with Prussia and Spain; second and third partitions of Poland.[1]

Napoleonic Period.

The next period, in which Napoleon plays the most prominent part, led to several changes in the geography of Europe, and especially of Germany. These are the most important of the permanent results of Napoleonic rule, save in France, where the system of law and of administration confirmed and completed the work of the Revolution. It should also be noted that with the establishment of French influence throughout Europe after the Austerlitz or the Friedland campaign the French social system with its principles of law became so firmly rooted that it was not swept away in the subsequent ruin of the Empire. The relations of the United States to this struggle were very close, for the United States

[1] Good map of the three partitions of Poland, Rose, *Revolutionary and Napoleonic Era*, 76.

was practically the only neutral, and so was in a position to gather immense profits from the misfortunes of the contestants unless they did violence to the rights of neutrals and laid arbitrary restrictions upon American commerce. This happened, and brought on the second war between England and the United States. Such a situation should not be studied wholly from the American point of view. England could hardly be expected to watch with pleasure the desertion of her seamen, their speedy naturalization as American citizens, and the loss of her commerce through the efforts of a sturdy young rival unhampered by heavy insurance rates. If fear prompted her to strike out with insolent rage, and in so doing bring upon herself still greater losses and an irritating though not dangerous war, this should not blind Americans to the real difficulties of the situation.

United States involved.

Rise of Napoleon: Toulon, 13th Vendémiaire, characteristics of the campaign of '96, with its results in the Peace of Tolentino and the Peace of Campo Formio; the Egyptian expedition, ruined by Nelson's victory of the Nile; dissatisfaction with the constitution gives Napoleon his opportunity to overthrow the government on the 18th Brumaire, strengthening of the executive, use Napoleon made of his power in re-establishing a state church through the Concordat, in reforming the French law; the results of Marengo and Lunéville in giving France the Rhine frontier and in compensating Prussia with the territory of the bishoprics, general secularization of the church territories and mediatization of the petty princes; Napoleon's brief experiment with colonization in San Domingo and Louisiana, sale of Louisiana to Jefferson.[1]

The Empire: outbreak of war with England, Trafalgar and Austerlitz campaigns, the Peace of Pressburg leads to the establishment of the Rhenish Confederation with Bavaria and Wurtemburg as kingdoms and Baden as a Grand Duchy; dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire; Prussia crushed, Russia defeated makes peace at Tilsit, creation of Grand Duchy of Warsaw,

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[1] Full explanation in Henry Adams, *History of the United States*, I. 335 ff., II. 1 ff. Selection from *Memoirs* of Miot de Melito on Napoleon's plans in 1796–1797, in *Penn. Tr. and Rp.*, II. No. 2. Also treaties of Campo Formio and Lunéville.

Saxony becomes a kingdom; the Continental System, note the fact that this was not the invention of Napoleon although he extended its application, partial responsibility of England for such measures, effect of the system upon the growth of manufactures on the Continent, effect upon the maritime towns, its bearing upon Napoleon's later wars.[1]

Fall of Napoleon: seizure of the Spanish throne, uprising of the Spaniards; causes of war with Alexander, Moscow campaign; wars of Liberation; territorial settlement made at the Congress of Vienna, new position granted to Russia and to Prussia; the Waterloo campaign; the Restoration in France.

From 1815 to 1851.

The history of Europe since 1815 should be for the secondary school pupil an explanation of the way in which the present states of Europe were finally constituted. For example, it will be of little use to dwell upon the history of Germany and of Italy before 1848. The same thing is true of France, though in a less degree. The Bourbon and Orleanist monarchies accomplished little for the country and were merely passing phases of its political struggles.

From 1815 to 1848: the Holy Alliance, in distinction from this the alliance of England, Austria, Prussia, and Russia to maintain the status quo in France; the intervention of the allies in Spain after England had withdrawn, the relation of this to the Monroe Doctrine; the freeing of Greece; the Bourbons overthrown in France, Belgium created, reform in England, the Prussian Zollverein, the Eastern Question becomes important.[2]

The Revolution of 1848 in Germany is of deep interest, not so much because of its positive results, but because the manner of its failure in a measure justified Bismarck's policy of achieving unification through "blood and iron." In Italy, Sardinia came

[1] Napoleon's message to the Diet announcing the Confederation of the Rhine, and the abdication of Francis II. as Emperor, in *Penn. Tr. and Rp.*, II. No. 2. Also, Documents on the Continental Blockade, and the Prussian Reform Edict.

[2] The French Constitutional Charter, the Holy Alliance, the German Act of Confederation, the Carlsbad Decrees, etc., in *Penn. Tr. and Rp.*, I. No. 3.

forth from defeat the champion of the peninsula against Austrian domination. The year 1848, therefore, foreshadows the turn affairs were to take in the third quarter of the century, which was to be quite as fruitful as the first quarter had been.

1848: reform in the papal states, revolution in the kingdom of Naples, Sardinia given a new constitution; February Revolution in France, reasons why the republic was doomed to failure; overthrow of Metternich, upheaval in Berlin and Milan, the distress of Austria the opportunity of Liberalism in Germany, the German National Parliament, loss of time in theoretical discussions, Austria meanwhile by victories at Prague, in Italy, and in Vienna itself recovers power, the Prussian monarch reasserts himself against the Liberals, the work of the Parliament henceforth doomed; the Roman republic and its overthrow, vain struggle of Sardinia against Austria, succession of Victor Emmanuel; attempt of Hungary to win independence; humiliation of Prussia at Olmütz; the French republic destroyed by Napoleon III.

From 1851.

From 1851 until 1885 the interest is concentrated upon the reconstitution of the German Empire and the unification of Italy. The Eastern Question also absorbs attention at the beginning and at the end of the period. France once more undergoes a serious political change, which results in the establishment of a stable republic.

Crimean war: the proposition of the Czar Nicholas to Lord Aberdeen in 1844, the quarrel out of which the war grew, desire of Napoleon to pose as arbiter of Europe, fears felt in England of Russian aggression, the Sebastopol campaign, appearance of Italy on the scene, Peace of Paris in its effect upon conditions within the Turkish Empire.[1]

Germany and Italy: reorganization of the kingdom of Sardinia by Cavour, his agreement with Napoleon III., war of 1859, uprising in central Italy, Garibaldi's expedition to Sicily and to Naples, Napoleon forced to make concessions to accomplished facts.

Bismarck becomes president of the Prussian Council, acts in

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[1] Kinglake's description of the diplomatic origin of the Crimean War is unusually enlightening.

the Schleswig-Holstein affair with Austria and independently of the Confederation, meets the new and jealous policy of Austria with war, the minor German states crushed, Königgratz, the treaty of Prague excludes Austria from Germany, Italy receives Venice as the price of her co-operation with Prussia, Prussia annexes Hanover, etc., North German Confederation.[1]

Jealousy between France and Prussia, the Spanish crown, campaign against Metz, Gravelotte, against Sedan, siege of Paris, government of National Defence, struggle in the provinces, Peace of Versailles, cession of Alsace and Lorraine; constitution of the Empire, the Commune of Paris.

The course in modern history may be brought down to the close of the nineteenth century if one is enamoured of the notion of completeness, but except in regard to its relations with Asia and Africa, the situation in Europe has not materially changed since the formation of the Triple Alliance, and of its counterpart the Dual Alliance.

Since 1871: establishment of a republic in France through the failure of the monarchist majority of the National Assembly to restore either the Comte de Chambord or the Comte de Paris to the throne; the Bulgarian "atrocities" lead to war between Russia and Turkey, treaty of Adrianople, intervention of the English, Convention of Cyprus, treaty of Berlin; England occupies Egypt; union of Bulgaria and East Rumelia; the Triple Alliance or League of Peace, this calls into being the Dual Alliance.

Great Men.

In these topical summaries little emphasis has been placed on individual men, although the whole period from 1774 to 1885 is rich in personality. Such men as Mirabeau, Lafayette, Danton, Robespierre, Talleyrand, Napoleon, Louis Philippe, Napoleon III., in France; Stein, Bismarck, William I., in Germany; Metternich in Austria; Cavour, Garibaldi, Mazzini, and Victor Emmanuel, in Italy, should be treated in connection with the events to which they contributed so much.

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[1] Bismarck's Memoirs (*The Man and the Statesman*) introduce the reader into the spirit of Bismarck's policy as no other book does.

List of important dates: —

1789. Beginning of the French Revolution.
1792. Establishment of a republic in France.
1794. Overthrow of Robespierre; end of the Reign of Terror.
1799. Napoleon becomes First Consul; 18th Brumaire.
1805. Battles of Trafalgar and Austerlitz.
1807. Treaty of Tilsit.
1815. Waterloo; final overthrow of Napoleon; settlement of territorial results of the Revolution and Napoleonic period.
1823. Intervention of France in Spain; the Monroe Doctrine.
1830. Overthrow of the Bourbons; creation of kingdom of Belgium.
1848. General revolutions throughout Europe.
1856. Peace of Paris ends Crimean war.
1866. Austria driven out of Germany and Italy.
1871. New German Empire; Italy unified; France despoiled of Alsace and Lorraine.
1878. Treaty of Berlin.

CHAPTER XVIII

HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

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THE History of the United States is taught chiefly in the elementary school, although an advanced course is gradually finding

a place in the programme of the secondary school. If it be taught in the last year, the character of the work is hardly to be differentiated from what is done during the early years of college study. In this case emphasis may be put more upon the growth of the political system, industrial development, the method by which the region west of the Alleghanies has been settled and organized, and less upon what may be called the story of American history. It will be possible also to discuss with greater advantage incidental questions, like those which concern the original relation of the States to the federal government or those involved in the slavery controversy. In respect to methods of work, there may be a wider use of the sources and more time given to elementary tasks of investigation.

In the Secondary School.

It will be the aim of this chapter briefly to explain and summarize the leading tendencies and questions which belong to the time from the organization of the Confederation to the close of Reconstruction.[1]

It will be advantageous to divide this time into shorter periods in order to bring out tendencies which successively became dominant, although there is the usual danger that the attempt to divide the general progress of a nation into periods will lead to the neglect of other almost equally important phases of the subject. Writers of "guides" divide the time differently and describe differently the periods they create. The greater differences concern the years after the War of 1812. For example, Bacheler puts in three periods from 1817 to 1855, — National Growth (1817–1829), Critical Change (1829–1842), Slavery Agitation (1842–

Periods.

[1] Such summaries within the space allotted to this chapter must necessarily be fragmentary and incomplete. The teacher is referred for fuller treatments to the various guides, notably to Channing and Hart. The references to books in this chapter are also meagre because it is impossible to furnish in so short a space adequate bibliographical notes. Since all the important documents are reprinted in Macdonald's *Select Charters*, and many in the *Old South Leaflets* and Preston's *Documents*, it is not deemed necessary, except in special cases, to refer to these collections of sources. The same is true of Hart's *Contemporaries*.

1856). McLaughlin divides the same years in this fashion, — Political and Industrial Reorganization (1817–1829), Democracy and Slavery (1829–1845), Territorial Expansion (1845–1861). Mace analyzes the subject as follows: —

Relations between Nationality and Democracy, 1789–1840.
1. A Period of Conflict, 1789–1803.
2. The Mutual Approach of Nationality and Democracy, 1800–1820.
3. Fusion of Nationality and Democracy Working out its Results, 1816–1840.

Relations between Nationality and Slavery, 1820–1870.
1. Slavery Gradually Grows Hostile to Nationality, 1820–1840.
2. Sectionalization of Interests and Sentiments, 1835–1860.

These ways of managing the subject are in a sense typical. The first gives little recognition to the expansion of the country, the second emphasizes that aspect, while the third emphasizes the development of institutions and of the national spirit which gives them life.

Scope.

Whatever be the division the teacher should keep in view all the tendencies, political, industrial, and social, so that the result will be a clear comprehension of the lines along which the national life of the American people has grown. Often these seemingly distinct tendencies are closely related. For example, the expansion of the people westward and the industrial organization of that great region were the most potent forces in stimulating the national spirit and in making dominant a certain interpretation of the Constitution.

Although the chapter on the Founding of America dealt with the history of the Revolution, it did not include the organization of the central government of the colonies. The aim of its later pages was to show the process by which the colonies were brought to assert and achieve independence, leaving the beginnings of their experiment at confederation as the first phase of the national history.

It would be well as an introduction to review the attempts at united action prior to the outbreak of the Revolution, and to describe the governmental institutions in the several colonies which had constituted the political training school of the people. The pupils will in this way more easily understand the problem that confronted the statesmen of the new Republic, namely, the substitution for the control which the English Crown had exercised of a central government which should be effective and yet which should not threaten the liberties of the separate states. When the colonies were reorganized as states, a feeling of loyalty to them rapidly grew up, and there was a tendency to return to the familiar colonial policy of unrelated commonwealths, a system no longer possible in the absence of the overlordship and protection once exercised by the mother country. It was fortunate for the Republic that the evils of the system embodied in the Articles of Confederation became very patent, for they forced men to believe in the necessity of a stronger government, and thus opened the way for the creation of the Constitution.

Union or Disunion.

In dealing with the Confederation, emphasis should be laid upon disorders which the government was unable to check. The defects in the Articles may also be brought out by showing the remedies provided in the Constitution.[1]

Even in this period there were tendencies toward an extension of the functions of the central government and a development of national spirit. This is brought out in the controversy over the western lands and in the adoption of the Northwest Ordinance. Both have another interesting relation. They form the necessary introduction to the expansion of the American people westward. In a sense it is true that from the beginning the Americans have been founders of colonies, although this general fact should not mislead the teacher into the statement that the earlier ventures of the United States were similar to the recent experiments in controlling

Colonization.

[1] Note particularly Articles II., V., VII., and the provision for an army in Article IX.

Porto Rico and the Philippines. Mere distance across country on the same parallels of latitude offers no such obstacle to normal expansion as distance over seas and southward into tropical lands already occupied by an alien or barbarous population. Because the two movements are so often confused in popular discussions of the subject it is the more important that the pupil should know the nature of this earlier colonization, the exact rights and privileges which the settlers enjoyed, and the extent to which the older communities assumed control over them.

Slavery.

The Ordinance of 1787 has still another important bearing. Since it forbade slavery in the region north of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi, it constituted the first move toward giving ascendancy to free territory. In connection with it, the attitude of the newly organized northern and southern states toward slavery should be noted.

The Confederation: organization of state governments; central government provided by the Articles, result of the method of voting by states, difficulty of amending the articles; requisitions, loans, paper money; lack of power to regulate trade and its consequences in trade wars between the states; distress in the states, principally owing to disorder of the finances, Shays' rebellion; relation of the western land claims to the adoption of the Articles, method of settlement by cession, the Ordinance of 1787 in relation to colonial policy and to slavery, time at which a measure of self-government was to be granted.[1]

The Federal Convention.

The movement to remedy the defects in the scheme of government under the Articles was in a sense a conservative reaction impelled by the desire to protect property against the reckless financiering of the states with their fondness for an irredeemable paper money. The Consti-

[1] Fiske's *American Revolution and Critical Period;* Sumner's *Robert Morris;* Sumner's *Alexander Hamilton;* Frothingham's *Rise of the Republic;* Howard's *Local Constitutional History;* MacMaster's *History of United States* (emphasizes social conditions); Roosevelt's *Winning of the West;* Hinsdale's *Old Northwest; Indiana* and *Michigan* in *Commonwealths Series;* Fiske, *Civil Government*, 81–88.

tution itself in several of its provisions gives evidence of a distrust of what is now called democracy. The president was to be chosen in such a way that he would be lifted above all party influences. Each group of electors was to make its choice independently, this was to be forwarded to Congress, and if it was then found that the groups had united upon one man, he was to be president. If the election was thrown into the House of Representatives, each state was to have only one vote. This is only a single illustration of a lack of confidence in the wisdom of mere majorities.

In its details, the plan of government framed by the Convention represents the results of English and colonial experience rather than an ideal formed in the minds of the framers.

In studying the Constitution attention should be fixed upon the difficulties which confronted the Convention, the compromises by which these were removed, and upon the nature of the government, particularly the distribution of power between the central government and the states.

Teaching the Constitution.

In dealing with the details of the system of government created by the Convention, it will be wise to adhere to a strictly historical treatment. The pupil must realize that the present government has a twofold origin, — on the one hand, the written instrument called the Constitution, on the other, acts of Congress, decisions of courts, and political customs. There must be a distinction between the original plan and later accretions. The need of this has already been hinted at in what was said of the presidency. It is also obvious that as soon as parties came into existence, a trouble would arise like the Jefferson-Burr incident of 1800. This made the twelfth amendment inevitable. The rise of national party machinery also profoundly modified the system of electing presidents. American history as well as American government will be better understood if such facts are emphasized in their proper place chronologically, and not at the outset when the Constitution is under discussion.

The study of the Convention also offers an opportunity to

observe the beginnings of what were later to become strong political parties. One group of men felt more keenly the anarchy incident to the Confederation. Their hopes and interests were national rather than local. The other group looked upon the federal government only as a convenient means of protecting and supporting the states. These parties did not disintegrate when the adoption of the Constitution had been settled. Their attention was turned to a broad or a strict construction of its provisions.

Parties.

The Federal Convention: the preliminary convention at Annapolis, men who took the lead, sources of the Constitution; the three compromises, (1) representation of large and small states in Congress, (2) representation of slaves, (3) the slave trade; power to raise revenue granted the central government, limitations placed on Congress, limitations placed on the states, power of coercion granted the central government; method of adoption and amendment; ratification; attitude toward the finished work of the Convention.[1]

The beginning of government under the Constitution offers a convenient opportunity to study the condition of the United States, the distribution of population, the principal occupations of the people, the development of industry, the means of communication, the newer western communities, and the general characteristics of American life.

State of the Country.

When Washington had been inaugurated, the important task remained of organizing the new government and of fixing the lines along which it was to develop. It is one thing to draw up a constitution and quite another to define it by a broad or a restricted interpretation of the powers that have been granted. The more mature pupils will be interested to observe how twelve years of rule by men who

Beginnings of Government.

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[1] In addition to the books previously mentioned: Von Holst's *Constitutional History*; Bancroft's *History of the Constitution*; Stevens' *Sources of the Constitution*; Fisher's *Evolution of the Constitution of the United States*; Meigs' *Growth of the Constitution in the Federal Convention of 1787*; Ford's *Development of American Politics*. Compare the first eleven amendments with the English Bill of Rights and the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen.

believed in strong government set the traditions in favour of the federal authority so firmly that when the ardent champions of states rights came into office, they were glad to use the powers that had been created.

Foreign Relations.

During Washington's administration another vital question was determined. This was the attitude which the Republic was to take toward European states. The opening scenes of the French Revolution came a few days after Washington's inauguration. There was every reason why the Americans should watch with enthusiasm the early struggles of the French for rights like those which they had themselves long enjoyed, especially since some of the leading Revolutionists like Lafayette and the Lameths had fought for the cause of independence in America. The matter became serious as soon as war broke out between France and England in 1793 and many Americans desired to support their old ally. Washington then marked out the policy of the Republic as one of strict neutrality, avoiding all entangling alliances. It was difficult for the United States to adhere to such a policy, because the area of conflict eventually included the civilized world. In a sense the Americans were still colonists and were deeply affected by what was taking place in Europe. Moreover, their growing trade threatened to drag them into the struggle, whatever might be their inclination. This became more evident in Jefferson's administration, after the outbreak of the second series of wars. And yet, if they could not keep out of the fray, they lost one of the advantages of independence, and sank back toward the condition prior to the Revolution, when they were objects of attack during every war in which England was involved.

New Parties.

Another fact of Washington's administration to which particular attention must be called is the development of parties, — the Federalists and the Republicans, as the old Anti-Federalists came to be called. The latter favoured an interpretation of the Constitution that would confine the central government strictly within the limits indicated by the

letter of the instrument. They would restrict the powers of government in the interests of liberty. This party gained influence as the people began to view with alarm the extensive exercise of authority which they felt was concentrated in the hands of a few men. When the Federalists passed the Alien and Sedition Acts, the Republicans replied with the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions. Here the idea of Nullification makes its appearance, an idea which was later to be adopted by the New England Federalists when they regarded themselves as an oppressed minority, and by the South Carolina leaders to protect their own local interests.

The Federalist Supremacy: the choice of electors in various states; organization of the administration, creation of a cabinet, Washington's selection of cabinet officers; financial policy of Hamilton, assumption of state debts, United States Bank, the tariff, the excise, Whiskey Rebellion; French Revolutionary wars, sympathy in America, neutrality, Genet incident, Jay Treaty; election of Adams; XYZ affair, little war with France; Alien and Sedition Acts, Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions; the government established at the new capitol; Congressional caucus nominations for the presidency; the method of electing the president results in a struggle between Jefferson and Burr in the House; removal of the difficulty by the twelfth amendment.[1]

For the study of the period of Republican supremacy, there are two topics of particular interest,—first, the attitude taken by the new administration toward the question of the powers granted by the Constitution, and second, the attempt of the government to keep out of the great struggle which was convulsing Europe. The purchase of Louisiana was the most startling illustration of the length to which the Re-

1801-1817.

[1] Additional references: Lodge's *Washington;* Sumner's *Hamilton;* Morse's *Jefferson and Adams;* George Gibbs' *Memoirs of the Administrations of Washington and Adams;* Trescott, *Diplomatic History of the Administrations of Washington and Adams;* Maclay's *Journal;* the *XYZ Letters* are collected in *Penn. Tr. & Rp.*, VI. No. 2 For Genet, see Turner, *Origin of Genet's Projected Attack on Louisiana and the Floridas,* Am. Hist. Rev., July, 1898.

publican leaders were ready to go in the face of their theories, once they were convinced that the public interest demanded such steps.

The purchase of Louisiana has another obvious relation, that is, to the development of the West. This is more important than its significance in reference to the theories of the Constitution. It may be remarked here that with each accession of territory or with a redistribution of territory already possessed, the teacher should recur to the maps, so that the pupils will understand the course of the territorial development of the United States. It is true, however, that some of the divisions were made for administrative purposes and were not of lasting importance.

Quarrel with England.

The causes of the second war with Great Britain are important because they have often been somewhat misconceived and have contributed to the establishment of a tradition of enmity between the Americans and the English. Popular sentiment in the matter is in a measure justified, because the treatment of America by England, particularly after 1805, was exasperating, not to say insulting. But it was not inexplicable. To comprehend the English policy, it may be well for the teacher to study the Armed Neutralities of 1780 and 1800, and to note the policy which England had attempted to carry out in dealing with other nations. After the renewal of the war in 1803, and especially after Napoleon had gained control of western Germany and had crushed Austria, English trade suffered severely. It was not unnatural that England should attempt to keep her commerce from falling into the hands of neutrals, — and the United States was practically the only neutral left, — because if the profits of trade disappeared, she must yield to Napoleon. She therefore interpreted the rules in regard to neutrals always to her own advantage, and after the paper war was begun between herself and Napoleon by declarations of blockade, decrees, and orders in council, the rights of the neutral were outrageously violated.

The matter was further complicated by the question of im-

pressment. The Republic recognized the right of the individual to renounce his allegiance and to become one of its own citizens. European states recognized no such right. The English saw their sailors deserting and entering the American merchant service, where they would receive higher wages and better treatment. Their navy was in danger of being seriously crippled, exposing them to the attacks of Napoleon. In their endeavour to vindicate their own rights, they blindly trampled upon the rights of others. They took not only the newly naturalized English sailor from the decks of American ships, but also many native Americans who offered abundant evidence of their origin.[1]

War of 1812.

In studying the 1812 war, which grew out of these controversies, the teacher should not countenance the popular tradition that it was a second glorious triumph for American arms. The pupils should know the truth. They frequently misunderstand the naval war, which was almost the only phase creditable to the Americans. They infer from the brilliant victories gained in single-ship actions that the American navy was superior. It is well to remember that at the beginning of the war the English had over one thousand ships and the Americans seventeen, and that in the battles that were fought no ship-of-the-line took part. Of these the English had two hundred, the Americans none.[2]

Republican supremacy and the War of 1812: Republican supremacy, simplicity, reduction of expenditure; disavowal of "midnight appointments" and repeal of judiciary act.

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[1] All these questions are fully explained in Henry Adams' *History of the United States.* See also Mahan, *Influence of the Sea Power upon History*, and *Influence of the Sea Power upon the French Revolution and Empire*, particularly II. 266 ff.

[2] Captain Mahan remarks: "The War of 1812 demonstrated the usefulness of a navy, — not indeed, by the admirable but utterly unavailing single-ship victories that illustrated its course, but by the prostration into which our seaboard and external communications fell, through lack of a navy at all proportionate to the country's needs and exposure." *The Future in Relation to American Sea Power*, 149.

Purchase of Louisiana, question about the boundaries, form of government given to the territory of Orleans; explorations of Lewis and Clark, of Zebulon Pike, founding of Astoria.

Jefferson's naval policy, war with Tripoli; renewed difficulties with England and France, effect of the English application of the Rule of 1756, paper blockade of the Continent from Brest to Hamburg, Berlin Decree, Orders in Council, Milan Decree; attempt of Jefferson to use measures of peaceful retaliation, non-importation, the embargo, non-intercourse, the Macon law; impressment, American naturalization laws, incident of the Chesapeake and the Leopard, of the President and the Little Belt.

War spirit among the Young Republicans like Clay and Calhoun, belated concessions by England, professed objects of the war; failure of the attempts to invade Canada, and failure of the British to gain a foothold in the West, strategic value of Perry's and McDonough's victories; career of the American ships on the ocean; the Hartford Convention.[1]

Reorganization.

The succeeding period is one of economic and political reorganization. The tremendous stimulus that the European war had brought to the development of American commerce was removed. The American shipmasters found their profits decreasing in the face of a world-wide competition. Even before the wars had closed, the embargo and similar measures had compelled capital to withdraw from trade and seek employment in the development of manufactures. Such measures, together with the war, had acted as a high protective tariff, and behind this barrier the "infant" industries had begun to thrive. There is an interesting parallel between this result and the result of the Continental Blockade in Europe. From that period dated the beginning of important French and German industries. In both cases also, in America and in Europe, there was another consequence, namely, the

[1] In addition to Adams and Mahan, and other books already mentioned, — particularly those on the West, Thompson's *Louisiana*, Gay's *Madison*, Sumner's *Jackson*, Von Holst's *Calhoun*, Schurz's *Clay*, Roosevelt's *Naval War of* 1812, Maclay's *United States Navy*. For Berlin and Milan Decrees and the English Orders in Council, see *Penn. Tr. & Rp.*, III. No. 2. See also Lawrence, *Principles of International Law*.

creation of a demand for artificial protection as soon as the barrier of war was removed. This led to the Prussian tariff system, eventually to the Prussian Zollverein, which was so important an element in establishing Prussian ascendency in Germany. In America it led to the framing of the tariff of 1816.

Westward Ho!

This period witnessed the flow of great streams of emigration westward, probably the most important single influence then set in motion. Such a subject is interesting to the pupils, because it is so full of incidents of exploration and adventure, of travel over rough roads and along difficult trails, of voyages on the lakes and down the rivers in the early steamboats. For many years it was strangely neglected, while every detail of local colonial history was told as if this had a peculiar instructiveness not belonging to the other. The settlement and organization of civilization from the Alleghanies to the Pacific is a process as worthy of study as the early struggles of the colonies on the Atlantic seaboard.

Missouri Compromise.

The rapid opening of western lands speedily brought forward a question which was to engross attention during the next generation, and was eventually to bring on the Civil War. Was property in slaves to be permitted in the states organized out of the new territory beyond the Mississippi ? The result of the first controversy was the Missouri Compromise. In order to understand this the pupils should review the organization of states since 1800, noting which were slave and which were free. They should see on the map the situation which resulted from the Compromise.

Another event of this period is the disappearance of the Federal party, making necessary the reorganization of parties along different lines. The distinctions which had originally divided the two groups had passed away with the war. Indeed, before the end of the war, the Federalists and the Republicans had completely changed places in their attitudes toward the powers respectively of the states and of the central government.

As the Monroe Doctrine has become a fixed element of

national policy, it is necessary that its beginnings be studied with special care. It was announced in connection with events of peculiar interest to the people of the United States, events which marked in a sense the end of the colonial era on the American continents. The revolts which destroyed the best part of the Spanish empire in America gave to these continents henceforward the character of a group of autonomous states. The same revolutionary spirit invaded even Canada, which was still loyal, and it soon became necessary to establish local self-government there under the form of a grant of parliamentary institutions with a responsible ministry.

Monroe Doctrine.

Economic and political reorganization (1817–1829): early history of American manufactures, tariff of 1816; western emigration, the three main streams, race elements in this emigration, organization of the states of Indiana, 1816; Mississippi, 1817; Illinois, 1818; Alabama, 1819; Maine, 1820; Missouri, 1821; Missouri Compromise; purchase of East and West Florida, abandonment of the claim to the territory beyond the Sabine (Texas); fixing the boundary on the north, joint occupation of Oregon.

Disintegration of the Federalist party; election of 1820; election of 1824, contest in the House, Jackson's charges against Adams and Clay; Adams' management of the civil service, the "tariff of abominations"; election of 1828.[1]

In the period from 1829 to 1845 are observable some of the results of the economic and political reorganization just treated. It may be characterized as the "Triumph of Democracy," but this democracy was not of the Jefferson type. It represented a new interest of the people in managing the central government rather than a jealous defence of local rights against the encroachments of federal authority. The accession of the people to power still further strengthened

National Democracy.

[1] Additional references, — for western emigration, especially Roosevelt's *Benton*, McLaughlin's *Cass*, Shaler's *Kentucky*, King's *Ohio*, MacMaster, Vol. V.; Monroe Doctrine, Gilman's *Monroe*, *Political Science Quarterly*, March, 1896, Foster's *Century of American Diplomacy*; Taussig's *Tariff History of the United States*. For the revolt of the Spanish colonies, Payne's *European Colonies*.

national feeling. Unfortunately this feeling was not shared by the South to the same extent as by the North, for it was the North which had chiefly been influenced by the great movement of western emigration and industrial reorganization. Since general changes of this character cannot be fully comprehended by pupils because of their narrow experience of affairs, the teacher should be careful not to indulge too much in such interesting speculations. It is worth noting that in the opinion of some writers this same movement had resulted in the appearance of a new interpretation of the Constitution, substituting for the "compact" theory the theory of a supreme national government.[1]

Nullification.

In Jackson's first administration, the spirit of the new democracy was tested by the attempt of South Carolina to nullify the tariff of 1832. All the incidents of this famous controversy should be carefully studied because they throw so much light upon what was to follow. The Hayne-Webster debate should also be emphasized. In it American oratory reached its highest level, at least until Lincoln's day.

Meanwhile the same tendency toward nationalization was furthered by the appearance of a new bond of union, — the railroad. In connection with the early railroads, there should be a study of the canals and the effects they produced in shaping the development of various communities, particularly in the West. Such topics bring the study of history and economics close together.

The party conventions which after 1832 nominated candidates for the presidency are another expression of the tendency to consolidate everything on a national scale. This particular effort was assisted by the introduction of the spoils system.

Spoils.

In the discussion of the spoils system there should be a review of the history of the use of the appointing power since the organization of the government. It would be well also to compare the English experience with

[1] Woodrow Wilson, *Division and Reunion*, 45 ff.

patronage, as well as the French experience during the reign of Louis Philippe. As soon as a vast army of officials was needed to transact the business of the government, their appointment would put a dangerous power into the hands of the president.

The financial history of Jackson's and Van Buren's administrations deserves a treatment suited to the capacity of the pupils. It turned upon two things, first, the need of capital to develop the resources of the West, and second, Jackson's distrust of the United States Bank. People in the West desired to borrow, often on dubious security, and the State banks, influenced by the tendency toward speculation, were quite ready to make loans in the form of bank notes. As long as the United States Bank with its enormous capital and with its well-secured notes remained in the field, these State banks were forced to be cautious in the issue of their notes, because these would depreciate in comparison with the notes of the United States Bank. An attempt on its part further to encroach upon their territory led them to join in the outcry against so dangerous a monopoly of the money power. When the renewal of the charter was vetoed by Jackson and the government deposits were withdrawn, the Bank contracted its loans and seriously embarrassed the money market in the East. At the same time the "pet" State banks received the government deposits, which, combined with the withdrawal of the United States Bank from the field, enabled them greatly to increase their loans. So alarming was the consequent inflation that the government refused to receive these State notes in return for land, and after shaking in this way the credit of the banks, it began to withdraw from them the surplus for distribution among the states. The result was the panic of 1837. If such a line of thought be followed out with careful explanations, the pupils should be able to understand the simple questions of finance which are involved.

Money and Banking.

The same period saw the rise of the anti-slavery agitation. This should be studied in a spirit of fairness to the South as

well as to the North.[1] It should be remembered that neither slavery nor the movement to abolish it is peculiar to the United States. The pupil should review the different forms of slavery which he has noted since he began the study of history. He will recall that slavery was fundamental in the structure of Greek and Roman society, and that this slavery was more dangerous than negro slavery, because it subjected men of the same race and traditions to one another. Mediæval society had traces of slavery in its system of serfdom. With the discoveries and the expansion of European power beyond its customary limits came the subjection of barbarous peoples, particularly of the African blacks. It is their use as slaves in the West Indies and in the United States that particularly concerns us. There was an abolition movement in England and in France as well as in the United States before the eighteenth century closed. The pupils may study with advantage the experience of the French in trying to abolish slavery in San Domingo during the French Revolution, and the movement in England under Buxton which after the liberal influences became dominant in the House of Commons resulted in the extinction of slavery throughout the British dominions, with the indemnification of the owners. All such facts form the setting

Slavery.

[1] The pupil should be made acquainted with slavery as it actually existed in the South. He should realize that although the blacks suffered much, there were compensations. Slavery brought them from African savagery into the civilized world, and taught them many lessons which centuries of experience were required to teach the white race. The greatest evils of the system were the demoralization of many of the whites and the waste of economic resources. A faithful picture of slave life may be taken from the trustworthy accounts of travellers in the South. The pupil should be taught to understand the attitude of the intelligent slaveholder, to see how he had convinced himself that the system was something divinely ordered and without which there could be no prosperity in the South. At the same time the pupil should realize the feelings with which the average Northerner looked upon the encroachments of slavery, jealous as he was of the rights and dignity of free labor. Kemble, *Journal of a Residence on a Georgia Plantation*, Olmstead's *Cotton Kingdom*, Susan Dabney Smedes' *Memoirs of a Southern Planter*, A. H. Stephens' Corner Stone Speech in Johnston's *American Orations*.

of the anti-slavery controversy in America. The teacher may ask why it was comparatively easy for England to make an equitable settlement of the conflict, while America drifted into a terrible civil war before the inevitable change was brought about.

One incident of the early controversy deserves special emphasis, because of the high example it offered of unselfish devotion to a conception of duty. This was ex-President John Quincy Adams' defence of the right of petition.

Democracy and Slavery, 1829–1845: inauguration of Jackson, spoils system; "Kitchen" cabinet, the Foote resolution, Webster-Hayne debate, tariff of 1832, Nullification, Jackson's proclamation, the Force Bill, the Compromise tariff of 1833.

Garrison founds the *Liberator*, Nat Turner insurrection, conflict in Congress over slavery petitions, "gag" resolutions, efforts of John Quincy Adams, murder of Lovejoy, rise of abolition sentiment in the North.

First railroads, opening of western lands, Black Hawk war, State banks and the United States Bank, Jackson's war on the Bank, this issue in the election of 1832, Jackson vetoes the renewal of the charter; removes the deposits, places the funds in "pet" banks, the Specie Circular, withdrawal and distribution of the Surplus Revenue, panic of 1837, Van Buren feels the effect, the Independent Treasury scheme.

The Log Cabin, Hard Cider Campaign; Liberty party, Harrison's death; Tyler's controversy with the Whigs, resignation of his cabinet except Webster; the Webster-Ashburton Treaty.[1]

Slave Territory.

With the annexation of Texas, the history of the country for sixteen years becomes simplified into the struggle of the South to obtain more slave territory, either by annexation or by a practical repeal of the Missouri Compromise, which closed to slavery the part of the Louisiana Purchase north of 36° 30′. The rapid growth of the Northern population had deprived the South of equal weight in the House of Representatives, and only an addition of new slave

[1] Additional references: Curtis' and Lodge's *Webster*, Shepard's *Van Buren*, Julian's *Giddings*, Morse's *J. Q. Adams* (particularly interesting on the struggle for right of petition), Tyler's *Letters and Times of the Tylers*, Benton's *Thirty Years View*, Garrison, W. P. and F. J., *William Lloyd Garrison*, Bourne's *Surplus Revenue of* 1837.

states before the northwest was settled could preserve the equilibrium of the sections in the Senate. The stages in the struggle are formed by the annexation of Texas, the Compromise of 1850, the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854, and the Dred Scott case in 1857.

New Men.

While the controversy was still going on, a new generation of statesmen appear, taking the places of Clay, Calhoun, and Webster. These were men like Seward, Chase, and Lincoln, who saw that compromises were futile, and that there was "an irrepressible conflict," or, as Lincoln put the matter, "either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it . . . or its advocates will push it forward till it shall become alike lawful in all the states, old as well as new, — North as well as South." In studying the older leaders the teacher should be careful to note the considerations that moved them. Webster's Seventh of March speech was dictated by his fears of a disruption of the Union. He believed that the law "of physical geography" would keep slavery out of much of the new territory, and that it was useless as well as dangerous to exasperate the South by uncompromisingly opposing its wishes.

The North.

The rapid settlement of California after the discovery of gold offers an interesting illustration of the way in which the tendencies of development were against the Southerners. At the same time the invention of agricultural machinery, the extension of the railroad systems, the construction of the electric telegraph were giving the Middle West such industrial strength that its decision in the controversy must be decisive. Immigration had done much to break up old ties, so that the sentiment of nationality found few obstacles in local attachments fortified by tradition. And the Europeans who settled in the upper Mississippi valley knew nothing of "states"; they had heard only of America, the refuge of the oppressed, the opportunity of the poor, the land of freedom.

The Dred Scott decision illustrates the limitations under which the Supreme Court works. In a question of theory,

lying outside the sphere of strictly constitutional or legal interpretation, it cannot oppose itself to the growing convictions of the people. Whether the negro was a piece of property or not was just such a question. Chief Justice Taney committed the same blunder that Justice Berkeley made in the equally famous Ship-money case by giving his theory of the duty of Parliament to the King.

Dred Scott Case.

There should be a careful study of the causes which disrupted the old parties and led to the building up of new ones, especially of the Republican party, which has with short intervals maintained an unbroken ascendency from 1860 to the present day.

Expansion and slavery, 1845–1860: the origin of the Texas republic, grounds on which annexation was pushed forward, its opponents; was the Mexican war avoidable after Texas was annexed? attitude of the anti-slavery leaders towards the war, seizure of California, terms of the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo; the Oregon settlement; the Walker tariff; attempt by the Wilmot Proviso to exclude slavery from territory to be purchased from Mexico.

The election of 1848, appearance of the Free Soil party, Taylor's policy; discovery of gold in California and effect of this on the situation; Taylor's death; aims of the Compromise of 1850, Webster's attitude, Calhoun's analysis of the situation, treatment of the fugitive slave question. attempts to enforce the law in the North, the Burns case, the Oberlin-Wellington rescue, Mrs. Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin.*

Kansas-Nebraska Act, policy of Douglas, treatment of the Missouri Compromise, how its repeal was regarded by the anti-slavery leaders; conflict in Kansas, New England Emigration Society, "Border Ruffians," the Topeka Convention, the Lecompton Constitution, attitude of Douglas, John Brown.

Elements of the Republican party, slave property nationalized by the Dred Scott decision, attitude taken by Lincoln during the debates with Douglas; John Brown raid; indication in Helper's *Impending Crisis* of anti-slavery feeling among the non-slaveholding whites in the South.[1]

[1] Additional references: Rhodes' *History of the United States from the Compromise of* 1850, Morse's *Lincoln*, Nicolay and Hay's *Lincoln*, Lothrop's *Seward*, Pierce's *Sumner*, Royce's *California*.

A clear understanding of the secession movement and of the war for the Union is rendered difficult, because for the North as well as for the South the issue changed either upon the outbreak of hostilities or during the course of the struggle. The Southern leaders forced on secession in order to preserve the system of slavery from the attacks which they believed would shortly be made upon it if they remained within the Union. Many Southerners, however, supported the Confederacy because of state pride, or because they were angered by what seemed to them an attempt at the coercion of states. This sentiment and the war itself created the "Solid South."

Secession.

The North entered the war to preserve the Union, not to abolish slavery. As the war went on, it was found that the abolition of slavery would probably be a necessary consequence of the war, or at least a means of seriously crippling the states in rebellion, and so the enthusiasm of a moral crusade was added to the movement.

At the distance of a generation, there is an illusion of a united North. Had the Southern leaders not precipitated the struggle in the manner they did, the weakness of the position which Lincoln's administration occupied would have been startlingly obvious. By their ill-timed aggressiveness they placed extraordinary powers in the hands of the President, and called into being for his support an overwhelming national sentiment which made opposition to the administration dangerous.

Attitude of North.

Facts of this sort emphasize the necessity of preserving the historical attitude of mind, and seeking to follow such a great movement through its successive phases, and so avoid the error of distorting the past by throwing back upon it the outline of events which later changed the situation.

The study of the war should be prefaced with a review of the relative strength of the North and South at different periods since the close of the 1812 War, for in a sense the issue was decided before a battle had been fought. If the economic

development of the North and South has been thoroughly understood, the pupil can easily comprehend the great advantage that lay on the side of the North. The influence of the West which cast in its lot with the Union was decisive. The North had a larger population and greater wealth, and was able through its manufactures to supply the necessities of war from its own resources. The South, on the other hand, relied on obtaining its war supplies from abroad in exchange for its cotton. When this was prevented by the Federal blockade, it was necessary to improvise manufactures at the cost of time and energy.

There should be a careful examination of the topography of the country and of the railways, rivers, and roads which made possible the moving of armies. Young pupils often think of a perfectly flat surface in connection with the movement of armies. They also ignore the difficulties that arise from the necessity of transporting great quantities of provisions and other supplies.

Campaigns.

In studying the military operations, it is well to begin with clear ideas of the problem which the Northern generals had to solve as soon as it became evident that the Confederacy must act on the defensive. The almost continuous fighting in Virginia was in a sense a pivot around which swung the campaign for the Mississippi valley and the cotton states. Not too exclusive an attention should be fixed upon the western campaigns; otherwise there will arise the illusion of a long series of Northern victories.

In connection with the military operations, the work of the fleet should be carefully studied, because it not only helped the army on the Mississippi, but it also cut the trade routes by which the South hoped to obtain supplies and so slowly starved the country into surrender.

Results.

Another important topic is the effect the war had upon the government in strengthening it permanently and in temporarily placing a practical dictatorship in the hands of the president. If before the war there was any question of the supremacy of the federal authority, that question

could never be asked after Appomattox. A new danger arose, the danger of over-centralization, of unduly crippling the states.

Secession and the Civil War: attitude of the Republicans in 1860 toward slavery in the territories and in the states; schism in the Democratic party over the slavery policy, attitude of South Carolina toward Lincoln's possible election; the secession movement, states which seceded before April, 1861, sentiment in the North toward secession movement, final efforts at compromise.

Effect of the attack on Fort Sumter and Lincoln's call for volunteers upon the North and the South, the ground on which Lincoln based his action, preparedness of each section; Lincoln's use of extraordinary war powers; the cry "On to Richmond" and Bull Run.

The Border states, Lincoln's policy toward them, the war policy of Congress, financial measures; the blockade, attitude of foreign powers, especially of England and France, the Trent affair.

Situation at the beginning of 1862, movement into Tennessee, Fort Donelson, opening the Mississippi as far as Memphis; Shiloh; control of the Memphis-Charleston railroad; seizure of the mouth of the Mississippi, and capture of New Orleans.

Battle of the Monitor and Merrimac and its effect upon naval warfare; Peninsular campaign and Antietam; Bragg's raid into Kentucky and his repulse.

Emancipation Proclamation: second failure to open the road to Richmond, Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville, Lee attempts to invade the North and is stopped at Gettysburg.

Grant captures Vicksburg, fall of Port Hudson, the Mississippi open to the sea; Bragg pressed back to Chickamauga, Rosecrans defeated at Chickamauga, Grant restores the situation in the battles about Chattanooga.

Campaign of 1864 against Richmond and Atlanta, siege of Petersburg, March to the Sea, fall of Savannah, Sherman turns north, Grant forces Lee to surrender at Appomattox.

Financial situation of the country in 1865, public debt, effect of the war on the country's development, the armies disbanded.[1]

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[1] Additional references: Rhodes, Vols. III. and IV., Greeley's *American Conflict*, Pollard's *Lost Cause*, Stephens' *War between the States*, Davis' *Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government;* Ropes' *Story of the Civil War*, Comte de Paris' *History of the Civil War*, *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War;* Seward's *Seward in Washington*, Blaine's *Twenty Years in*

The delicate question of constitutional interpretation which came up when peace made it necessary to decide whether the seceding states were within or without the Union can hardly be discussed with profit by young pupils. Their attention should instead be directed to the actual circumstances of the time which determined the policy of Reconstruction. It has on the whole been true in the history of the United States that constitutional theories have been devised to support the policy of the government, rather than that the policy of the government has been determined by constitutional theories. It is necessary to study the situation after Lincoln's assassination, the personal characteristics of Johnson, his position as a president without a party, his inability to deal with political leaders, the feeling of Congress, the attitude of the partially reorganized states towards the negro, and the effect of this upon Congress.

Reconstruction.

The possibility of a disastrous conflict between the executive and Congress is strikingly illustrated in Johnson's administration. The experience of the country in Tyler's time was repeated with consequences more alarming as the issues were more intense. A study of this quarrel with Congress and of the impeachment proceedings will show the pupil better than any abstract discussion the disadvantages that result from the "separation of powers," as it is called, in our scheme of government. Had the impeachment been successful, it would have altered the frame of government and made the executive subservient to the legislature.

President and Congress.

The study of the recent history of the United States is useful as a study of current events, and yet its incidents are so near that it is impossible for either pupil or teacher to see them in their true perspective. All that is significant since the war may be understood quite as well from the events of the period which ended during Hayes' administration.

Recent History.

Congress, McCulloch's *Men and Measures of Half a Century*, Grant's *Personal Memoirs*, Sherman's *Memoirs;* Mahan's *Farragut*, Hart's *Chase*, *The Sherman Letters*, Schwab's *Confederate States of America.*

The astonishing progress made in settling the West and in developing the resources of the whole country, in obliterating the ravages of war, in paying the national debt and in re-establishing a sound financial system are all illustrated during that time.

Reconstruction, reorganization, and expansion: Lincoln's Reconstruction policy, Johnson attempts to follow it out, the attitude of several southern states toward the negro confirms Congress in another policy, ineffectiveness of the President's vetoes, attack of Congress on the President's powers, Tenure-of-Office bill, Reconstruction Act, Carpet Baggers in the South, impeachment of Johnson, thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth amendments.

Methods of paying the national debt, resumption of specie payments, completion of the Pacific Railroad; treaty of Washington and the Alabama Claims; Tweed Ring; Greeley campaign; disputed election of 1876, how Hayes was "counted in"; Hayes refuses to support the Carpet Bag governments in the South, end of Reconstruction.[1]

List of dates: —

1781. Adoption of the Articles of Confederation.
1787. Constitutional Convention at Philadelphia.
1789. Organization of the new government.
1803. Purchase of Louisiana.
1807. The beginning of the Embargo.
1812. Opening of the second war with England.
1820. Missouri Compromise.
1823. Declaration by Monroe of the "Doctrine" called by his name.
1830. Webster-Hayne debate.
1837. Great panic.
1846. Mexican War begins.
1850. Compromise on the slavery question.
1854. Kansas-Nebraska Act.
1857. Dred Scott Decision.
1861. April 14, Fort Sumter attacked; its surrender.

[1] Additional references: Pierce's *Sumner*, McPherson's *History of Reconstruction*, Dunning's *Essays*, Taylor's *Destruction and Reconstruction*, Herbert's *Why the Solid South*, Cable's *The Silent South*, Pike's *The Prostrate State*, Burgess' *Reconstruction and the Constitution*.

1861. July 21, First battle of Bull Run.
1862. March 9, Battle of the Monitor and the Merrimac.
1863. January 1, Emancipation Proclamation.
July 3, Last day of fighting at Gettysburg.
July 4, Surrender of Vicksburg.
1864. May 4, Beginning of the Wilderness and Atlanta campaigns.
1865. April 9, Surrender of Lee at Appomattox.
April 14, Murder of Lincoln.
1867. Reconstruction.
1869. Completion of the Pacific Railroads.
1876. Exposition at Philadelphia.
1879. Resumption of Specie Payments.

CHAPTER XIX

THE COURSE OF STUDY IN THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

It must be left to the teacher to adapt the matter explained in the chapters on the Course of Study to the needs and the capacity of the pupil in the elementary school. A few suggestions may be offered in the hope of facilitating this work.

According to the scheme already set forth, the more formal work in history should begin with the fifth grade. What is done in the lower grades cannot strictly be termed historical work, although the stories that are told in connection with great anniversaries or that are used in the exercises in language prepare the way for the later study of history. In discussing such preliminary work, Professor Mace has distinguished between a "sense" phase and a "representative" phase. In the first, the child is brought into actual contact with many things, and the results of this experience furnish the material which is used by his imagination in the second phase in constructing pictures of events which are merely described to him.[1] It is true that nothing can appear in the imagination the elements of which have not previously appeared in experience, but it is not necessary to conclude from this that the work with the child should be chiefly along lines suggested by the character of his every-day experiences. Very early in

First Steps.

[1] Professor Mace outlines the object of the work at this stage as follows: "1. On the side of discipline: (a) the primary object is to confer the habit of judging men's thoughts and feelings through their acts; (b) a secondary end is to give the mind the habit of careful observation — the habit of finding truth in objects present to the senses. 2. On the side of knowledge: (a) the primary object is to give the mind material out of which the imagination may construct pictures of historical events; (b) the secondary purpose, or rather result, is to give a more thorough knowledge of local institutions." *Method in History*, 258.

life he has accumulated enough sense material to enable him to construct wonderful compounds. The creatures that inhabit his world of fancy bear little resemblance to the persons with whom he ordinarily associates. He may take an awful delight in hearing of the cruelties of the wicked step-mother without ever having seen the less dreaded reality. Consequently the teacher may early introduce him into the realm of legend and story, confident that the result will eventually be a broadening and enrichment of his conception of the world. Even if he does not at first understand the story, it is still serviceable. Every one is familiar with the relish children have for strange, large words. They often get hold of a word, gradually learn how to use it, and only later are able to fill it with approximately its complete significance. Stories may similarly serve as a framework into which may be set the results of experience.

Stories.

It is necessary that these stories be selected with a definite object in view. Not every one that the child is ready to hear is worth telling or free from harmful tendencies. Dr. Oppenheim remarks: "With most teachers the principal test of a story is whether it holds the child's attention. This test is plainly a fallacious one, for there is, as a rule, but little reliance to be put upon a child's natural taste. There is no more reason why he should know what is best for his intellectual welfare than that he should spontaneously recognise which is his most advantageous food." [1]

There are two principal considerations which should control

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[1] He continues: "Just as when an infant, he puts everything he can grasp into his mouth, so later he will show a keen interest in all manner of narrative, without any distinction of whether it is good or bad. Thus he will listen with absorbed attention to ghost stories, which haunt him for nights; he may like stories embodying unfavourable traits of character, as well as those which illustrate virtues. The main thing which he wants is that the story must show movement, action . . . One of his weakest spots lies in his rudimentary selective faculty." He adds: "Instead of making the ascent from preparatory existence to real life as plain, gradual, and safe as possible, they (the stories) evidently seek to encumber it, to make it steep and inaccessible." Nathan Oppenheim, *The Development of the Child*, pp. 104–105.

the selection of stories. One is their probable moral effect. By this is intended the tone or tendency of the story rather than any obvious aim to inculcate a definite moral truth. The other is their value in supplementing the child's narrow experience and in introducing him into the world of the present and of the past. If when he begins to study history more systematically, he is constantly meeting that which has long been the familiar companion of his thoughts, stories of Greek heroes, of brave Romans, tales of chivalry, stories of adventure on the sea or in the American forests, his work will be impelled by that force which comes from an already existent interest. While his knowledge of the world is increased, he is gaining a vocabulary, that is to say, the tools with which he is to work. The teacher should aim systematically to accomplish such results.[1]

Fifth Grade.

The work of the fifth grade constitutes one step in advance. The pupil attempts to put together what he has learned of the history of his own country, not only what he has learned through the story in school, but also what he has heard at home or on the street. He is to make of all this a fairly consecutive account of the American people. Such work will necessarily be biographical and descriptive, but it will none the less teach him to conceive of the experience of the people as a whole, and prepare his mind to apply the same method to the history of other peoples, and in this way rise to the conception of the history of mankind.

Sixth Grade.

According to the plan outlined in the chapter on the Programme, the pupils in the sixth grade are to go over the fields of ancient and mediæval history in much the same way as in the fifth grade they go over American history. They are at this time obtaining their first knowledge of Europe and Asia. They are also just beginning to realize the lapse of time. Their imaginative power is feeble, although their fancy contains a wealth kaleidoscopic in its profusion.

[1] List of books for supplementary reading which contain valuable story material will be found in the *Report of Committee on the Relations of Public Libraries to Public Schools*, 12–18, 33–39; Mace, 309–311.

They may approach the subject in two ways. Their minds may be slowly led back to the period of the discoveries and even as far as Greece and Rome by a search for the sources of the customs, traditions, and laws which the settlers brought with them. Or the same result may be reached by beginning at the other end with the simple figures of the Greek imagination and with the picturesque forms of ancient life, and by leading the child down step by step, principally through his natural interest in heroic men and great deeds, to the time when the inheritors of all this past sailed across the Atlantic to found new homes.[1]

The aim of the work should be to make this heritage intelligible and to cultivate the interest the pupils already possess in such things. A great body of knowledge cannot be accumulated. The teacher should be content with impressions, with an increase in the familiarity which the children find in certain great names and famous incidents, with the acquisition of an outline or framework into which later knowledge may be fitted.

Aim.

The ordinary practice of the schools forbids the use of a text-book for pupils of this age. The teaching should be oral, with supplementary readings from books. Since young children suffer from a poverty of words and phrases in which to express themselves properly, the teacher must train them adequately to describe the incidents that form the subject of their work.

Although the facts must be chiefly biographical, they do not derive their value from the light they throw on the career of individual men, but from their illustrative effect. History is not made up of biographical tales, but most of the greater events within reach of the child's imagina-

Biography.

[1] In Germany the new Prussian programme after a year of elementary German history goes back to the legends of Greece and Rome, and then in the third year to a chronological treatment beginning with Greece. "The Jena program of the work for the first two classes differs from the Prussian syllabus in that comparatively little attention is given to classical mythology" and that "the entire time of *Quinta* is devoted to a systematic description of the chief events in German history." Russell, 299.

tion have been the work of men who are commonly called heroes.

History is always closely connected with geography, but nowhere can this relation be more wisely insisted upon than in the work of the elementary school. Unfortunately it is not customary to combine these two kinds of work in one scheme of study, although this is attempted in a few schools.[1]

Geography.

It is advisable that each group of topics leave upon the pupil's mind an impression of that which chiefly characterized the age which it summarizes. Those that refer to Egypt, to the cities of the Tigris-Euphrates valley, and to Phœnicia should bring out the notion of antiquity, of the beginnings of civilization, while those that refer to Greece should emphasize the spirit of independence, courage, delight in life, the love of beauty, and those that refer to Rome the spirit of conquest, the capacity for organization, for law and for government. The Middle Ages less readily lead to such a unity of impression, although feudalism gives rise to chivalry and the church enforces the notion of brotherhood and insists on the supremacy of moral obligations. Such an attempt at characterization should not be carried too far; its only object is to show certain thoughts which should be in the teacher's mind in managing the material, so that there may be some definiteness in the impressions finally left in the minds of the children.

Impression.

Since the pupils in their language study have already been taught some of the old Greek stories, it may be well to begin with a more systematic treatment of a few of these, together with some characteristic tales from Homer. There are other reasons for going straight back to Egypt. If the lesson is well managed, any child will grasp the essential

The Beginning.

[1] In Indianapolis history and geography are grouped together. As soon as the pupil takes up the study of Eurasia he begins to read Andrews' *Ten Boys*, and afterwards begins the systematic study of general history. Indianapolis Public Schools: Course of Study in Geography and History for Grades 1–8 inclusive, 1899. Outline for Grade 6 A, by Lydia R. Blaich, 1900.

facts of Egyptian life. The subject may be approached naturally through an imaginary voyage across the Atlantic into the Mediterranean. An advertisement of a winter cruise of the Prinzessin-Louise would be effective. After the children have been carried to Alexandria, it will be easy for them to leap over the centuries that separate modern from ancient Egypt. There should be a good map on the wall, and a globe, the larger the better, in sight of the pupils. They must keep close to earth all the while. They should first study the Nile, see where it comes from, understand its annual overflow, and the part this plays in the fortunes of the country. The story of Joseph would emphasize this. Pictures of the pyramids should next take their attention. As they are looking at these and hearing how they were made, they will forget the present and become deeply interested in this strange people that could spend so much effort on the tombs of its dead kings. The burial customs are naturally suggested, and from this it is easy to go to a description of some of their other peculiarities. A few pictures on the board will show the way they left records of their deeds. In the same manner it is possible to treat Assyria, Babylon, and Phœnicia. Generally speaking, all these peoples will seem more real to the children if they can each be connected with familiar stories from the Bible.

Greek History.

Greek history should be simplified by leaving out all formal teaching of constitutional development or political schemes, and directing attention to the manner in which the Greeks lived, to their festivals and their shrines, illustrating everything, so far as this is possible, with pictures of scenes in Greece and of the ruins of Greek buildings. The heroic struggle of the Greeks against the Persians can be dealt with in more detail, especially the battles of Thermopylæ and Salamis, if the pupils are told how the Greeks and Persians were armed, what was their manner of fighting, and what sort of ships they had. Not much can be done with so important a phase of Athenian history as the Delian League. It is best to fill in the period between the Persian and the Peloponnesian

Wars with tales of Pausanias, Themistocles and Cimon, and with descriptions of the beauty of Athens, and of the daily life of the Athenians in the Age of Pericles. Only the most striking scenes of the Peloponnesian War should be related, like the siege of Platea and the destruction of the expedition against Syracuse. Alexander's career should be followed on the map step by step. The pupils should also be told of the Greek cities founded by Alexander and his successors, as well as of the progress in knowledge, particularly at Alexandria, in regard to the shape and size of the earth.

Roman History.

The history of Rome furnishes an even better opportunity to study the geography of the Mediterranean world. A connection should be made with Greek history by asking what the Romans were doing at the time the battle of Marathon was fought and when Alexander set out on his expedition against the Persians. The pupil's interest may be stimulated by showing him pictures of the ruins of the Forum, the Arch of Titus, the Coliseum, the remains of the aqueducts in the Campagna. They are in such contrast to the present buildings of the city that they make a strong appeal to the past.

As in the case of Greece, there can be little attempt to make clear the growth of the Roman constitution. Emphasis must be placed on the life of the Romans, the classes into which they were divided, their class jealousies, how they gradually conquered Italy and the Mediterranean world, and how they ruled it. The war with Hannibal may be described in detail, for it is as interesting to children as the wars of the Greeks and the Persians. In explaining the early Roman Empire the pupils should be shown that the early emperors were not like modern emperors, but were citizens of Rome, who held important offices, and who at the same time were given extraordinary powers. Even if they do not altogether understand the matter, they will be kept from later reaching the wrong attitude popularly taken toward this subject.

Only a few of the emperors should be described, — Augus-

tus, Nero, Titus, Marcus Aurelius, Diocletian, and Constantine; possibly one or two more. Attention should be directed toward the great public works, aqueducts, baths, roads, and bridges, to the fortified frontier, to the condition of the people both in the second century and in the fourth century, to the splendid court which gradually grew up after the reforms of Diocletian.

The Empire.

In the Middle Ages almost every phase is embodied in the lives of great men, — the Barbarian invasions in Alaric, Attila, Clovis, and Theodoric, the later emperors in Justinian, the churchmen in Jerome and Augustine, monasticism in Anthony, Benedict, Bede, and the missionary Boniface, the papacy in Leo and Gregory, Mohammedanism in Mohammed, and so on down to the end. If the teacher combines accounts of such men with descriptions of mediæval life, — the manor and the village communities, the knights and their castles, the new towns, the maritime cities, Venice, Genoa, Bruges, London, the fairs, — this will constitute the material chiefly to be used. Some description must also be given of the great mediæval wars, the Norman Conquest, the Crusades, the conflict between John and Philip Augustus, the Hundred Years War, but all much simplified. It is better to leave an incomplete picture in the minds of young children than to crush them under the weight of matter.

Middle Ages.

Toward the end of the Middle Ages greater emphasis should be laid on those things more directly related to the character of modern life and to the customs and traditions which the founders of America brought with them. As in the secondary school, it would be well to bring this work to an end in the middle of the sixteenth century, with the break up of the mediæval church through the success of the Lutheran, English, and French reform movements.

Seventh Grade.

In presenting to pupils of the seventh grade the matter contained in the chapter on the Founding of America, the problem is not confused by the fact that different schools assign this time to various subjects, for the great

majority give the history of the colonies in the seventh grade and the history of the Union in the eighth. To follow the plan already explained involves no violent break with common practice. Nor is the lack of a text-book constructed from the broader standpoint so great an obstacle. As the teacher has been trained to present the subject orally in the grades below the seventh, he should be able to supplement the text-book in American history commonly begun in this grade.

Although the course has the same limits as that suggested for the secondary school, there should be a more careful restriction of attention, so far as Europe is concerned, to only those phases of its history which are necessary for a comprehension of American history.

Introduction.

From the sixth grade work the pupil has gained some notion of the countries that were to have a share in the founding of America, especially Spain and Portugal, whose history had been a continuous crusade against the infidel. Such knowledge as the pupils have can be reinforced during a geographical survey of that part of Europe which was to undertake the work of discovery and settlement. In making this preliminary survey, they may follow, as in the study of commercial geography, the sailors of Venice and Genoa and those of northern Europe on their voyages, learning the goods they purchased and the markets to which they carried them. They may also learn how navigation had been improved and what remained of the mediæval tales of the terrors of the sea which deterred mariners from becoming over-bold.

As in the secondary school the study of the discoveries should begin with the work of the Portuguese, and it should be largely a study of the geography of Africa and the islands southwest of Portugal.

Columbus.

The story of Columbus' earlier life should be told in greater detail, for the elementary pupil is less interested in the higher aspects of the subject. In all the work with Columbus, knowledge should come rather as the incidental result than as the object to which the attention is chiefly

directed. Nearly all the work can be laid down on outline maps, so that the knowledge of geography will grow with the increase in historical knowledge. After the voyages of Columbus have been studied in this way, the pupil should learn where the Portuguese had succeeded in sailing.

The story of Cortez and Pizarro has so much that is dramatic that there should not be quite the same emphasis on the geographical facts. With De Leon and De Soto the geographical facts are the more important.

The manner in which the Spaniards treated the Indians should be explained, together with the simpler facts of their system of managing the settlements. While the pupils could easily understand how the Spaniards carefully restricted emigration, how all goods and persons had to set out from the port of Seville, and later Cadiz, they could not understand the relation of the viceroy and the audiencia.

English Colonizers.

The events which precede the English, Dutch, and French settlements are difficult to treat because they embody less of the simple experiences of adventure and war, and more of those higher struggles, conflicts of opinion, national rivalries, a complex of incident covering the whole field of western Europe. It is evident that the pupil cannot follow the development of the drama outlined in the work for the secondary school. He can become familiar with a few distinguishing events, and may receive impressions of what England, Holland, and France were when the earliest settlements were made. The more general facts which he should understand are that England was growing strong on the sea, that the first English settlements owed their success to the desire of the Puritans and the Separatists to escape from the control of their enemies in the church,[1] that the Dutch came out of their fight

[1] The subject may be approached as follows: Note that a few years before Elizabeth came to the throne Englishmen had been compelled to believe and worship much as the Episcopalians do at the present time, that they were then ordered by Mary to restore the religion as it had existed in England before the Reformation and much like the Catholic

with Spain the greatest sailors of the day, and that the French, as a result of their religious wars and because their monarchy was becoming absolute, were likely to found decidedly Catholic settlements, and were not likely to grant any rights of self-government.

The story of Mary Stuart should be told because she is so famous, and because it explains one of the causes of the enmity between the ordinary Elizabethan Englishman and the Catholics and the Spaniards. The movement of the drama may be simplified by keeping closely to Mary's career until she takes refuge in England, when it is necessary to put together the elements of the situation, — the papal excommunication, Philip's relation to the plots against Elizabeth and in favour of Mary, Parliament's severe measures against the Recusants, as allies of the Pope. The Armada appears as one of the consequences of Mary's execution. The pupils are ready to understand the English victory because they have already studied about the English seamen.

Elizabethan England.

After England has been explained, Holland may be taken up. The story of the struggle of the Netherlanders is full of incidents of surpassing interest, so that there will be no difficulty in dealing with it.

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religion of the present day, and that when Elizabeth began to reign, she tried to satisfy both parties somewhat, although like her father she insisted that she had a right to manage such matters and that the pope could not interfere. Accordingly, she arranged just how church services should be conducted, how the clergy should be robed, and often what sermons they should preach. Everybody was obliged to attend these services. Some would not take the oath acknowledging that Elizabeth had the right to manage the church; these were called Recusants or refusers. Others did not like to see the bishops and the clergy wearing the surplice, or the services conducted according to the forms established in the Prayer Book, and did want more preaching; these were called the Puritans. By and by some Puritans would not put up with the way things were done, and came to think that the true believers should have the right to manage church affairs themselves and not merely do the Queen's or the bishop's pleasure; these separated themselves from the church, and were called Separatists, or Independents, later Congregationalists. Note that the Puritans that stayed in the church were to found Boston, and that the Separatists were to found Plymouth.

In treating the period from 1603 to 1640 and from 1640 to 1660, the arrangement of the matter suggested for the secondary school may be followed, but the results must be reached by using illustrative incidents and stories of individual men. As soon as the pupil touches American soil and begins to meet familiar names of men or of places, his interest increases, because every new bit of knowledge may have a relation to what he already possesses. It is the European part of the story, therefore, that must be prepared with the greater care. If the pupils have understood the views of the Puritans, they will appreciate the effect upon them of King James's threat at the Hampton Court Conference to "harry them out of the country, or worse, if they did not conform." They will also understand the oppression which drew certain desperate Recusants to concoct the Gunpowder Plot. Another question concerned the right of the king to levy or raise the customs or import duties without consulting Parliament. The attitude of James and of Charles upon taxation and religion explain the settlement of New England until 1640, and should be made as clear as possible.

Puritan Period.

It makes little difference in what order the settlements in America are studied; Virginia first, or New England first. The Puritan settlements naturally follow a consideration of the troubles in England, and Virginia has less connection with the conflicts in England. The story of Jamestown, of Plymouth, of Massachusetts Bay, should be told with detail, because these were the first settlements, and the pictures of them in the child's mind should be well defined. The manners, customs, and organization of the Indians may be described more at length than is necessary in the secondary school. After the other early settlements are examined, there should be a study of the Dutch in the valley of the Hudson and of the French on the St. Lawrence.[1] When this is com-

Colonies in America.

[1] As the elementary school pupil is unable to keep a complex situation for a long time before his mind, it seems best not to attempt to preserve the more strictly historical development worked out for this period in Chapter XVII.

pleted, it is well to make a simple outline of the rights and privileges of the early English colonies in comparison with those possessed by the Dutch, the French, and also by the Spanish. Such a comparison will result, unconsciously for the pupil, in a more intelligent attitude toward the English system of dealing with colonies.

After the Puritan Revolution and a brief treatment of the events which led to the triumph of Parliament in 1689, attention should be turned more to life in the American colonies than was the case in the plan for the secondary school. The rivalry of England and France must, however, be kept clearly in mind, and the threatening development of the French power in the Mississippi valley.

It is hardly necessary to suggest the modifications which should be made in presenting American history itself. From long experience teachers have learned what can be done with pupils in the last year of the grammar school. While the more difficult questions of politics and public policy must be omitted, it is possible to make clear the line of development of the Republic and its relations with other countries. The pupils should never be allowed to forget that America is the child of European civilization, that it received a great heritage of laws and traditions, and that its own life is unintelligible save as it appears in its place in the history of the world.

CHAPTER XX

THE TEACHING OF CIVICS

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The Practical Aim.

In Chapter VI. it was urged that while instruction in the mechanism of government did not go far toward fitting a boy effectively to perform his duties as a citizen it did reveal to him one phase of the life of man in society, and so, like history, had great indirect value. If this be true the course in civics will chiefly be helpful in creating the foundation of knowledge upon which good citizenship may rest, provided the pupil has a sound character and becomes public-spirited. Good government is impossible unless there is in the community an active public sentiment and one that is intelligently directed. Many abuses go on unchecked simply because the citizens are unaware of their existence, and even if they are vaguely conscious of evils, they do not understand

where to look to discover the nature and the causes of these evils. Civics as it is sometimes taught is of no use in such a search, because it explains merely how the government is organized, and has little to say about the conditions which make wise administration probable. It is too much to ask of either elementary or secondary school pupils that they look far into such matters; but they should be taught how to look, so that when they are old enough to be stimulated by deeper interests they may not gaze helplessly about. Political intelligence is therefore, quite as much as mere knowledge, the aim of the formal work in civil government.

Below the High School.

Since the majority of the voting population must obtain instruction in civics in the elementary school, if at all, the more thorough, formal teaching of the subject cannot be reserved to the secondary school, although it will be easier to deal with certain phases of it with the more mature pupils.[1]

The formal course should not come until the course in American history is either finished or at least well begun, otherwise the study will become merely descriptive and lose much of its value. Incidental instruction in civics may be given from the beginning of the child's work. There are two principal methods of correlating this preliminary instruction. Some teachers combine it with the elementary study of morals, others with geography. These methods are not mutually exclusive.[2]

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[1] See also Chapter VI.

[2] See p. 103 for a résumé of the three methods. The Committee of Twelve on Rural Schools prepared a scheme based on the course of moral instruction in France. Civics, strictly speaking, does not appear until Group III. or IV., when the pupils are from nine to thirteen years old. For Group II. (7–9 years) the recommendation is, "Familiar conversations and kind individual counsel when needed. Simple stories, parables, fables, treated with reference to ideas of right and wrong. Practical exercises tending to arouse the moral sense of the class, by methods of school discipline, by often making the pupil the judge of his own conduct, by training the pupil to draw the appropriate lessons from facts observed by himself." For Group III. (9–11 years) the same method is pursued, with the addition that "passages from history and literature are treated from the point of view of right and wrong," and this work is

This earlier work in civics has a double relation. It furnishes information about local government and also trains the

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to be so arranged as to bring out in detail the duties of the individual toward the members of the family, the community, the state, etc.

In the Course of Study provided for the schools of Cleveland there is a similar scheme of work. For the first grade the provision reads, "*Conduct and Morals* should be taught incidentally in connection with all school exercises. But this instruction is to be reinforced by direct lessons on morals, manners, and government. These lessons are to be based on the stories or fables read or told to children, or on concrete examples found in every-day life, in anecdotes of biography, in poems and maxims. Government should be taught in the lower grades by means of concrete examples only." In the second grade government is more emphasized: "Suggest the idea of government and its necessity in the community of the school, by referring to school regulations; such as assembly bells, tardy bells, recesses, etc., and give reasons for establishing them." "Name of the teacher; the Principal of the School; of the Superintendent and the Director." "The Letter Carrier and his work. Letter boxes, location of one or two; uses; how to put a letter in." All this is accompanied by various readings. In the third grade there is a study of certain higher virtues and of government as illustrated in the functions of the School Council. In the fourth grade the City Directors furnish the object of study. In the Hartford Course of Study the relations of government and geography are more distinctly emphasized. The provision for the third grade is: "Have pupils locate and name the public property in Hartford, such as state-house, post-office, arsenal, court-house, jail, halls of record, city hall, almshouse, and schoolhouse, and tell to which of the political divisions each one of these buildings belongs. Have familiar talks with the children concerning the necessity of government. Illustrate by making comparisons of the government of the family, playground, and school with that of the state." See further, Chapter VI. p. 103, upon the way this is worked out in the upper grades. In Buffalo there is a similar solution of the problem. The provision for the third grade reads: "The meaning of government, its necessity and uses, should be developed. In connection with the geography of Buffalo, the word Mayor should be explained and his name given. The necessity for money to carry on the government should be shown. How are the public schools supported? the fire department? the police? Why, then, do we pay taxes?" In the next grade in connection with the geography of Erie County there is to be shown "the necessity for good government, that is, good management, of a village or a city, in order that it may be clean, healthful, and beautiful, and how this is related to water, pavements, sewers, parks, etc., and the wickedness of squandering the people's money by bad work." In the fifth grade foreign geography is to be taken up, and there is to be an incidental study of the different kinds of government, together with an amplifica-

pupil to think of those associations and activities of men which he is to meet constantly in his study of history. To use Professor Mace's phrase, it offers him "sense material," with the aid of which he will later be able to picture to himself things that are merely described to him or of which he reads.

History as a Help.

It has already been explained that the relations of history and civics are very close. The teacher must take practical advantage of this, and draw upon history for illustrations of the facts of civics which he is endeavouring to make clear. Civics will, therefore, be more effectively taught where the pupils have had a long course of instruction in history, so that the range of illustrative matter is large.

Comparative politics.

Such a use of history implies comparisons of the local and national governments in the United States with other governments, particularly those of England and the countries of Europe. From these comparisons the pupil must conclude that mechanism of government is after all a device, and that different and equally intelligent peoples may, partly as a result of their history and partly as a result of their temperament, do things differently. For example, the Italian Parliament frequently formulates the principle of some new piece of legislation, and permits the government to work out the details without submitting these for approval.[1] Such deference to the executive would be impossible in America, where Congress is anxious to exercise all its prerogatives, and occasionally attempts to do the work of the president also. It is only by such comparisons that the real character of many features of our system of government may be made clear. This work is difficult, even for the older pupils, and conse-

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tion of the functions of the city and state along the lines indicated for the fourth grade. There is in this whole scheme great emphasis laid upon taxation, and the necessity of an honest and wise expenditure of such money.

[1] Lowell, *Governments and Parties in Continental Europe*, I. 165–166.

quently it cannot be attempted, except in an elementary form, with younger ones.

The need of training pupils to do such work intelligently is apparent from the grossly absurd comparisons which are popularly instituted and which are accepted in good faith by multitudes. It is one of the commonplaces of political oratory to contrast the governments of England and America as a monarchy and a republic. The contrast is misleading because the word monarchy carries in it implications which are not true of the English government. In some respects the English system is more democratic than our own. Parliament is more sensitive to public opinion than is Congress, for members of Parliament may at any time be compelled to stand for re-election, while a congressman once elected remains in office for a stated term, and so is in a measure independent of his constituents.

If civics is to promote political intelligence, the details of the course must be existing political conditions. These are only in part the mechanism of government. They are largely the actual way in which this mechanism is used by the people and by their officials. The pupil should not receive the impression that salvation lies through changes in charters and constitutions. More than one city with a model charter has a corrupt and inefficient administration because honest and capable men are not chosen to office. There are also unwritten laws which must be respected as much as the constitutions themselves; indeed, as the English judges told Charles I., "every law, after it is made, hath its exposition . . . which is left to the courts to determine." And it is not the courts alone that determine what this exposition shall be, for public sentiment often governs the decision of the courts in all matters which lie outside the realm of technical law. Consequently, if a people is capable of political development its fundamental law must also change, sometimes by amendment, but oftener by interpretation or by a process of accretion in which the new is not clearly distinct from the old, but simply gives it another tendency or character. These more subtle

Object, Actual Conditions.

changes belong to the subject quite as much as the formal provisions of constitutions or charters.[1]

If in teaching civics the attempt is made to look at matters in their actual relations, carefully emphasizing their relative importance, it is necessary to start out with the distinction between local and national government. The latter is surrounded in the public mind with more dignity, and yet for the individual it is, in a sense, of less importance than the state government. If a citizen were to count the acts of government which affect his interests, protecting his property, guaranteeing his family relations, guarding him against ordinary dangers, he would find that the state or local government touches him twenty times where the national government touches him once. Professor Woodrow Wilson puts the matter in this way: "All the civil and religious rights of our citizens depend upon state legislation; the education of the people is in the care of the states; with them rests the regulation of the suffrage; they prescribe the rules of marriage, the legal relations of husband and wife, of parent and child; they determine the powers of masters over servants and the whole law of principal and agent, which is so vital a matter in business transactions; they regulate partnership, debt and credit, insurance; they constitute all corporations, both private and municipal, except such as fulfil the financial or other specific functions of the federal government; they control the possession, distribution, and use of property, the exercise of trades, and all contract relations; and they formulate and administer all criminal law, except only

Local Government.

[1] Professor Woodrow Wilson says: "It is one of the distinguishing characteristics of the English race whose political habit has been transmitted to us through the sagacious generation by whom this government was erected that they have never felt themselves bound by the logic of laws, but only by a practical understanding of them based upon slow precedent. For this race the law under which they live is at any particular time *what it is then understood to be*; and this understanding of it is compounded of the circumstances of the case. . . . Their laws have always been used as parts of the practical running machinery of their politics, — parts to be fitted from time to time, by interpretation, to existing opinion and social condition." — *The State*, 476–477.

that which concerns crimes against the United States, on the high seas, or against the law of nations."

Although the state is in this way the guardian of the individual, the ongoing of his daily life is also immediately affected by institutions which, created by the state, are nevertheless in a measure independent of it. The chief of these is the city, which with the rapid increase of population, the growth of corporate wealth, and the extension by charter of municipal functions, has already become one of the most important elements in the political situation. The pupil should realize how dependent he is upon both city and state. This should lead to a greater emphasis upon state and particularly upon city "patriotism." Such sentiments are now no longer in danger of checking loyalty to the nation or of lessening fidelity in the performance of national duties.

Importance of the City.

With older pupils it will be instructive to compare the distribution of power between the national and the local governments in America and in France. From such a comparison must come the conviction that in the vitality and strength of our local institutions lies the political stability of America. Every revolution that France has had since 1789 has been largely if not wholly determined by the action of one city. This is less true of the first Revolution than of those which followed, and which in most instances were merely changes more or less radical in the machinery of the central administration. France is like a pyramid standing on its apex. America rests secure upon the broad base of forty-five states.

The pupils may be asked why France is so highly centralized while the United States is still a federation of partially independent states? To answer such a question they must recur to their study of history. France has such natural boundaries that inevitably the people throughout its limits have come to show similar and highly individualized traits of character. Throughout their history they have been thrown back upon one another in many a series of conflicts with their neighbours, so that the unifying effects which we

Centralization.

have felt during the Revolution, during the War of 1812, and during the Civil War have been experienced a hundred times. Local privileges, even local liberties, have been sacrificed to make the nation strong against its enemies. The United States has been more fortunate. As soon as it reached its natural boundaries it found oceans protecting it on the east and on the west, while to the north and the south it was impossible for powers to arise that would so threaten its existence as to make consolidation imperative. Nevertheless there are forces which tend to break down the separateness of the states and which are slowly working the changes hastened by war. These are included in that vast organization of industry which ignores state boundary lines, and which for this reason brings the national government more actively into play in every part of the Union. The action of the courts in the case of strikes, what is called "government by injunction," is one illustration of this. The teacher cannot make such tendencies clear to young pupils, but he can because of them endeavour to stimulate the pupil's pride in his state so that this may some day become watchful against unnecessary encroachments of the federal authority.

Towns, Counties.

In studying local government outside the cities it is well to show that there are several systems,—the township in New England, the hundred in Delaware and Maryland, the county and the parish in the South, and that with the movement westward there have come into being various combinations of these systems in the western states. Such knowledge has no direct practical value, but it serves to illustrate the historical character of government in the United States and to counteract the impression that everything is the result of paper constitutions.

City Government.

In the study of city government there should be a comparison between the older system of administration by separate boards or commissions, more or less independent of one another, and the new system of concentration of power and responsibility in the mayor or in the mayor

and a few other elective officers. This new system was a few years ago hailed as the token of a better day in city administration. Mr. Fiske said it seemed "to be a step toward lifting city government out of the mire of party politics." Not all municipal reformers are as sure of this as they were in 1890. It has been found that a bold mayor can use the extraordinary power which the system puts in his hands to build up a strong personal machine, and that he is able to use this in state and even in national politics. Although it is true, as Mr. Fiske remarked in the same passage, that "to elect a city magistrate because he is a Republican or a Democrat is about as sensible as to elect him because he believes in homœopathy or has a taste for chrysanthemums," nevertheless, since the majority of the Democrats and Republicans in the cities still cling loyally to their party candidates, such a mayor knows that he is sure of so many thousand votes under all circumstances. The problem before him is to win enough more to defeat his rival supported by the independent vote. Occasionally the revolt from the party is large enough to overthrow him. The possibility of a tyrannical use of power should enforce the lesson that with so large a grant of authority should go a determination on the part of the citizens to hold the official severely responsible. In such a case "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty."

In studying local government either within or without the city the teacher should begin with the conditions which obtain in the community where the school is situated and work out into the larger field by means of comparison and contrast.

There are three topics of local government which should receive special emphasis: first, the expenditure of money; second, its collection; and third, the choice of the responsible officers.

Public Expenditure.

Under expenditure is included a description of all those municipal activities for which money must be provided by taxation or by loans. A distinction may for convenience be made between those expenses that are absolutely necessary for the protection and health of the city and others which are necessary in a different sense, such as

parks, playgrounds, libraries, art galleries, and monuments. There should also be a discussion of the extent to which cities have engaged in enterprises, like water works, electric light or gas plants, street railroads, which in other cities have been left in private hands. It is better ordinarily to discuss what is actually done rather than argue the matter theoretically. Few cities have been consistent in this matter. They have done some things that show a socialistic tendency and others which seem timidly conservative.

In connection with the subject of municipal indebtedness it may be pointed out that to borrow money to build a gas plant from which an income is expected is different from borrowing money to expend on unremunerative public works. Consequently in examining any city's indebtedness it is necessary to analyze the elements which enter into it.

The pupils should be told how the expenditure of money is guarded. Even an admirable system of auditing gives little security against waste of money or actual stealing, unless the citizens understand the matter and are inclined from time to time to see that the system is complied with. The business of a city corporation is so vast that unusual precautions are necessary.

Taxation.

As soon as expenditure is understood the pupils are likely to take a deeper interest in taxation. They realize that in order to carry out such large enterprises a heavy burden must rest upon the taxpayers, and that this cannot be borne unless it is placed wisely. Such a study should include the assessment of taxes, methods of valuation, and the effect of taxation on different kinds of property. It would be well also to contrast these forms of local direct taxation with the indirect taxes upon which the central government relies for its income.

Elections.

It should now be clear to the pupils that to choose the men who are to have charge of these expenditures and to collect the taxes is a serious matter. In explaining this subject the teacher should become a realist. All the election machinery should be studied, not merely that pro-

vided by state law, but also that which rests on custom and party organization. This is not to furnish the teacher an opportunity to arraign the party bosses, large or small, but their existence cannot be left out of the account. The subject should be treated in such a way that the pupil will understand how his vote may be most effective in accomplishing the result he seeks. There should be a discussion of party machines, their value and their evils. It should become apparent how greatly the individual is strengthened the moment he unites himself with others to achieve a common result. The qualities by which a man becomes a political boss should also be analyzed. Such men are generally natural leaders; they enjoy association with their fellows; they are generous in some directions if not in others; they are public-spirited, although not always in the highest sense of the word, and they actually devote time to the public service, if for no other reason because an official salary may be their only means of livelihood. In connection with this topic the claims which public affairs may make for more of the citizen's time should be urged. The average man spends not over three or four hours a year in exercising the rights and privileges of self-government. If one were to judge the value he placed upon these rights by the attention he bestows upon them, democracy would seem to rest upon insecure foundations. Nearly all our political ills would be remedied, were the citizens willing to devote more time to public affairs, to discussion and to agitation for better things.

The Machine and the Boss.

This subject naturally calls for an explanation of the way in which state and particularly national politics affect local elections. From the point of view of local welfare such an admixture of foreign issues is wholly evil. It is an illustration of the lengths to which centralization may be pressed by leaders blind to the forces which they use, and only intent upon national success and the spoils of victory. The political boss looks upon a local election as the training ground upon which he may exercise his cohorts

National and Local Politics.

and on public office as the commissary where he may satisfy their hunger. An intelligent use of the independent vote is the only means of teaching practical politicians the risks in this attitude toward local affairs.

With the older pupils it would be well to trace back to early times in England the history of several of the local offices. The dignity which comes from age may surround the office with greater honour, and eventually have an effect upon the manner in which its duties are performed.[1]

Courts.

In the study of the state government the principal attention should be given to the administration of justice. It is true the legislature has great power for good or for ill, but in this case the remedy is simple, — elect trustworthy men to the assembly and forbid it to enact special legislation. The condition of the courts is a more serious matter, for if they become unworthy of public confidence the foundations of society are shaken. The sentiment of the sacredness of their task should be cultivated, especially in those states which submit to popular vote the choice of judges. The pupil should also understand that although he may never seek public office, he may be summoned to duty in the administration of justice either as a juror or as a witness. The best way to impress upon his mind the value of the courts and the need of watchfulness that the traditions of justice be constantly cherished, is by an appeal to history, by showing the origin of our system of courts, the ruder customs of administering justice which they displaced, by describing the personal liberties of which they have been constituted the guardians by the common law as well as by statute law. The pupils should understand that a system of this sort will always faithfully represent the people who have it. If their ideals of fair dealing are high, the

[1] Teachers are often urged to take the pupils to sessions of the city council and of other public bodies in order to observe with their own eyes the workings of local government. This is correct in principle, but it cannot be erected into a rule of universal application. In some cases the behaviour of these bodies will not edify children.

courts will be pure and the liberty of the individual never will be seriously endangered.

The Federal Government. The central government may be approached through its local activities,— the distribution of the mails, the collection of excises and customs, the work of the United States marshal, occasionally also the sessions of the United States circuit or district courts. After these functions have been examined and classified, the powers the president can exercise within the limits of any state may be more systematically studied with illustrations from history. Among these illustrations may be the Whiskey Rebellion, Jackson's attitude toward the South Carolina nullifiers, Lincoln's policy during the Civil War, Cleveland's intervention during the Chicago riots in 1894.

Extent of Congressional Jurisdiction. The relations of Congress to the state are equally important. After the pupils understand the limitations placed upon both Congress and the state legislatures they should study the use by Congress of the "omnibus clause" by which it may "make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department thereof." Over the interpretation of this clause there long raged a debate between the two political parties, especially in regard to the authority it gave for the expenditure of money on internal improvements or for the attempt to protect American industries by a tariff on imports. The pupils should also see how Congress has been able, with the development of trade, to extend its practical jurisdiction through its power over interstate commerce.

The President. In studying the position of the president it is more important to see what are the real limits of his influence than to be able exactly to enumerate the powers granted to him in the Constitution. One topic is his relation to legislation. He not only possesses a veto which gives him a negative share in legislation, but he may positively influence it through his message and through a use of his appointing

power. The value of the message is often its effect on public opinion and through this upon congressmen. The message acquires special importance if the president is the acknowledged leader of his party and if the policies which he announces have been determined after consultation with his supporters. The use of the appointing power in promoting legislation is a subtle method of bribery, which fortunately has been checked by the progress of civil service reform. It does not shock popular opinion as did the use of patronage under Louis Philippe's government in France, because the offices are not given to congressmen, they merely receive the right to name the persons who are to be appointed. But this may lead to the loss of one of the president's most important functions. Each phase of the subject may be illustrated from several administrations, notably from those of Jefferson, Jackson, Lincoln, Johnson, and Cleveland.

Another topic of vital interest is the president's control of foreign policy, of the manner in which Congress has attempted to encroach upon it by joint resolutions and by an extended use of the senate's share in the treaty-making power. It should also be made clear to the pupils that the president may in the performance of his duties as executive involve the country in serious difficulties with foreign powers so that the subsequent action of Congress in declaring war may be purely formal.

The study of the method of choosing a president should be historical. It should be prefaced by a review of the early elections and of the tendencies which resulted in the development of a party machinery national in its extent, so that in the selection of a president the party leaders in Congress did not necessarily retain a dominant influence.

In order to bring all these characteristics into clearer relief it would be well to compare with them the practice in a republic like France. Such a comparison would make clear also the difference in the nature of the cabinet systems of the two countries and the relations of the cabinet officers to the president.

The Senate. The Senate is interesting as the stronghold of the minority, as it was during the later phases of the slavery conflict. Its encroachment on the executive, particularly through the use of its power in confirming the nominations or in rejecting treaties, should be described. The topic of principal current interest is the method of choosing senators. Here there should be a study of the actual practice in the states rather than a reproduction of the formal provisions of the Constitution. The right of the state legislatures to choose senators is disappearing in the same way that the electoral college lost the privilege of choosing the president.

House of Representatives. In studying the House of Representatives attention should be concentrated upon the machinery of law-making, — the speaker, the nature of his right to select committees, the function of these committees in facilitating legislation, the attitude of the average member of Congress toward the particular needs of his district, the extent to which members may act independently of the party machine.

Supreme Court. The Supreme Court is better studied historically by a review of its decisive work during the early years of the Union, of the part it played in the slavery controversy, of its action on the Legal Tender cases, in the Income Tax case, and more recently in the Insular cases.

Other Topics. In this brief sketch the attempt has not been made to outline fully the topics which must be discussed, but simply to indicate points of view and methods of thought which may be helpful in interesting the pupils in the actual conditions of civil government in the United States. It need not be said that the details of the mechanism must be clear before its working can be comprehended.

The Result. It should constantly be remembered that the teacher's interest in the higher aspects of the subject should not blind him to the elements of his pedagogical problem. He must be able not only to think intelligently about the subject, he must present the matter in a form simple enough to reach the narrow political experience of the child. This is especially

true of the problem of teaching civics in the elementary school. The work is a failure unless as a result the child feels a deeper interest in the subject, is able with keener intelligence to grasp its details, realizes, vaguely at least, his relation to the community, and anticipates his greater duties to it when he shall reach maturity.

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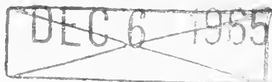
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