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TEACHING OF HISTORY
IN ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY
SCHOOLS



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TEACHING OF HISTORY

IN

ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY
SCHOOLS

BY

HENRY JOHNSON

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN TEACHERS COLLEGE
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

New York

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

1921

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Set up and electrotyped. Published July, 1915.

Norwood Press

J. B. Cushing Co. — Berwick & Smith Co.
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To
MY MOTHER

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EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

IN beginning his illuminating treatment of the Holy Roman Empire, Lord Bryce wrote: "In history there is nothing isolated, and just as to explain a modern act of Parliament, or a modern conveyance of lands, we must go back to the feudal customs of the thirteenth century, so among the institutions of the Middle Ages there is scarcely one which can be understood until it is traced up either to classical or to primitive Teutonic antiquity."

This is the first principle for the teacher of history to enforce, as it is the first lesson for the student of history to learn. History offers a third dimension to the superficial area of knowledge that each individual acquires through his own experience. When one boasts that he is not bound by any (trammels) of the past, he proclaims his own folly, and would, if he could, reduce himself to the intellectual level of the lower animals. He can only mean by such a phrase that he proposes to set out to discover and to explain the world of nature and of man as if nothing had been done before, and as if he were certainly competent for his mighty and

self-imposed task. The wise man, on the contrary, will search the records of the past for their lessons, in order that he may be spared from trying to do again what has been once proved useless, wasteful, or wrong. He will watch the rise and fall of peoples; the struggle of human ambition, greed and thirst for power; the loves and hates of men and women as these have affected the march of events; the migration of peoples; the birth, development, and application of ideas; the records of human achievement in letters, in the arts, and in science; the speculations and the beliefs of men as to what lies beyond the horizon of sense, with a view to seeking a firm foundation for the fabric of his own knowledge and of his own belief.

One of the wisest and most successful teachers of history that ever lived in America, Professor Francis Lieber of Columbia College, used a method peculiarly his own, and achieved exceptional results by so doing. In his college classes he assigned as the task for each exercise a definite number of pages in a popular manual of the history of Europe that was translated from the German. This manual was nothing more than a compact and desiccated collection of facts, including dates, names, and important events. Each pupil was required to master the contents of the assigned number of pages. When the class met, the teacher required a selected pupil, in the presence of his classmates, to

write upon the blackboard a summary of the events that happened in Great Britain, for example, during the period under examination. By a system of cross-questioning the aid of the entire class was had in securing the correctness of this summary. Then another pupil would be summoned to do the same thing for France, another for Germany, another for Italy, and so on until all the material included in the assigned portion of the textbook had been covered. Then the teacher, turning with a triumphant look to his class, was in the habit of saying: "Now you know what was happening in each of the great countries of Europe at a specified time. But why were those things happening? You do not know. You will not find out from your textbook, but I will tell you." Then the eloquent and learned scholar poured forth a wealth of illuminating philosophical explanation that made the carefully memorized facts forever real in the minds of his fortunate pupils. There is no better way to study or to teach history than that. The fundamental data, the dates, the names, the bare events, must be learned by the pupil, and having been learned they must be interpreted. Interpretation is the task of the teacher.

For more than a generation past there has been a strong and steadily growing tendency to interpret the facts of history as the successive sequences in a chain of economic causation. It has been stoutly held and

taught that the actions of men and of nations are to be explained as the effects of purely economic causes. To accept this, however, as occupying anything more than a subordinate and a secondary place in the study of history, is to close one's eyes to the most obvious facts of human experience. No small part of the life of individuals and of nations is devoted to courses of action and to policies which are in direct conflict with men's obvious economic interests, but which are pursued because of belief in some principle, because of adherence to some ideal, because of faith in something unseen and eternal. The scholarly and the true interpretation of history is to view it as the record of the social, the moral, and the intellectual education of man, with economic forces and laws playing a constant but a secondary part.

It has become fashionable to decry chronology and to treat as unimportant a knowledge of the dates at which large events took place. But this tendency is one to be vigorously resisted. Chronology lies at the basis of history and furnishes it with a framework. Not to know the significance of dates such as 490 B.C., 732 A.D., 1066, 1453, 1492, 1649, 1789, 1815, and 1914, is to miss the clue to the power to group events in their natural order and in their causal sequence.

He will be a fortunate student, too, who is guided by a study of history through the gates that lead to litera-

ture. Herodotus and Thucydides, Livy and Tacitus, Gibbon and Macaulay, von Ranke and Mommsen, Laurent and Martin, are not only historians but men of letters. They reveal to the student of history the play upon the records of the past of high intellectual power, working with the instruments of the fine art of expression. The teacher of history who awakens in his pupils a love of the literature of history and a love of the literature that constitutes so large a part of the subject-matter of history, will not have taught in vain.

NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY,
May 18, 1915



PREFACE

THE literature called forth by school instruction in history during the last three hundred years is in some respects a melancholy literature. Much of it can, without great effort, be read as a sort of continuing diagnosis of unsound-conditions. Something was apparently wrong in the seventeenth century, when history first began to be taught seriously as an independent school subject, and something has apparently been wrong ever since. This might be indicative merely of a progressive spirit forever discovering that the good of yesterday is no longer good to-day. But the facts admit of no such flattering interpretation. The ills on view in each generation have been in large part ills on view in each preceding generation. So, too, much of the advanced thought on how to improve conditions has been merely the unconscious revival of old thought. Before history had really begun to disturb the peace of schoolmasters, Comenius, in his *Great Didactic*, completed in 1632, made provision for the subject in every year of the school course and emphasized aspects of history which we, with the zest of pioneers, are emphasizing now.

Before history had become more than a respectable exception in actual school programs, Christian Weise, in 1676, found the spell of the ancients over-potent and argued, much as we argue now, in favor of the modern period. By the end of the eighteenth century school instruction in history had been charged with most of the faults which we attribute to it now, and reformers had already anticipated most of the correctives which we are now striving to apply.

Similar impressions of continuing ills and of recurring advanced thought on how to meet them are left by other chapters in the history of human endeavor. But the conditions presented by the history of history teaching suggest a somewhat curious inconsistency. Teachers of history have labored diligently to improve the world in general through history in general. It does not appear from the record that they have labored diligently to improve their own calling through the special history of that calling. The joy of independent discovery is not a matter to be treated lightly. It is, moreover, better on principle to be an originator than to be an imitator. But teachers of history are committed by their own logic to a study of the experiences of other teachers. Believing, as they do believe, that the past of humanity in general is of value to humanity in general, they are scarcely in a position to deny that the past of history teaching is of value to teachers of his-

tory. Surely, to them, beyond teachers of any other subject, it should be apparent that there is an element of futility in sailing without charts seas that have already been charted and in making discoveries that have already been discovered. There are, it may be added, wide opportunities for independent exploration the nature of which can be understood only by those who embark with some knowledge of what has already been accomplished.

It is in this faith that the author has attempted in the following pages a broader survey of past and present conditions than has hitherto been included in a book on the teaching of history. The treatment is necessarily inadequate, but not, it is hoped, as superficial as the meager citation of authorities might suggest. Most of the generalizations are based upon materials of which the footnotes convey no hint, and of which they could not, without expansion unsuitable for a work of this character, convey any hint. The most that can be claimed for this part of the work is, however, that it may furnish some indication of what, in the course of three centuries, has been thought and done in the teaching of history.

The greater part of the book is devoted to a discussion of underlying principles and their application to present problems of history teaching in the United States. The aim has been to present as concretely as

possible the fundamental conditions of making history of any kind effective in the schoolroom. There has been no concealment of a personal conviction that the study of history in school may be, and should be, a serious study of history. But this involves merely a further application of principles of presentation which are, it is believed, as valid for those who refuse to carry them beyond the story or information stage of history teaching as for those who believe that school history should include illustrations of how historical truth is established.

The author's own faith in the ability of boys and girls to cope with history is frankly greater than that commonly professed in educational discussion. But it has not been established "without works." Beginning, twenty-five years ago, with all the psychological and pedagogical tenderness that the latest defender of the rights of childhood could desire, the author has been led step by step, through direct experience in the classroom, to a conviction that history of almost any kind can be taught at almost any stage of instruction on the simple condition that it is taught in a sensible way. The evidence is in part the exercises suggested in this book, exercises which, however they may be judged on other grounds, have in every case been personally tested under average school conditions.

No headings nor marginal comments have been included in the body of the book, but a substitute for such

aids to analysis of the text is furnished by the table of contents. A bibliography of history teaching, a list of guides to historical literature, a bibliography of illustrative material, suggestions for a collection of illustrative material, annotated references for further reading, and questions on the text will be found at the end of the volume.

The author has drawn freely upon portions of his earlier pamphlet,¹ but most of the present treatment is new. He is indebted to his wife for constant and invaluable assistance.

HENRY JOHNSON.

NEW YORK,
June 14, 1915.

¹ The Problem of Adapting History to Children in the Elementary School. *Teachers College Record*, November, 1908. Out of print.



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TEACHING OF HISTORY

CHAPTER I

WHAT HISTORY IS

HISTORY, in its broadest sense, is everything that ever happened. It is the past itself, whatever that may be. But the past cannot be observed directly. What is known about it must be learned from such traces of former conditions and events as time and chance and the foresight of man may have preserved. Our practical concern in forming a conception of history is, therefore, with these traces, the method employed in studying them, and the results of the study. Traces of past facts of any kind may be regarded as possible material. We speak of a history of plants, of animals, and even of inanimate nature. But history in the usual acceptance of the term means the history of man. The materials to be studied are the traces left by his existence in the world, his thoughts, feelings, and actions.

The traces left by the human past are, by students of

history, commonly called *sources*. They are found in forms so various that exhaustive classification is difficult and complete enumeration impossible. In some sense, everything that man now is or has is a trace left by the past :— present personal memories, present mental habits, present ideals, present social customs and institutions, language, literature, material products of human industry, physical man himself and the physical remains of men. In general, two kinds of sources are distinguishable: (1) those that bear some evidence of conscious intent to transmit information; and (2) those that have come down to us as mere relics or survivals of past conditions or events. Sources of the first kind are often called traditions. They include: (1) oral traditions, reports, that is, transmitted orally— legends, sagas, ballads, anecdotes; (2) written or printed records— inscriptions, genealogical tables, lists of officials, annals, chronicles, memoirs, biographies, narratives in general; (3) pictorial representations— paintings, statues, photographs of persons or places, plans of buildings, of cities, of battlefields, maps, diagrams. Sources of the second kind are often called remains. They are, as the term suggests, actual survivals of the past in language, in literary or other artistic expression, in industrial productions, in laws and customs. The distinction thus indicated is, for some purposes, im-

portant. It is, however, not one that can be applied in any absolute way. Some sources may be regarded either as conscious or unconscious testimony, that is, either as traditions or remains, according to the point of view from which they are considered. A newspaper, for example, contains conscious representations of conditions and events; it is at the same time, not only a direct material remain, but, even as a report, an unconscious reflection of the tastes, the interests, the desires, and the spirit, of its day. Not all remains are traditions, but all traditions are, from one point of view, remains.

Sources are further distinguished as primary and derived. Primary sources, called also *original sources*, and sometimes simply *sources*, are either direct material remains, or the direct impression or expression, in some form, of the age to which they relate. They may be roads, bridges, buildings, monuments, coins, tools, clothing, human remains. They may be personal memories of facts actually observed, reports made by actual observers, actual texts of laws, decrees, orders, charters, constitutions, judicial decisions, treaties, official instructions, business documents. Derived sources may be *secondary*, that is, representations based directly upon primary sources; they may be *tertiary*, that is, representations based directly upon secondary sources;

they may be representations based upon other representations to the n th degree. But here again the classification is not one that can be applied in any absolute way. In the first place, many sources are of a mixed character, partly primary and partly derived. Comparatively few observers confine their reports to what they themselves have directly observed. Statements based upon their own observation are mingled with statements based upon the reports of others. Similarly derived sources may be in part secondary, in part tertiary, in part of the n th degree. In the second place, the same source may for one purpose be primary and for another purpose derived. John Fiske's account of what happened at Lexington, April 19, 1775, is a primary source for determining John Fiske's conception of the events at Lexington; it is a derived source for obtaining information about the events themselves.

The mass of existing sources is in the aggregate enormous. No single mortal mind can hope to explore them all. Yet most facts in passing leave no durable trace. Most of them, indeed, vanish almost immediately in oblivion. This is true of the twentieth century with all its marvelous agencies for discovering and recording itself. It is obviously true in a higher degree of earlier centuries. The farther back we go, the greater in general the proportion of loss. The remoter past is thus left

exceedingly obscure. Fragments of human skeletons and objects of human workmanship are found in such positions in the earth and in such relations to other remains as to suggest a great antiquity for man. Differences in workmanship and in the kinds of material used suggest certain broad stages of development. But little more of the earlier progress of man is indicated. Traces of particular events have not survived. No one knows, for example, how or when or where men invented the bow and arrow, how or when or where they first learned to make fire and to apply it in their arts, how or when or where they first tamed the dog and cow. For the transmission of information of this character traditions of some kind are indispensable. Without them so little can, on the whole, be known that the entire period for which they no longer exist is commonly described as "prehistoric." The duration of this period is uncertain. Current estimates of it reach tens and even hundreds of thousands of years. In any case, what is called the "historic period," the period, that is, beginning with recorded traditions, is in comparison relatively brief. The oldest traditions can scarcely be dated back more than six or seven thousand years. The beginnings of any considerable accumulation of them can scarcely be dated back more than three thousand years, and even here the course of life is, in the main, indicated vaguely



and in a disconnected way. The conditions are not of course uniform for all peoples and countries. The beginnings of the historic period in Egypt lie far back of the beginnings in Greece; the beginnings of the historic period in Greece lie far back of the beginnings in England; the beginnings of the historic period in England lie far back of the beginnings in America. In any case, however, it is scarcely until we approach the thirteenth century of the Christian era that traditions become relatively full, relatively definite, and relatively continuous. The distinction between prehistoric and historic is, therefore, somewhat misleading. There is no sudden nor general dissipation of darkness in passing from one to the other. The historic period is, for most countries, in places quite as obscure as the prehistoric period. Nor is there evidence of any sudden or general advance in the conditions of human life to mark the transition and justify the distinction. The most that can be said is that the sources, always fragmentary, are more so for some periods than for others, that most of the sources now (extant) relate to comparatively recent times, and that the oldest sources consist exclusively of unconscious material remains.

The method employed in studying sources is the historical method. It embraces two kinds of operations, criticism and synthesis. Criticism seeks, in the first

place, to determine the specific character of a source. Is the source what it purports to be or is represented to be? Is it an original or a copy or reconstruction? If an original, has it been altered in the course of transmission? If a copy or reconstruction, does it reproduce with accuracy the original? Questions such as these belong to the domain of *external criticism*. Illustrations of the need of asking them are not far to seek. One has but to visit shops where "antiques" are offered for sale, or follow the interesting discoveries of "new historical material" reported from time to time in the newspapers. A wax bust acquired by a museum in Berlin is attributed to Leonardo da Vinci, but claimed also for a modern Englishman. A letter credited to Grover Cleveland, and published as his shortly after his death, is repudiated by his executors. A facsimile of a colonial newspaper designed to throw new light on the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence is shown to be fraudulent. Other recent discoveries include a runestone from Minnesota, alleged to have been left there by the Norsemen in 1362, and a copper cylinder from Michigan, said to contain the diary of Noah.

It is the province of external criticism to clear the field of spurious sources and to determine the origin and original form of sources accepted as genuine. In the case of written or printed documents, the aim is to

produce a "pure text," with indications as to authorship and time, place, and circumstances of composition. This is often a complicated matter. In a multitude of cases the originals of documents have been lost and only copies have come down to us, many of them anonymous and undated, many of them made, not from originals, but from other copies. There is internal evidence that the scribes, even when capable and conscientious, were at best fallible and that often they were neither capable nor conscientious. Petrarch in his day found them so incompetent that he declared the task of writing a book easier than that of getting one properly copied. "Such," he says, "is the ignorance, laziness, or arrogance, of these fellows that they do not reproduce what you give them but write out something quite different."¹ With the introduction of printing, conditions were vastly improved, but the occasion for criticism like Petrarch's did not entirely pass away. Cotton Mather, reading his *Magnalia* fresh from the press, was moved to add to his catalogue of impossibilities a "book printed without erratas." Recalling other offenses of composers, he went so far as to accuse them of having put into the Psalms, in one edition of the Bible, the statement, "Printers have persecuted me."² Such formal docu-

¹ Robinson and Rolfe, *Petrarch*, 28.

² *Magnalia Christi Americana*, Edition of 1853, p. xxxvii.

ments as wills, laws, charters, and constitutions are naturally drawn with care, and when there is occasion for reproducing them, whether in manuscript or print, they are likely to be reproduced with care. But the production of perfect copy, even in cases that put no special strain upon the intelligence, demands a degree of sustained attention difficult to attain. Witness the record of unsuccessful attempts to print the exact text of the Constitution of the United States.¹

External criticism is usually work for the expert and not for the layman. Different kinds of sources require for their criticism different kinds of special knowledge. For sources relating to ancient and mediæval times, one kind of question may involve appeals to archæology; another to philology; another to epigraphy, the science which deals with the classification and explanation of inscriptions; another to paleography, the science which deals with handwriting; another to diplomatics, the science which deals with certain special classes of documents, such as charters, contracts, and official registers; another to chronology; and another to still other special sciences. The criticism of modern sources is less formidable and the training needed for it is less technical, but even here the critic must be able to use a more or less highly specialized apparatus and

¹ See *American History Leaflet*, No. 8, p. 2.

to apply rules, principles, doctrines, and facts, beyond the ken of general readers of history. The labors of a long line of able and devoted scholars have been devoted to external criticism. Numerous fraudulent sources have been exposed. Multitudes of "pure texts" have been published. Many old monuments and buildings have been restored. Many more, like those of the Athenian Acropolis and the Roman Forum, have been reconstructed in drawings or pictures. Photography and the mechanical processes dependent upon it have in our day removed at least one factor of human error.

External criticism seeks to ascertain when, where, and by whom, a source was produced and to determine precisely its original form. The next step is to investigate the meaning of the source, and here the work of *internal* or *higher criticism* begins. The question of meaning, it is true, enters also into external criticism, but only as an aid in the determination of other questions. Internal criticism seeks the meaning as an end in itself. The ideal is to put ourselves in the place of the producer of the source, to reconstruct the mental states through which the painter passed in painting the picture, the sculptor in carving the statue, the author in writing the document. The procedure in approximating this ideal, at least in the case of the written or printed document, ought to be fairly familiar, for a very large part of the

educational process consists in finding answers to the question, "What does the author mean?" The general rule is simple; it is merely to study the source and not ourselves. The difficulty is in applying the rule. Take the case of the document. "What happens," says Fustel de Coulanges, "is that a kind of tacit contest goes on between the text and the preconceived opinions of the reader; the mind refuses to grasp what is contrary to its idea, and the issue of the contest commonly is, not that the mind surrenders to the evidence of the text, but that the text yields, bends, and accommodates itself to the preconceived opinion. . . . A man thinks he is contemplating an object, and it is his own idea that he is contemplating. He thinks he is observing a fact, and the fact at once assumes the color and the significance his mind wishes it to have. He thinks he is reading a text, and the words of the text take a particular meaning to suit a ready-made opinion."¹

Language is at best somewhat elusive. The writer who can express himself exactly is, perhaps, as rare as the reader who can avoid "tacit contest" with a text. Even legislators and makers of constitutions, who, of all men, ought to define their intentions with exactness, sometimes find their most painstaking efforts defeated

¹ Langlois and Seignobos, *Introduction to the Study of History*, 144, Note.

by the equally painstaking efforts of the judges who are called upon to interpret the results. Often the problem of interpretation raises special questions. Did the author intend his statements to be taken literally or figuratively? Was he writing seriously or indulging in humorous exaggeration? Did the words which he employed have in his day the meaning which we attribute to them to-day? Attention to the last question alone has in some cases revolutionized long-established opinions concerning the past. It must not, however, be supposed that all documents present difficulties so great as to require extraordinary effort to unravel their meaning. Many of them, for most uses, require for their interpretation only such effort as the most casual reader would put forth.

For some purposes, to establish the character of a source and its meaning is sufficient. What is desired is acquaintance with the conceptions which men have held in the past, the images which were in their minds, their ways of looking at the world or the universe. It is information of this kind that makes up the substance of histories of art, of literature, of mythology, of philosophy, of science, of religious dogma, of law. But, for other purposes, to understand what an author said is only a beginning. Did he believe what he said? Was he in a position to know? Did he have the



ability to represent accurately what he saw or heard or read?

Human observation, memory, and inference are fallible. Even our own experiences of yesterday may emerge faded and distorted from the accounts which we strive to give of them to-day. Trained reporters, writing in the very midst of events, often differ widely in their versions of the simplest and most obvious of details. Of the accounts of an episode in a peace congress, a few years ago, a speaker whose remarks had met with a somewhat unexpected retort afterwards said: "The reporters sat immediately in front of the platform. One man wrote that the audience was so surprised by my speech that it received it in complete silence; another wrote that I was constantly interrupted by loud applause, and that at the end of my address the applause continued for minutes. The one wrote that during my opponent's speech I was constantly smiling; the other noticed that my face remained grave and without a smile. The one said that I grew purple red from excitement, and the other found that I grew white like chalk. The one told us that my critic while speaking walked up and down the large stage; and the other that he stood all the while at my side and patted me in a fatherly way on the shoulder." ¹

¹ *McClure's Magazine*, Vol. 29, p. 536.

The failing is not confined to reporters for newspapers. A professional historian who visited Australia in 1885, describing his first view of Adelaide, wrote: "We rose slightly from the sea, and at the end of seven miles we saw below us in a basin with the river winding through it, a city of one hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants, not one of whom has ever known, or will know, a moment's anxiety as to the recurring regularity of his three meals a day."¹ A professional critic of historians, quoting the passage somewhat inaccurately, adds the following comment: "Adelaide is on high ground, not in a valley; there is no river running through it; its population was not more than 75,000; and at the very moment when Mr. Froude visited it, a large portion of the population was on the verge of starvation."² Another professional critic, translating somewhat freely into French both the quotation and the comment, ends with actual famine for Adelaide.³ Those who selected the site for the city thought apparently that they saw a river. "Adelaide," says a letter written in 1837; "is to be on the bank of a beautiful stream."⁴ A recent historian of South Australia describes the site as compris-

¹ Froude, *Oceana*, 86.

² *Fortnightly Review*, December, 1894, p. 815.

³ Langlois et Seignobos, *Introduction aux Études Historiques*, 101.
"Elle souffrait d'une famine."

⁴ Hodder, *History of South Australia*, I, 63.

ing "a southern and northern elevation with a small valley and river between them,"¹ and the still more recent eleventh edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* places Adelaide "on the banks of the river Torrens." Doubtless citizens of Adelaide have had some moments of anxiety as to their "three meals a day." The year after Froude's visit "began with great depression. There was drought throughout the country." But "verge of starvation" and "famine" seem to have evaded the recorder.² Gazetteers of the eighties, it may be added, made the population of the city proper about 38,000.

Much of the material with which the student of history has to deal is the work neither of trained reporters nor of trained historians. Much of it is of such a character as to place him "in the situation of a chemist who should know a series of experiments only from the reports of his laboratory boy."³ Much of it consists of reports made, not near the event, but long after, with memory grown dim and subject to distortion through the changes in point of view and in interest wrought by years. Much of it consists of reports made, not by actual observers, but by those who have heard or read the reports of others. Much of it is mere oral tradition the original

¹ Hodder, *History of South Australia* I, 63.

² *Ibid.*, II, 108.

³ Langlois and Seignobos, *Introduction to the Study of History*, 67.

content of which may have disappeared altogether in the course of transmission. It is perhaps not strange, therefore, that some thinkers have despaired of knowing the past at all and have come to look upon history as little more than a collection of fables which men have agreed to believe. But here again the difficulties must not be overestimated. The principles and rules of internal criticism have been so clearly defined, and are now so skillfully applied by hundreds of investigators, that the line between the true and the false, or at least between the probable and the improbable, can, for an enormous mass of material, be drawn with assurance.

Historical criticism lays the foundation for a rational belief that this or that particular event actually happened, that this or that particular condition actually existed. It yields those isolated pieces of information which are ordinarily described as "the facts of history." The way is thus prepared for synthesis, for the process, that is, of constructing from the facts a body of related knowledge. This implies selection of facts, grouping, generalization, organization. The product, conceived either as a body of knowledge or as an account or narrative in which that body of knowledge is set forth, is history in the sense usually attached to the term by makers of definitions of history.

Facts may be selected because they are interesting or

curious or memorable. They may be arranged in simple chronological order according to place of occurrence. They may be grouped for æsthetic effect. Generalization may be confined to such speculations or reflections on events and their causes as happen to occur to the inquirer. The aim may be to perpetuate the fame of striking personalities and striking events; it may be merely to make a good story. Constructions of this kind are commonly based upon imperfect criticism, sometimes upon no criticism at all. They represent the simple narrative or story-telling conception of history.

Again, facts may be selected because they are useful in business, in politics, in religion, in education. The search may be for precedents to enlighten statesmen, generals, and others, for arguments to support a cause or a theory, for ethical ideals to inspire the world in general. The facts, as in story-telling history, may be arranged either according to time and place of occurrence, or with such modifications of this grouping as promise to heighten æsthetic effect. Generalization may involve careful induction and may rise to the dignity of philosophic explanation. It may amount to little more than offhand moralizing designed to make the "lessons of history" as impressive as possible. Constructions of this kind represent the didactic conception of history. They may be based upon thorough-

going criticism, for, in the opinion of many, the lessons of history to be really useful must also be really true. But didactic history may be as innocent of criticism as any mere story-telling history.

3 Finally, facts may be selected because they are important or significant as illustrations or explanations of what the past was, of how it came to be what it was, of how the present grew out of it. Every condition or event may be viewed as a stage in a continuous process of development or evolution. Every condition or event may be conceived as related to something that went before and to something that came after. In any series the facts selected may be those that seem best to represent and to explain a particular course of development. It may be the development of an individual, of a nation, of government, of religion, of education; it may be the development of cookery, of dressmaking, or even of toys. The ideal, which is of course unattainable, is to represent and to explain the whole development of civilization. Here criticism assumes its full function, for the aim of this kind of construction is first and fundamentally to be true. It represents the scientific conception of history.

History admits, therefore, of no very exact definition. Historical construction varies, and has varied through the ages, with the varying tastes, interests, and purposes

of historians. The earliest representations of past conditions and events seem to have been those of epic poets and story-tellers, who, untroubled by the problems of criticism, usually took what appealed to them or promised to appeal to their public, and whose "visions," embracing chiefly gods and heroes, we now classify as myths, legends, and fables. The original of the word "history," a creation of the Greeks, had, however, from the beginning a more serious meaning. It is applied in
✓ Homer to the examination of evidence in a legal dispute. A case is brought before a man of skill who "inquires into the alleged facts and decides what the true facts are."¹ *ἱστορίη* (historie), in early Greek usage, meant such an inquiry, or any inquiry designed to elicit truth, hence the knowledge so obtained, information on any subject. This was, of course, not history in the sense here under consideration. But when Herodotus, in the latter half of the fifth century B.C., applied the term to distinctly historical information and for the "showing forth" of his "Inquiry" composed the famous narrative, which in time won for him the honorable title of "father of history," it was still information collected in the old spirit of inquiry. That spirit had, indeed, without the name, already been applied to historical inquiry. Even some of the poets had done a certain amount of inquir-

¹ Bury, *Ancient Greek Historians*, 16.

ing and comparing, and Hecataeus of Miletus, who died about 476 B.C., had announced in sober prose: "I write what I deem to be true, for the traditions of the Greeks seem to me manifold and laughable."¹ But this early criticism was naturally defective, and constructions based upon it continued to be largely mythical. Herodotus was a real investigator. He traveled widely and collected a vast amount of information. His work, embracing the geography and history of the greater part of the world known to his day, reveals a conscious and constant seeker after truth, which, he is careful to warn the reader, is not always attainable. Frequently, when his inquiries leave him in doubt, he presents opposing versions of the facts alleged, so that the reader can decide for himself which is the more probable version. Several times, also, he takes occasion expressly to disclaim personal responsibility. "As to the tales told me by the Egyptians," he says, "any man may accept them to whom such things appear credible; as for me, it is to be understood throughout the whole of the history that I write by hearsay that which is reported by the people in each place."² But Herodotus himself was above all a story-teller, an artist in prose, and his work, like many a less critical tale, professes no

¹ *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th Ed., XIII, 528.

² Macaulay's Translation, Book VII, 122.

other aim than that of preserving the memory of what he conceived to be memorable. He was the father of narrative history and in this field he remains a master and model.

While Herodotus in his closing years was still retouching his history, severer standards of criticism and a different conception of history were developing in the work of Thucydides, historian of the Peloponnesian War. Thucydides began to write when the war itself began, "believing that it would be great and memorable above any previous war,"¹ and he continued his record with the progress of the war down to 411 B.C. By way of introduction he gave a brief summary of the preceding history of Hellas, the materials for which seemed to him very unsatisfactory. "Men," he complains, "do not discriminate, and are too ready to receive ancient traditions about their own as well as about other countries,"² and he cites examples that seem to include Herodotus. His own sketch grasps essential facts in the mass of legends and so orders the facts as to exhibit a "reasoned march of development." The sources for the body of the work were of a different character. "I have," he says, "described nothing but what I either saw myself, or learned from others of whom I made the most careful

¹ Jowett's Translation, Book I, 1.

² *Ibid.*, 20.

and particular inquiry. The task was a laborious one, because eye-witnesses of the same occurrences gave different accounts of them, as they remembered or were interested in the actions of one side or the other." In the case of the numerous speeches reported, he does not profess to give the exact words, but expresses in his own way "the general purport of what was actually said." His purpose was not, like that of Herodotus, merely to preserve in pleasing form the memory of what was memorable. He considered it "very likely" that his narrative would prove "disappointing to the ear." "But if," he adds, "he who desires to have before his eyes a true picture of the events which have happened, and of the like events which may be expected to happen hereafter in the order of human things, shall pronounce what I have written to be useful, then I shall be satisfied."¹ His aim was thus distinctly didactic. He hoped that his work would teach political lessons, not because they were presented as such, but because "a true picture" of political conditions and events would of itself convey political lessons. He was the father of didactic history in its highest and best sense.

For more than two thousand years after Herodotus and Thucydides the narrative and the didactic types of history seemed to exhaust the possibilities of historical

¹ Jowett's Translation, Book I, 22.

construction. The particular forms which they assumed, the particular kinds of facts which they celebrated, the particular kinds of lessons or precedents which they sought to impress, the particular philosophies which they invoked to explain events were bewildering in their variety, but the general types persisted. The results, as seen by Buckle in 1857, were disappointing. Buckle praised the zeal of historians and conceded the "immense value of that vast body of facts which we now possess, and by aid of which the progress of mankind is to be investigated," but the use that had been made of the facts presented to his mind "a very different picture." "The unfortunate peculiarity of the history of man," he wrote, "is, that although its separate parts have been examined with considerable ability, hardly any one has attempted to combine them into a whole, and ascertain the way in which they are connected with each other. In all the other great fields of inquiry, the necessity of generalization is universally admitted, and noble efforts are being made to rise from particular facts in order to discover the laws by which those facts are governed. So far, however, is this from being the usual course of historians, that among them a strange idea prevails, that their business is merely to relate events, which they may occasionally enliven by such moral and political reflections as seem likely to be

useful. According to this scheme, any author who from indolence of thought, or from natural incapacity, is unfit to deal with the highest branches of knowledge, has only to pass some years in reading a certain number of books, and then he is qualified to be an historian; he is able to write the history of a great people, and his work becomes an authority on the subject which it professes to treat.”¹

The characterization was in a measure true. Historians had either neglected the opportunity, or failed in the effort, “to rise from particular facts” to “the laws by which those facts are governed.” This step Buckle now proposed to take, hoping thereby “to accomplish for the history of man something equivalent, or at all events analogous,” to what had been accomplished “by other inquirers for the different branches of natural science.”²

The call to history to become a science had been sounded before Buckle, and has been sounded many times since. The thought at first was to apply to history a procedure similar to that applied in the natural sciences. Facts were to be classified, not chronologically nor geographically, but logically, according to their intrinsic nature. A search was to be made for elements

¹ Buckle, *History of Civilization in England*, I, 3.

² *Ibid.*, I, 5.

common to facts of a given kind and for relations. The results were to be combined with similar results derived from other groups and so on until general laws could be formulated. In this way history was to be elevated to the dignity of a science. Early expectations have, however, not been realized. History has not actually become a science in the sense that physics and chemistry are sciences. The difficulty is not merely with man as "a free moral agent," a condition often alleged as fatal to any hope of formulating laws of human action; it is rather that historical generalization, following the lines of generalization in the natural sciences, seems unable to deal with a vitally characteristic factor in historical construction, namely, the question of what is important.

The realities of history are unique realities. What happened once can never happen again. For any given reality the facts of importance are, then, not those common to a number of realities, but rather those that give to the one reality its uniqueness. The facts of importance in representing and explaining Luther are not those common to all leaders of religious revolt, but rather those that make Luther unique, that distinguish him from all other leaders. The facts of importance in representing and explaining the French Revolution are the facts that make the French Revolution unique,



that distinguish it from all other revolutions.¹ It is conceivable that human action may come in time to be explained in terms of general laws, but even then the reality and succession of realities to be explained must continue to be described, if history is to retain any part of its present meaning.

There is none the less, as we have seen, a scientific conception of history, and history is now rather generally called a science. Its fundamental idea, that of development, was apprehended by thinkers in ancient Greece and Rome and by thinkers in the Middle Ages, but it remained for the modern age really to comprehend and to apply it as a ruling idea. Development implies continuity, and continuity implies unity. The ancients conceived neither. The Romans, it is true, furnished through their world empire an object lesson in world oneness, and Polybius, in the first century B.C., was inspired by that empire to write a world history. But he missed essentially the significance of the lesson. Christianity emphasized the oneness of the world and in its conception of human destiny supplied material for theories of development. But history needed naturally the impetus and ideals of modern science and that vaster accumulation of historical data with which the modern world has been favored to make the concep-

¹ See *American Historical Review*, IX, 16.

tion of development scientific. The actual transformation is an achievement almost of our own day. It has been wrought within the last seventy-five years.

Uncritical histories of the narrative and didactic types are still being produced. There are still those who demand that history shall first of all be literature. There are others, the majority of schoolmasters among them, who demand that history shall first of all be lessons in morals, or patriotism, or social service. There are others, and here must be included a large part of the legion described as "the general reading public," who demand of history only that it shall be interesting. To many of these the very idea of scientific history with its destructive criticism, its denial of the right of personal bias, and its sober gray of fact, amounting in many cases to a mere balancing of probabilities without definite conclusions, is somewhat repugnant. Special students of the subject, however, as a rule now conceive of history primarily as scientific history, and scientific ideals influence, if they do not altogether control, most of the productive historical scholarship of our time.

CHAPTER II

THE PROBLEM OF GRADING HISTORY

IN dealing with history for school purposes the question of what can be done at various stages of instruction naturally precedes and conditions the question of what ought to be done. The materials selected and the manner of dealing with them must ultimately be determined by educational ends. But, unless it be known how wide or how narrow the range of selection really is, there is danger, on the one hand, of overtaxing the abilities of pupils, and on the other hand, of missing what is best for the promotion of educational ends. This is apparent enough, and yet programs and textbooks in history are so often charged with the offense of making history unintelligible to pupils, and therefore useless or even harmful, or, if intelligible, of making it merely useless, that there is reason to suspect either some carelessness or some lack of insight in many preliminary surveys of the field. It may be of course that history is at best a subject of doubtful value, but even this supposition must wait upon a determination of the materials and treatment to be valued.

The difficulty of defining the possible range of selection has often been emphasized. History, it is said, offers no elementary aspects, no regular order of progression from the simple to the less simple, no clear principles of grading. In this respect history appears, then, to compare unfavorably with some other subjects. "In mathematics, for example," we read, "what a splendid orderly progression from the simpler operations with numbers to the more complex, from arithmetic to algebra (involving the principles of arithmetic), from algebra to geometry (involving the principles of arithmetic and algebra), and from geometry out into the different subjects of higher mathematics, mechanics, and physics, involving all these basic principles of pure and descriptive algebra. In the languages again the principle of the blade, the ear, and the full corn in the ear is clearly marked out. From the elements of the grammar the student passes on to the simpler texts of the language, then to the standard works of literature. But where and what is the grammar of history? What are the digits of politics or the A B C's of foreign relations?"¹

The difficulty should not be exaggerated. Efforts to grade history have, perhaps, on the whole been less suc-

¹ *Report*, Association of History Teachers of the Middle States and Maryland, 1906, p. 17.

cessful than efforts to grade mathematics and the languages. But this may or may not be due to advantages inherent in mathematics and the languages. The problem of grading mathematics, in spite of a certain "splendid orderly progression," was not, after all, solved in a day. The passing from grammar to "the simpler texts of the language" and "then to the standard works of literature," however "clearly marked out," is not even yet an entirely smooth and gentle ascent.

That history of some kind can be presented at almost any stage of instruction is scarcely in need of argument. History, or what passes for history, is now actually being taught, frequently as early as the first grade of the elementary school, sometimes even in the kindergarten. The problem of grading seems, therefore, to have been solved at least in part. That it has been solved less generally and less completely for history than for some other subjects is, perhaps, due not so much to difficulties inherent in history as to the attitude of educators toward the problem. Much of the discussion of history as a school subject has been based upon preconceived ideas that fix at the outset the materials and treatment to be tested and discourage examination of any other materials or treatment. Guidance, it is said, must be sought in the natural tastes and interests of children, in

the culture-epoch theory, or in some other theory or principle that removes responsibility for any general inquiry into the conditions presented by the field as a whole.

The doctrine of natural tastes and interests has been pronounced "pedagogical bed-rock."¹ Strictly interpreted this seems to imply that history is to be considered available for school purposes so far as it relates to conditions and activities analogous to those which children daily on their own unobstructed initiative either favor with their attention or create. An ideal history for children, it has been seriously suggested, would be a history written by a child. By the same token no doubt an ideal history for boys would be a history written by a boy, an ideal history for girls would be a history written by a girl, and histories written by college professors should be read by college professors, a fate perhaps at times deserved.

The natural tastes and interests of children can be inferred from psychology, they can be observed in operation, they can be tested by experiment. The problem of building a program upon them ought, therefore, to be relatively simple, and such a program ought beyond question to meet with the approval of children. These are important, and to those who are seeking the line of

¹ *New York Teachers' Monographs*, Vol. V, No. 1, p. 90.

least resistance, conclusive considerations. But "historical mindedness," it should be remembered, is not itself a natural state and therefore not likely to be a product of natural tastes and interests, even in manhood. It is something that comes to most of us, if it comes at all, through conscious effort. We do not grow into it simply by growing up; we are trained into it. A program based upon the natural tastes and interests of children, it should also be remembered, is not necessarily the only kind of program that is interesting. There is a learning to like, as well as a learning to do, by doing. There are acquired tastes and interests as well as natural tastes and interests.

A more adequate basis for a school program in history than that supplied by the doctrine of natural tastes and interests is, in the opinion of many, found in the culture-epoch theory. According to this theory, the individual in his mental progress passes through epochs or stages similar to epochs or stages in the mental progress of the race. The individual, that is, in a sense recapitulates the mental experience of the race. From the point of view of the culture-epoch theory history is, then, to be considered available for school up to the point reached by the pupils in their recapitulation of the experience of the race. The conclusion has been happily phrased by Professor Laurie. "The childhood of history," he says,

“is best for the child, the boyhood of history for the boy, the youthhood of history for the youth, and the manhood of history for the man.”¹

The culture-epoch theory as applied to history programs admits of two interpretations. According to one interpretation facts are to be so selected and arranged as to keep children at each step of the way occupied with stages of race culture corresponding to the stage which they have themselves attained. Knowing, as advocates of this interpretation seem to know, that children in the first three or four grades of the elementary school are primitive beings, that in the fifth and sixth grades they are mediæval, and that in the seventh and eighth grades they are becoming modern, the program maker has only to provide primitive civilization for pupils in the primitive stage of development, mediæval civilization for pupils in the mediæval stage, and modern civilization for pupils in the modern stage. Such a grouping of facts does not, it should be carefully explained, imply chronological continuity in the history program. Usually, indeed, chronological continuity is specifically repudiated. In a program recently published, for example, the work of the second grade is outlined as follows: “The early Aryans; life in ancient Egypt; the tent dwellers, nomadic life, period of shep-

herds, especially among the Hebrews; the early Phœnicians; primitive life among modern Afrikanders, primitive life in the far north; primitive life in Japan, the Philippines, India, Hawaii, etc.; primitive life among the North American Indians; primitive life of the white man in America." Even in the work outlined by this program for the sixth grade the French Revolution and Napoleon precede the American Revolution.¹ The particular facts selected under this interpretation may be quite "historical" so far as they go, but usually the effort to keep them so is slight.

The other interpretation involves a somewhat different procedure. It looks, not to the general cultural stages in the development of the race, but specifically to the development of the historical sense. Assuming that this unfolds in children after the manner of its unfolding in the race, the conclusion is reached that those conceptions of history which came first in the experience of the race should come first also in historical instruction, and that those conceptions which came late in the experience of the race should come late also in the history program. The earliest manifestations of the historical sense in the race being expressed in myths, legends, and fables, it follows that the introduction to school history should be through myths, legends, and

¹ Bliss, *History in the Elementary Schools*, 27, 47-48.



fables. As these give way to semi-historical sagas, and these in turn to more or less critical narration, so must the history program change from one to the other on and up to, but not inclusive of, scientific history, a development so recent in the experience of the race as plainly to suggest the "manhood of history." The stage indicated as proper for beginning instruction of this kind ranges from the kindergarten to the fourth or fifth year of the elementary school and the rate of progress varies considerably. Some programs literally pass in the first four or five years from fable to saga and reach in the upper grades of the elementary school matter-of-fact history. Others are dominated throughout by the spirit of romance and poetry. "History," says Professor Laurie, "cannot be reasoned history to a boy; even at the age of seventeen it is only partially so, but it can always be an epic, a drama, and a song." The inference is obvious: "We must teach history to the young as an epic, a drama, and a song." At the beginning of the course outlined by Professor Laurie, with boys of ten, "it is a story to be told, and the wandering minstrel of old is our model teacher." Even at the end, with boys of eighteen, the historians especially to be commended are apparently Shakespeare, Browning, and the historical novelists.¹

¹ *School Review*, IV, 656, 660

The significance of the culture-epoch theory for teachers of history rests upon two assumptions: (1) that all peoples in their cultural progress follow a certain uniform order of development which can be discovered and defined; and (2) that these stages represent in general a movement from the simple to the complex. If these assumptions are valid, it is at once obvious that the theory does supply a far-reaching principle for grading historical facts according to their degree of difficulty. Both assumptions have, however, been seriously questioned. Professor Boas has pointed out that some peoples "well advanced in the arts of life" have never discovered pottery, "one of the essential steps in the advance of civilization," and that "the invention of metallurgy, which marks so important an advance of European civilization, does not appear associated with analogous levels of development in other parts of the world." Similar remarks are applicable to other phases of industrial development. Again, advancing civilization does not seem necessarily to be always a movement from the simple to the complex; it may, in some phases, be a movement from the complex to the simple. "It is perhaps easiest," says Professor Boas, "to make this clear by the example of language, which in many respects is one of the most important evidences of the history of human development. Primitive languages



are, on the whole, complex. Minute differences in point of view are given expression by means of grammatical forms; and the grammatical categories of Latin, and still more so those of modern English, seem crude when compared to the complexity of psychological or logical forms which primitive languages recognize, but which in our speech are disregarded entirely. On the whole, the development of language seems to be such, that the nicer distinctions are eliminated, and that it begins with complex and ends with simple forms, although it must be acknowledged that opposite tendencies are not by any means absent.”¹

The whole matter has been aptly summarized by Professor Thomas. “Different groups,” he remarks, “take steps in culture in a different order, and the order depends upon the general environmental situation, the nature of the crises arising, and the operation of the attention.” “This,” he continues, “is a sufficient comment on the theory, sometimes used in pedagogy, that the mind of the child passes through epochs corresponding to epochs in the culture of the race. We have every reason to think that the mind of the savage and the mind of the civilized are fundamentally alike. There are, indeed, organic changes in the brain of the growing child, but these are the same in the children of all races. The

¹ Boas, *Mind of Primitive Man*, 182, 194.

savage is not a modern child, but one whose consciousness is not influenced by the copies set in civilization. And the white child is not a savage, but one whose mind is not yet fully dominated by the white type of culture.”¹

Another conception often applied is that history in school should begin with what is near in time and space and proceed by gradual stages to what is remote. The assumption here is that what is near is intelligible, that out of it may be formed an “apperception mass” sufficient to assimilate the less near, that through the resulting accretion it becomes possible to assimilate the still less near, and so on to the remote. The first step is commonly a study of the home and its activities. This is followed by a study of the school and its activities, and this in turn by a study of the local community as a whole, its geographical environment, its industries, its social customs. Attention is then directed, by means of simple stories, to past conditions and happenings in the community. The way is thus prepared for a similar treatment of other communities and for a consideration of the relations of one community to another. After four or five years of this kind of experience the historical sense is usually considered sufficiently developed to justify a chronological treatment of such history as may seem desirable. In the earlier stages the method is often

¹ Thomas, *Source Book for Social Origins*, 25-26.

regressive. The pupil, that is, begins with the present and works his way backward into the past. The plan may be confined to an introductory chapter, as in Powell's *History of the United States for Beginners*, or to a few introductory topics, as in the work outlined for the sixth grade by the Committee of Eight. It may be more extended.

The soundness of using the pupil's own immediate environment as a point of departure in the study of history is beyond dispute. In every lesson throughout the history course there should be a constant passing from the near to the remote, and, it may be added, from the remote to the near. The principle is fundamental, but it is scarcely a principle of grading at all. The degree of nearness or remoteness can afford no adequate test of difficulty. The question, for example, of whether Socrates or Benjamin Franklin is the more suitable for study by children is scarcely to be answered by an appeal merely to the years or the miles that separate Socrates or Benjamin Franklin from us.

The doctrine of natural tastes and interests, the culture-epoch theory, and the principle of proceeding from the near to the remote, as actually applied in the construction of history programs, have, it must be admitted, been found to "work" in the sense of providing materials that are intelligible and interesting to children. This,

in the opinion of some advocates, is a sufficient test of validity. But, waiving all other objections, it is clear that the answers thus returned to the question of what is possible for children are at best partial answers and that such must be the result of applying any doctrine, theory, or principle, that limits at the outset the range of inquiry. For more general answers there must be a more general exploration of the field.

The past to be reconstructed embraces three general kinds of phenomena: (1) physical human beings and their physical environment; (2) human words and actions; (3) human thoughts, feelings, and resolutions. Historical information, however organized and however presented, can be reduced to facts that relate to one or another of these general kinds of phenomena, or to their inter-relations. There may be, then, in the conditions under which facts of the types thus indicated are or may be apprehended some hint of the possible range of selection.

The conditions presented by facts of the first type are in many cases such that a direct appeal to the senses is possible. The eye can still rest upon a house that George Washington lived in, a hat that Napoleon wore, the food that some Pompeian was about to partake of when the great calamity came, the very features of an ancient Egyptian king. The ear, too, may have its part. The

clocks of our grandfathers are still striking for us; church bells heard in the Middle Ages are still ringing for Europe. The sights and sounds of nature, the odors of wood and field, repeat themselves from generation to generation. Furthermore, much of the material past lends itself readily to direct representation in statues, casts, models, and pictures, such as are now being supplied in ever increasing variety for every country within the pale of general human interest.

The conditions presented by facts of the second type admit to some extent of similar appeals. The actions and spoken words of the past are of course never before us in quite the way that material remains may be. No one can now actually see or hear Julius Cæsar dictating his *Commentaries*, or Henry IV going to Canossa, or William Penn talking with the Indians. The only actions which can be directly observed now are actions which are in progress now. But many acts habitually performed in the present resemble acts habitually performed in the past — going to school, greeting guests at a reception, saying mass. Many more can by conscious effort be performed more or less after the manner of former times — kindling a fire with primitive apparatus, spinning with an antiquated wheel, brandishing a tomahawk. An elaborate illustration of this type of reconstruction, whatever the originals might think of it, is

afforded by the numerous characters that walk and talk before the footlights in the historical drama. Action can also to some extent be suggested by statues and ordinary pictures. It can be fully represented in moving pictures. Nor is this all. By the correlation of moving pictures with the phonograph it is possible not only to represent action itself but to reproduce the voices and other sounds that accompanied action.

The conditions presented by facts of the third type admit of no such appeals. Thoughts and feelings can neither be painted in pictures nor caught by any mechanical contrivance that has yet been invented. They are revealed, so far as they are revealed at all, in the "looks" of men, in deeds, and in words. There are, it is true, mental states of our own that resemble the mental states of men in the past, and it is to our own mental states that we habitually appeal in representing to ourselves the mental states of others. But even our own minds are, to most of us, more or less of a mystery. Who has not despairingly remarked after some act that seemed anything but complicated, "I wonder why I did that!" The mental states of a cave man, an Indian, a pioneer, a Clovis, a Charlemagne, a Napoleon, have the advantage of being plainly described for us in our textbooks. But even with this advantage our ability to understand them depends upon our own

mental experiences and upon our ability to analyze our own mental experiences.

But, it may be urged, most of the facts of history are, regardless of their kind, on exhibition in verbal description only. For most of them the conditions are, therefore, equalized. In the first place, verbal description is usually inadequate. It rarely tells us all that we need to know to reconstruct either a material object no longer seen or a past mental state. In the second place, words are symbols only, mere "signs of psychological operations." The images which they call up, the thoughts and feelings which they induce, alike vary with individual experience. There is some force in these suggestions. The elements with which the mind has to work in constructing from verbal description its images of the vanished externals of life are, however, still in the domain of the senses. Is it a building that is described? We have seen buildings. Are the dimensions given? We have used a foot rule. Were the walls a dull red? We have seen dull red. The details, so far as they go, can be referred to memories of sensory impressions and these can be verified, if necessary, by fresh appeals to buildings, a foot rule, and dull red. Is it an action that is described? The appeal is still to memories of sensory impressions and some verification through appeals to action itself is still possible. The

elements with which the mind has to work in constructing from verbal description past thoughts and feelings remain more elusive and in general more dependent upon the mind's own previous experiences.

Within these general types of facts there is, however, a further distinction. The facts may be either particular or general. They may relate in detail to individual objects, individual persons, individual actions, thoughts, or feelings. They may in varying degrees of abstraction summarize individual objects or persons. They may relate wholly to groups of objects or persons, to collective acts and sentiments, to those habits and usages which are called institutions, to general causes that act in history. A slave we can image, but what was the "Slave Power" in America? Groans we have no doubt heard, but what is "a groan from the heart of France"? Opinions we have no doubt expressed, but what is "public opinion"? How shall we represent to ourselves a panic, a revolution, the church, the state, society itself and the laws of social action?

The simplest problems in dealing with history are evidently those connected with forming conceptions of how the world and its activities looked in the past. The more difficult problems are those connected with forming conceptions of past mental states. Particular facts, whatever their type, are simpler than general

facts of the same type. There is, moreover, a certain kind of dependence of the higher upon the lower forms of representation. External material conditions and activities, to the extent that they were either cause or effect of past mental states, furnish necessary clues to the interpretation of past mental states; particular facts furnish necessary clues to the interpretation of general facts.

In the field of external conditions and activities anything that can either be observed directly or be so presented as to supply elements for definite imagery is obviously possible material for any stage of instruction. Children in the first grade of the elementary school can, given the proper kind of presentation, image primitive dwellings, primitive furniture, primitive tools, primitive weapons, primitive men, and the actions of primitive men. They can also, given the same kind of presentation, image dwellings, furniture, tools, weapons, men, and actions of men, in any degree of removal from primitive conditions. The time exposure needed for imagery increases of course with the amount of detail to be imaged. It is in general greater for the material aspects of the higher civilization than for the material aspects of the lower civilization. But given the time, and given the same kind of presentation, the material aspects both of the higher and of the lower civilizations are within the realm of the possible for children.

In the field of thoughts and feelings the range of possible selection is still largely determined by the mode of presentation. Thoughts and feelings directly and obviously related to external conditions and activities that can themselves either be observed directly or be so presented as to supply elements for definite imagery are at any stage of the elementary school within the pupil's power to interpret. The feeling of need for a fire or of food for a dinner, the joy of accomplishment in fishing or hunting, the desire to visit a friend or to shun an enemy, the thought of the next day's work or adventure, in the presence of definite images of the thing needed, accomplished, desired, or thought of, all have a meaning for children of six. It is easy, however, at any stage of instruction to claim too much for the thoughts and feelings which pupils attribute to the past, and hence to demand too much. A pupil studying, for example, the Battle of Lexington, "must," we are informed, "completely identify himself with the thought, passion, and resolution of the time."¹ The philosopher who said this began to doubt it in his next sentence, but the statement may stand as fairly representative of a kind of emphasis frequently met with in discussions of history teaching.

The mental experiences with which children are thus expected to identify themselves are at the beginning of

¹ Tompkins, *Philosophy of Teaching*, 171.

instruction usually those of primitive men. The simplicity alleged for such experiences is, however, largely a simplicity of conditions of presentation. The thoughts and feelings introduced are thoughts and feelings directly and obviously related to external conditions and activities that can themselves be presented concretely. Highly civilized men have thoughts and feelings similarly related to externals that can themselves be presented concretely. Are these less available? Is it easier to realize the elemental bodily sensations of a savage — hunger, thirst, cold, fatigue, toothache, headache — than to realize the elemental bodily sensations of a civilized man? Is it easier for country children to think the ordinary thoughts of a primitive farmer tilling the soil, gathering his crops, trading with his neighbors, grumbling about the weather, gossiping before his fire, than to think the ordinary thoughts of his most advanced successor similarly engaged? Is it easier for city children to think the ordinary thoughts of some dweller in ancient Babylon than to think the ordinary thoughts of some dweller in modern New York? The answer is that neither is sufficiently easy to make comparisons decisive. “Breathing the atmosphere of departed days,” “catching the spirit of bygone times,” and “living the past” are, even from the point of view of adults, in large part empty exaggerations. Applied in school to attempts at recon-

struction of past mental states, whether of primitive or of highly developed human beings, such phrases are in large part suggestive of exercises in rhetoric for teachers rather than of exercises in history for children.

Particular facts relating to external conditions and activities are plainly the A B C's of history. They are the facts most readily apprehended. They can without prohibitive strain on the intelligence be so treated as to bring out from the beginning differences in conditions and thus be made to illustrate the fundamental historical idea of change in the world. They can be so selected as to cultivate from the beginning a sense of proportion. There is a temptation that is almost constant, in dealing with history for beginners, to build a past peopled only by the very fortunate and the very unfortunate, a past of palaces and prisons, of Fields of the Cloth of Gold, and Gallows Hills. History thus tends to become sensational and to mirror the past much as the "yellow" journals mirror the present. It is among the merits of the externals of normal human life in the past — buildings, clothing, food, tools, roads, bridges, conveyances, weapons, occupations, amusements — that they are, as a rule, sufficiently different from those of the present to produce, without over-emphasis upon what is exceptional and extreme, that effect of picturesqueness which is deemed essential in arousing the interest of pupils.

This makes it possible to look in a serious way for facts that are really characteristic of former times and to seek in characteristic facts for the really characteristic elements. Even the fundamental historical idea of continuity can to some extent be illustrated. All that is necessary is to present action following action, to make the story of action a continuous story, to give it a beginning, a middle, and an ending, and to apply the same principle to a series of stories. Finally, external conditions and activities are the key to such mental experiences as are admissible for beginners.

If the views here presented are correct, the general distinction between elementary history and more advanced history is fairly clear. Elementary history is made up essentially of particular facts. It is history presented in the form of concrete examples — actual remains, physical representations of actual remains and of actions, verbal description rich in material for imagery. Advanced history is history presented in the form of general concepts. Concrete particulars relating to actions, actors, and the material world in which they acted can be introduced at least as early as the first year of the elementary school; general concepts relating to similar actions, similar actors, and a similar material world may be too difficult even for the high school. Concrete particulars can be so selected as to convey to a

first grade measurably correct impressions of the past; general concepts may convey erroneous impressions even in the high school. Concrete particulars can be so treated as to illustrate to a first grade the fundamental historical ideas of change in the world and of continuity; general concepts may fail to convey these ideas even in the high school. Similarly past mental states directly and obviously connected with concrete particulars can be understood by a first grade; general concepts of similar mental states may be meaningless even in the high school.

The problem of adapting history to the schoolroom is, therefore, essentially a problem in presentation. Facts presented concretely are elementary; facts presented abstractly are advanced. For the earlier years of the elementary school, history should be made up essentially of concrete examples. It should be descriptive and narrative rather than analytical. Generalizations when introduced should be of a kind that can be readily resolved into concrete particulars. This does not mean that history in the elementary school must be a series of pictures and that children should have no opportunity to reason, to generalize, and to apply their conclusions. It only means that the data for reasoning, for generalization, and for application must be concrete data. History thus constructed and thus presented for five or

six years will lead naturally in the upper grades to history more largely made up of collective or general facts. With pupils of ten or eleven, concrete particulars must still be paramount; with pupils of seventeen or eighteen, concrete particulars must still be continued, but discussion should and may turn largely on generalized history.

One condition common to all historical facts, and one that presents a somewhat special problem, remains to be mentioned. Historical facts are localized facts. They belong to particular times and particular places. If these relations are suppressed, the facts cease to be historical. A fact may be localized in a general way: once upon a time, long ago, before we were born, on an island in the sea, in a far-away country, in the southern hemisphere. It may be localized in a more particular way: Columbus sailed from Spain in 1492; from Palos, Spain, in August, 1492; from the bar of Saltes at eight o'clock, Friday, August 3, 1492. The degree of definiteness with which a fact should be localized depends upon a variety of considerations, some of which are quite arbitrary. Sometimes an event is so famous that it is a part of common information to know when and where it happened. The event may not be really important, but that does not matter. Romulus Augustulus must have his 476 A.D. Sometimes historical characters must be kept where

they belong to avoid embarrassment to grave conclusions. A St. Louis newspaper, some years ago, by putting Thomas Jefferson into the Convention of 1787 succeeded in getting the Declaration of Independence into the Constitution. Just what events shall be localized very definitely and what events shall be localized in a general way only is a part of the larger question as to what facts really are significant in history. But localization itself is something more than an arbitrary device, it is more than a convenience, it is a part of the very conception "historical."

The time sense in children at the age of entering the elementary school is rudimentary. "Yesterday," "last week," "last month," "last summer," have a meaning. "One hundred years ago" has not. The sense develops slowly. Even children of twelve or thirteen often measure short periods of time very vaguely. From this an argument is sometimes advanced that proves too much. "Twenty-five hundred years ago" is, it is urged, a useless expression anywhere in the elementary school. It can mean to children only "a long time ago." But that is about what it means to most of us even after we cease to be children. The argument against dating events in the distant past for children is, therefore, an argument against dating events in the distant past for most of their elders. With children, as with adults, the stand-

ards for measuring the lapse of time must be the reach of their own memories, and this in either case is a vague standard. But by the age of ten or eleven even children have counted enough of days and experiences to realize the difference between the long ago to George Washington and the long ago to Pericles sufficiently to justify the use of dates.

The place sense in children at the age of entering the elementary school is also rudimentary. "Down town," "across the river," "up the road," have a meaning. "Five hundred miles away" often has not. Often all distances of more than a few miles are alike only "a long way off." But children learn comparatively early to read maps and, if accustomed from the first to visualize the material background of history, are in a position by the age of ten or eleven to deal with the place relation as they deal with the time relation. Before that age the teacher must often be content to have facts localized only in a general way.

Within the limits that have here been outlined, history for school purposes can be whatever we desire. It can draw materials even from scientific history. It can from the beginning be of a nature to support and not, as is so often the case, to obstruct later historical study. The facts selected can from the beginning be in a true sense historical, in a true sense characteristic of places,

persons, periods, peoples, and not exceptional, abnormal, bizarre. With proper attention to concreteness in presentation the facts can from the beginning be so presented as to exhibit relations, cause and effect, continuity; they can from the beginning even be so presented as to arouse some consciousness of how we know what we know about the past and why we do not know more.

CHAPTER III

THE QUESTION OF AIMS AND VALUES

THE aims of instruction determine for any subject the materials to be selected and the manner of dealing with them. The value of instruction is measured by the results of instruction. The two should not be confused. Worthy aims are easy to formulate and the logic of their realization is easy to establish. Worthy results are, therefore, easily accepted as foregone conclusions. In this way any subject can be proved valuable. History alone can be proved almost equal to the task of regenerating the world. The problem unfortunately is not so simple. Worthy aims may or may not be followed by worthy results.

The formulation of aims of instruction admits of two general modes of procedure. We may begin by asking what the various branches of learning stand for as branches of learning and what each, within the limits imposed by the conditions of school life, can do or be for the individual or for society. We may use the answers as a basis for estimating the total possibilities of instruction. We may then differentiate, by reference

to human need, the more desirable possibilities from the less desirable, and select as controlling aims the most desirable. Or we may begin with an examination of the needs of the individual or of society, we may define in terms of these needs the aims of instruction, and then seek in the various branches of learning the materials and treatment appropriate thereto.

The distinction may seem one without a difference. In either case, account must be taken both of human knowledge and of human need. But there is a real difference between an open-minded search to discover what a branch of learning is good for and a search guided by a fixed purpose to make that branch of learning serve some predetermined good. The one implies a certain respect for the integrity of a branch of learning, for its materials, its methods, its conclusions, its organization; the other implies a liberty of selection, of rearrangement, of revision, of transformation, the exercise of which may, from the point of view of specialists in that branch of learning, lead to acts suggestive of a species of pedagogical vandalism. The one mode of procedure does not necessarily exclude the other. The results are not necessarily two sets of aims in conflict with each other. What a branch of learning is good for may be to serve a predetermined good. Usually, however, the two modes of procedure do yield results more or less at variance

with each other, and often the predetermined good involves for a branch of learning the kind of reconstruction that has been indicated.

History has, perhaps, to a greater extent than any other subject in the school curriculum been shaped by predetermined good. The historians themselves set the fashion. With Herodotus, who probably never asked himself what history is good for, the predetermined good was the entertainment of his public. With Thucydides a more distinctive good appeared. He discovered that history could be useful, that it could supply lessons of practical value for statesmen and military commanders. For many centuries, as we have seen, historians followed, consciously or unconsciously, the examples set by Herodotus and Thucydides. They selected facts either because they promised to be interesting or because they promised to be useful. But each age has its own special interests and problems. Each age has its own special questions. History as a form of entertainment or as a collection of practical lessons naturally changes, therefore, with the age which it is called upon to satisfy. It has for this reason been declared one of the most ephemeral of all forms of literature. The history of the world must, it is said, be written anew in each generation. Even scientific history reflects the special interests and problems of the age in which it is written.

It is entirely natural and proper that the educator should ask his own questions. It is entirely natural and proper that his interest should be in the uses of a subject rather than in the subject itself. The subordination of history to the uses of history calls for special comment only because the degree of subordination appears to be exceptional.

For most subjects the aims of instruction, however determined, agree at least in a recognition of the principle that what is taught as truth in the schoolroom should be found true also in the world beyond the schoolroom. (History is one of the exceptions.) Historical truth, if taken seriously, suggests historical science, and the road to historical science is, for many educators, barred at the outset by the culture-epoch theory or some other theory. Aims for instruction may, therefore, be set up without much regard to the question of what history really is, for, as was pointed out in the first chapter, history that is not scientific may be any representation or misrepresentation that has for its subject the past. The same theories are, to be sure, applicable to other subjects, and are, in some cases, so applied as to bar in the same way the road to what expert opinion now holds to be true. In most cases they are not so applied. If, for example, those who accept the theory that the child must begin where the race began should under-

take to teach beginners primitive arithmetic, or primitive geography, or primitive spelling, the plan would at once be pronounced absurd. Why it should be less absurd for history is not altogether clear. It might be argued on general principles that here, as elsewhere, the way to future progress in the study should not be impeded by unnecessary misconceptions and by erroneous habits, indulged because the race once had them. It might be urged that it is bad economy for pupils to learn in the early stages of instruction a kind of history that must be unlearned later when realities begin to press for explanation and action. To many, however, it seems a sufficient answer that the passing need of the educational moment is paramount, and that children, after all, outgrow their early history lessons much as they outgrow their Santa Claus.

An enumeration of the various aims actually proposed for historical instruction may seem at first a denial of any large or exceptional freedom in dealing with history. What are the aims commonly proposed? To discipline the memory, the imagination, the judgment; to teach the nature of historical evidence and to fix the habit of weighing historical evidence; to give training in the use of books; to furnish entertainment; to set up for conscious imitation ideals of conduct, of patriotism, of social service; to inculcate practical knowledge that

can be turned to account in the daily concerns of life; to illuminate other studies, especially geography and literature; to cultivate a discriminating taste for historical reading; to enrich the humanity of the pupil, enlarge his vision, incline him to charitable views of his neighbors, give him a love for truth, make him, in general, an intelligent, well-disposed citizen of the world as it is by making him a citizen of the ages.

Several of these aims appear to be specifically related to scientific history. Reasonably interpreted all of them might conceivably point to scientific history. But when we turn from bare enumeration to current discussion of these various aims the situation becomes at least confused. "In support of virtue and in rebuke of vice," it is said, "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."¹ This is very interesting, but is it history at all? Can history in any sense be taught without clear distinctions between past and present? "We must discriminate," it is urged, "between historic and poetic truth; between history and poetry or fiction." But, "as to the names of the characters selected to typify and illustrate" the truth of history, and, "as to the literal accuracy of the incidents that may be associated

¹ *Educational Review*, IX, 470.

with these characters, it matters little.”¹ We must teach, it is said, the nature and value of historical evidence. We must also, it appears, carefully exclude historical criticism because children cannot understand it and because it is, after all, the spirit of the past that is to be sought rather than its bald facts. Besides, criticism may easily spoil the moral value of historical anecdotes and interfere with the appreciation of literature. Such contradictions and inconsistencies could scarcely arise in discussions of a subject with any rights which pedagogy is bound to respect. There is, it is true, frequent complaint that the educator has not taken full advantage of his freedom. Pedagogical principles are, it is said, “greatly vitiated by the desire to preserve chronological continuity and to treat history as a unity,”² by the desire, that is, to present history in school with some regard for modern conceptions of history. But, if the freedom itself did not exist, educators would scarcely be arguing for the suppression of a lingering desire to keep historical instruction historical.

Again, some of the aims that have been enumerated are so general as to be applicable, not only to any kind of history, but to any kind of study. History may afford exercise for the memory, but so too may any other

¹ Gordy and Twitchell, *Pathfinder in American History*, Part I, 6.

² *Journal of Pedagogy*, XIX, 266.

study that requires memorizing. Indeed, history, as often taught in the United States, may afford less of this kind of exercise than some other subjects. So much has been said in our time about mere memorizing in history that some teachers feel the need of apologizing for any evidence in their classes of such old staples as reigns of sovereigns and presidential administrations. With these have largely disappeared also exact memories of other "mere facts." Possibly greater emphasis upon the discipline of memory as an aim in the teaching of history is desirable, but the aim cannot be said to be peculiar to history. Nor can the exercise of the imagination be held in any more special sense an aim peculiar to history. To put one's self in the place of a person who lived a thousand years ago, or even a hundred, or fifty years ago, to call the past to life even in its most commonplace aspects, to experience even a slight sense of reality in reading history, is work for the imagination. But so also is the attempt to put reality into the content of numerous other subjects. Entertainment, inspiration, ideals of life and conduct, may no doubt with profit be sought in history, but they may also with profit be sought in other subjects, and, indeed, if history is taken at all seriously, with even greater profit. This is admitted, at least tacitly, by those who fill the history program with myth, romance, and poetry. It is some-



times openly conceded by advocates of more serious history. "We no longer go to history," writes M. Seignobos, "for lessons in morals, nor for good examples of conduct, nor yet for dramatic nor picturesque scenes. We understand that for all these purposes legend would be preferable to history, for it presents a chain of causes and effects more in accordance with our ideas of justice, more perfect and heroic characters, finer and more affecting scenes."¹

The importance of history is, of course, not to be discounted merely because it shares with other subjects certain desirable aims. The place of history in the curriculum should, however, be made dependent primarily upon aims which can either be realized in no other way than through historical instruction, or which can be realized through historical instruction in a higher degree than through any other kind of instruction. The pursuit of aims of this special character may reasonably be expected to promote at the same time other and more general aims, but the latter should be regarded as incidental, and not as equally controlling, if there is to be any distinctive argument for history. The fact that this condition, with its plain implication of a distinctive conception of history, has not, in general, been clearly grasped may furnish occasion for discounting the impor-

¹ Langlois and Seignobos, *Introduction to the Study of History*, 331.

tance of history. Indeed, the indiscriminate listing of all the claims that can be made for all conceptions of history, so common in educational discussions and, to careless readers, so suggestive of proof that history is good for almost everything, may raise in the minds of thoughtful readers a suspicion that history is good for nothing at all.

A distinctive argument for history implies distinctive aims, and distinctive aims imply a distinctive conception of history. Some educational critics are sufficiently aware that distinctive aims have not been formulated; they do not appear to see that, for history as they usually conceive it, no such aims can be formulated. A subject that is called upon so generally to be different things for different purposes — now a truthful record and explanation of past conditions and events, now purely imaginative literature, now applied sociology, now practical ethics — can scarcely be expected to have distinctive, or even consistent, controlling aims. Even such aims as may properly claim to be peculiar to history — a certain kind of discipline for the judgment, an understanding of the nature and value of historical evidence, a taste for historical reading — naturally lose much of their force when thus proclaimed merely as features of a shifting program that may take account of them one moment and eliminate them the next.

Indefiniteness and inconsistency in discussions of

aims naturally have their counterpart in discussions of values. The relation between aims and values is logically so intimate that, as already suggested, results desired may easily come to be viewed as results actually obtained. This step is taken so generally in educational discussions of history that the difference between the treatment of aims and the treatment of values is reduced practically to a difference in phraseology. One writer announces as an aim of historical instruction the training of the judgment. Another announces as a value of historical instruction the training of the judgment. The second may have in mind observed results; usually he is expressing only a more or less logical conviction that historical instruction ought to train the judgment. For a list of the values commonly attributed to history it is sufficient, therefore, to refer to the list of aims already set forth.

The value of historical instruction has, however, been questioned both on the ground that it does, and on the ground that it does not, lead to tangible results. A critic, some years ago, after observing the interest manifested by a certain group of children in their history lessons, openly deplored the condition. "You are spoiling those children for life in the present," he said, "by making them think so much of the past." It was essentially this idea that possessed Nietzsche when, forty years ago, he set forth in an essay the good and evil — chiefly

the evil — of historical study. Animal life, according to Nietzsche, is unhistorical. It knows neither yesterday nor to-day. There are no representations of past conditions to interfere either with its freedom or with its pleasures. There is nothing to conceal. All is entirely in and of the immediate present. All is, therefore, just what it appears to be, all is honorable. Human life is restricted, bent, and twisted by the ever increasing burden of the past. Children, like animals, are happy until they begin to understand the significance of "it was." The condition of their happiness later is to forget that anything was. He who cannot forget can never know what happiness is and, still worse, can never do anything to make others happy. The historical and unhistorical states of mind are both essential to the welfare of an individual, a people, or a culture, but there is a kind of historical sense that impairs, and at last destroys, what is really life, whether the life of an individual, a people, or a culture. It is utterly wrong to be ungrateful to the past, blind to experience, deaf to example, to exist as a tiny living eddy in a dead sea of night and oblivion, and yet no artist can paint his picture, no general can win his victory, no nation can attain its freedom, without lapsing for the moment into an utterly unhistorical state of mind. Luther, according to Nietzsche, once expressed the

opinion that the world itself had come into existence in a moment of forgetfulness, for if God had thought of "Schwere Geschütz," he would not have created the world. The historical state of mind is opposed to originality of character. It is at best for strong personalities. Under its influence weak personalities lose their plastic force and are obliterated. They suffer from it as from a disease. All of us suffer. One of the great maladies of our time is *historitis*.¹

Similar sentiments have been expressed more recently. They form a natural creed for futurists of divers persuasions, past and present. "My heart beats for Italy," one of the apostles of futurism is reported to have said in an interview in 1910. "Our national life is strangled by the grip of the dead hand. We are not allowed to move forward according to the modern necessities of life because the way is blocked by the old monuments, the old statues, the crumbling old ruins, and the romantic old sentiments which encumber our people."²

School instruction in history may no doubt tend at times to promote absorption in and by the past to a degree that is undesirable, may tend to inspire a devotion that is excessive, may actually cultivate to some extent

¹ *Vom Nutzen und Nachtheil der Historie für das Leben, Nietzsche's Werke*, II, 103-208. See especially pp. 108, 110, 111, 113, 132, 148, and 202.

² *New York Times*, December 25, 1910.

that "exaggerated respect for past ages" which Buckle pronounced the most harmful of all ways of distorting truth.¹ The general practice in most countries, at least in the earlier stages of instruction, is to idealize the past, especially the national past, to invest it with the glamour of a golden age, to impress the legend that "there were giants in those days." Such a procedure may at times invite comparison between the past and the present so unfavorable to the latter as to make the outlook upon it one of hopeless pessimism rather than of helpful patriotism. It may at other times invite imitation of giants of old to a degree highly inexpedient in the present. There are, however, to-day numerous counter-acting tendencies. We are reminded so often "of our immense superiority over our comparatively ignorant forefathers,"² that our age appears on the whole to be suffering not so much from "exaggerated respect for past ages" as from "exaggerated respect" for itself. Indeed, in the opinion of a modern poet, the past has already been consigned to oblivion.

"The old times are dead and gone and rotten;
The old thoughts shall never more be thought;
The old faiths have failed and are forgotten,
The old strifes are done, the fight is fought."³

¹ *History of Civilization in England*, I, 96.

² Alfred Russell Wallace, *The Wonderful Century*, I.

³ Sir Lewis Morris, quoted by Wallace, p. x.

The other ground on which the value of school instruction in history has been questioned is that the results desired are realized in too slight a degree to be valuable. It is admitted that the instruction, especially in some European countries, yields a certain amount of fairly definite information: But what kind of training does the pupil receive? What does he do, what can he do, with the information?

The process of making up our minds about the character and acts of men in the past prepares, it is said, in a special way for the process of making up our minds about the character and acts of men in the present. "He who has learnt to understand the true character and tendencies of many succeeding ages," says Lecky, "is not likely to go far wrong in estimating his own."¹ To this it may be objected that school judgments are either ready-made judgments of the teacher or the textbook, which give the pupil no training in judging for himself, or, if independent, are usually based upon data from which the disturbing factors that make our problem in judging the character and acts of men in the present are accommodately absent. To most persons of average education a judgment of Thomas Jefferson is simple and sure because they know so little about him, while a judgment of Theodore Roosevelt is

¹ Lecky, *Political Value of History*, 21.

difficult and uncertain because they know so much about him. Ordinary school history scarcely supplies data sufficient to exercise the judgment in the way called for by data relating to the present. Even for those who have "learnt to understand the true character and tendencies of many succeeding ages" the evidence is not altogether conclusive. It is notorious that expert historians differed almost as widely as laymen in estimating "the true character and tendencies" of the presidential campaign of 1912.

Historical knowledge is, it is said, practical knowledge; it is "philosophy teaching by example"; it is "the lamp of experience" pointing the way to action in the present. This is one of the oldest and one of the most familiar of all claims for the value of historical instruction. One kind of objection to it was set forth by Herbert Spencer in his well-known essay on *Education*. Spencer found "the historic information commonly given" in his day "almost valueless for purposes of guidance." Most of the facts contained, not only in "school histories," but even in "the more elaborate works written for adults," seemed to him "facts from which no conclusions can be drawn — unorganizable facts; and therefore facts which can be of no service in establishing principles of conduct, which is the chief use of facts. Read them, if you like, for

amusement; but do not flatter yourself they are instructive.”¹ There is another kind of objection. “The conditions under which human actions are performed are,” it is said, “rarely sufficiently similar at two different moments for the ‘lessons of history’ to be directly applicable.”²

It would not be difficult to furnish illustrations of this questioning attitude in the treatment of other claims for the educational value of history. The challenge sometimes extends so far as to leave history an essentially useless subject. One of the last places to look for skepticism of a pronounced kind would be, perhaps, a school history. Yet a present-day English author has actually accomplished the remarkable feat of writing an excellent school history without convincing himself that the subject treated is really worthy of serious study. “For English history,” he remarks in the preface, “as part of a school curriculum or as a means of education I have no regard at all.”³

The discussion of aims and values in the teaching of history is largely speculative. It is frequently based upon data furnished by mere assertion. This is perhaps

¹ Spencer, *Education*, A. L. Burt Edition, 56, 59.

² Langlois and Seignobos, *Introduction to the Study of History*, 319.

³ Fletcher, *Introductory History of England*.

inevitable. But some of the confusion at least is avoidable. History made over for one purpose becomes one kind of history; history made over for a conflicting purpose becomes another kind of history. The value of historical instruction, whatever that value may be, depends upon the kind of history. Educational discussion ought at least to recognize the difference in kind and not confuse the fruits of one with the fruits of the other. "Of thorns men do not gather figs, nor of a bramble bush gather they grapes." One aim or set of aims may lead to simple, uncritical history. So be it. Let us then define aims and values in terms of that type and not claim for it the virtues of critical, more highly organized history. Another aim or set of aims may lead to critical, more highly organized history. So be it. Let us then define aims and values in terms of that type and not claim for it the virtues of mere story-telling history.

The question of aims and values in the teaching of uncritical history opens a field so vague and so changing that summary statements inevitably lead to confusion. Each must define the varying possibilities as they particularly appeal to his own sense of what is best. In the interest of clearness he should, however, recognize that he is dealing, not with history, but with kinds of history.

The question of aims and values in the teaching of critical, carefully organized history, history that may properly be called scientific, lends itself more easily to general treatment. The assumption here is that there is to be a real understanding of the past. If the past is not understood, the past can have no possible bearing on the present, and it is idle to talk of values at all. This is not to deny that representations of the past, even when incorrect, may have value. But to speak of that is at once to shift the ground to uncritical history. If the history that expert opinion now holds to be true is to have any value for school purposes, the history taught in school must, so far as it goes, be in harmony with expert opinion. This is to apply to history a principle already applied to other subjects. Arithmetic, so far as it goes, aims to be arithmetic that may claim kinship with the conceptions of modern mathematicians; geography, so far as it goes, aims to be geography that may claim kinship with the conceptions of modern geographers. On the same principle history, so far as it goes, should aim to be history that may claim kinship with the conceptions of modern historians.

School instruction will inevitably lag behind in the pursuit of truth. "In the field of history," says Dr. Jameson, "the advancement of learning may be likened to the advance of an army. The workers in organized

institutions of research must go before like pickets or scouting parties making a reconnaissance. Then, after some interval, comes the light cavalry of makers of doctoral dissertations, then, the heavy artillery of writers of maturer monographs, both of them heavily encumbered with ammunition trains of bibliography and footnotes. Then comes the multitudinous infantry of readers and college students and school children, and finally, like sutlers and contractors hovering in the rear, the horde of those that make textbooks. It may be twenty years before new facts discovered, or the elimination of ancient errors, find place in the historical books prepared for the general reader.”¹ If school history definitely aimed to be nearer the “heavy artillery,” it might be less than twenty years behind. At all events, school history may definitely aim to be as near the “heavy artillery” as possible. Conceived in this spirit, history, while still a vast and varying field, assumes a form sufficiently distinctive to suggest for historical instruction distinctive, controlling aims and distinctive values.

History of the scientific type is dominated, as we have seen, by the idea of development. From this point of view nothing either was or is; everything either was or is in a continuous process of becoming. Here then is

¹ *History Teacher's Magazine*, IV, 36.

a conception that renders history not only unique but indispensable, and makes clear at once the most fundamental and the most comprehensive aim that can be formulated for historical instruction, namely, to make the world intelligible. History is of course not everything. Natural science deals with the material world; literature deals with the world of forms and ideas; other branches of instruction deal with other special worlds. History for general purposes is a branch coördinate with these, revealing the social and political world. But natural science, literature, and the rest are themselves forms of development and as such not intelligible apart from their history. So generally is this recognized that specialists in every department of the vast domain of human knowledge now view their fields historically. History has itself a history essential to an understanding of present conceptions of history.

The world to be made intelligible through school instruction in history is the general social and political world. The more special forms of development enter only as they affect that world in general. The mode of procedure is obviously to exhibit successive societies in action, to convey by means of concrete examples definite impressions of human beings, living together, commanding one another, serving one another, reasoning

with one another, going to war together, making peace, organizing a church, constructing a government, demanding higher wages, protesting against laws, obeying or defying social conventions, seeking amusement — impressions, that is, of what society has been and is, how society works, and what the causes and consequences of social action are. Such may properly be the controlling aim of historical instruction, for it meets a fundamental human need and meets it in a way that only historical instruction can meet it.

The demand thus made upon history may seem slight in comparison with the imposing list of other aims usually enumerated. In reality it is a demand that taxes the resources of history to the utmost and finds them not entirely adequate. It is also to be observed that historical instruction, aiming primarily to make the social world intelligible in a way unthinkable apart from history, involves attendant circumstances and consequences, important, not only in relation to the main purpose, but in relation to other purposes.

1) In the first place, the facts must be historical, and must be recognized by the pupil as historical. This implies some consciousness of historical evidence and requires the introduction of exercises to develop that consciousness.

2) In the second place, differences in peoples, customs,

and institutions must be emphasized. History is occupied fundamentally with differences. If the present were not different from the past, there could be no history. The conception of our own interests, problems, and standards of judgment as different from those of the past is a necessary step toward understanding our own interests, problems, and standards. In taking this step the mind acquires at the same time the larger vision that should dispel provincialism and may affect conduct.

3) In the third place, the idea of change must be emphasized. Development is change, and a changing social world can be made intelligible only by reference to antecedent changes. It is, perhaps, here that history makes its most luminous contribution and reaches its deepest significance, for it is here that the modern conception of progress comes into view. The idea of change itself is so simple and so constantly borne in upon us through the most familiar experiences of life that it may seem quite unnecessary formally to refer for illustration to history. Yet change is often dimly perceived even by those who have studied some history. The notion that we run, or should run, "the same course that our fathers have run" persists in spite of ever-accumulating evidence to the contrary. There are serious statesmen who measure the United States of 1915 by the standards of 1789. History itself, as conceived by many of the older histo-

rians, encouraged this view. The older historians were conscious of change, but many of them regarded change as recurring change. It was on the assumption that human affairs followed, as it were, in cycles or circuits, tracks which had been followed before, that history was believed to have practical value for life. There are still those who believe that history repeats itself, or at least that the general aim of school instruction should be to make history repeat itself. Development, as set forth by modern historians, renders such views no longer tenable and puts in their place the far more inspiring view of progress widening indefinitely with "the process of the suns." The immediate effect upon the pupil of feeling that he is living in the midst of progress is to give him a better appreciation of the present and of the larger opportunity that awaits him in the future. The full import of this conception is only beginning to be felt. If history in tracing social development can make clear the nature of social progress, may progress not be taken in hand consciously and consciously assisted? That may in time come to be regarded as the ultimate and most valuable result of historical instruction.¹

It may be objected that history designed primarily to make the social world intelligible is fatally defective for school purposes in that it appeals too much to the intel-

¹ Cf. Robinson, *The New History*, 251-252.

lect and too little to the emotions of childhood and youth. But this is to read social progress abstractly. The concrete reality is not wanting in examples of heroism, of patience in suffering, of the victory of truth over error, of loving service and noble ideals, of righteousness exalting a nation. It may be objected that there are positive dangers in seeking to make the social world really intelligible to children. The habit of judging different ages by standards peculiar to those ages may dull the sense of present moral values. It may lead to a toleration of customs which ought not in the light of our day to be tolerated. It may chill that pride of country which in the name of patriotism so generally and so deeply concerns historical instruction and leave the pupil with a general feeling that it is the most stupid thing in the world to pronounce one custom or institution or country either better or worse than another. The idea of ceaseless change and of indefinite progress may create merely the impression that whatever is in state, church, school, family, or occupation is temporary, that what is valuable to-day may not be valuable to-morrow, and that there are no permanent values.

Some of these possibilities are not so bad as they may appear, unless truth itself is bad, and the very idea of social progress carries its own antidote for others. It may be desirable, for example, that pride of country

should, now and then, be chilled. When a textbook writer gravely announces that it is his purpose to make children see why Americans are "the bravest men and the most successful of inventors, explorers, authors, and scientists," there is need of a slightly lower temperature. Doubtless some pride of country is desirable, and there is no country that does not inspire it. Foreigners used to think that our country inspired it to an undue degree. De Tocqueville, observing conditions in the thirties, found that for fifty years there had been impressed upon Americans the idea that they were "the only religious, enlightened, free people." "They have," he wrote, "an immense opinion of themselves and they are not far from believing that they form a species apart from the human race."¹ Another Frenchman thought it must be a standing source of mortification to Americans "not to be able to pretend that an American discovered America."² Bryce, in the eighties, found the old self-assertion only "faintly noticeable" and felt the change as a compliment to Americans.³ Since then the "muck-raker" has made us perhaps too conscious of our faults, and our pride has been further sobered in other ways. But this condition, instead of being an argument, as is sometimes urged, for

¹ Quoted by Rhodes, *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850*, III, 82.

² *Ibid.*, III, 83.

³ *Ibid.*, II, 610.

idealizing the past, is rather an argument for treating the past as soberly as we treat the present, if we would avoid the unhistorical conclusion of degeneracy. As a matter of fact, neither the American past nor the American present, in any attempt at true characterization, can leave us cold. As for the standards of other ages and other countries, he is a poor patriot, whatever his training or lack of training in history and whatever his flag, who cannot to some extent sympathize with Max O'Rell's Englishman, who, on returning from France to his native soil, thanks God that he was born an Englishman, or with his Frenchman, who, on returning to his native soil, exclaims, "How proud a man is to call himself a Frenchman after he has looked at England!"

The facts selected to illustrate social progress and to make our own social world intelligible will naturally be those most immediately related to our own special interests, problems, and standards of judgment. School time is precious and it has become almost an educational dogma that school history must exclude everything in the past which has not left traces sufficiently enduring to be found in the life of the present. There are, however, difficulties in applying the principle. When a condition in ancient Greece is approached because it seems to throw light on a condition in modern America, we are at once confronted by the necessity of under-

standing the Greeks to understand the condition in Greece. This introduces a series of facts some of which are likely to fall under suspicion on the ground of not being themselves directly related to the present. Nor is this all. The same facts are almost sure to create a need for other explanations, which must, perhaps, be sought outside of Greece itself. It was once a fashion to begin a history of one's own time with an account of the creation of the world, and there is still something to be said in favor of the principle. Our main emphasis in America will naturally be upon modern history. But we cannot escape, if we really hope to make American society intelligible, the necessity of presenting "the principal transformations of humanity."

Whatever the aim, or aims, set up for historical instruction, the teacher must, most of the time, press onward consciously and definitely toward the goal. But the pursuit even of a great purpose should not be conceived in a narrow spirit. There ought still to be byways in which it is safe, now and then, to forget the everlasting pedagogical formula, "Turn everything to use," leisure to wander in quiet places praying only the prayer for truth, dreaming only of glories that have passed away from earth, feeling only the inspiration of vanished greatness; or, if faith in utility must go all the way, rising to the faith of Browning's Grammarian:

“Earn the means first — God surely will contrive
Use for our earning.
Others mistrust and say, ‘But time escapes !
Live now or never !’
He said, ‘What’s time? Leave now for dogs and apes!
Man has Forever.’”

At the worst a little superfluous knowledge is not a dangerous thing, and even if it were, the wisest of educators is unable to draw sharply the line between what is superfluous and what is not. There is danger, in this age of passion for immediate practical results, of forgetting that larger future which, in spite of utilitarian educational philosophers, is ever being shaped in the Grammarian’s spirit.

“Oh, if we draw a circle premature,
Heedless of far gain,
Greedy for quick returns of profit, sure
Bad is our bargain !”

CHAPTER IV

HISTORY IN THE SCHOOL CURRICULUM IN EUROPE

HISTORY in some form has probably been a part of instruction since the earliest dawning of historical consciousness. There were peoples even in remote antiquity to whom the handing down of traditions from the old to the young appealed as a national duty. The example set by the ancient Hebrews is familiar and perhaps exceptional. Yet the spirit in which Joshua commanded twelve stones to be gathered as a memorial of the crossing of the Jordan and dictated the answer to be given when children in time to come should ask their fathers, "What mean ye by these stones?"¹ has probably to some extent found expression among all peoples.

With the emergence of history as a distinct branch of learning the step to more formal instruction in history might, therefore, have seemed natural and simple. But history early assumed a form that seemed to limit its utility. It became a professional subject. Princes studied it as a part of their preparation for the art of ruling; captains studied it as a part of their preparation

¹ *Joshua IV.*

for the art of war; men of letters studied it as a part of their preparation for the art of writing. Occupied, as it was, chiefly with affairs in which ordinary people had no directing voice, there could be little occasion for popular instruction in the subject, even assuming that ordinary people could understand it. There might be occasion for consciously discouraging historical instruction as a possible breeder of discontent and of disrespect for established authority. It was partly on this ground that the schools of the Middle Ages almost completely neglected history. It is partly on this ground that some rulers in church and state and some educators still object to certain kinds of history.

The general character of the school curriculum from the closing centuries of the Middle Ages until well into the nineteenth century interposed another obstacle. Throughout this period the dominant type of school was the secondary school, which meant, in most cases, the Latin school. With Latin the language of learning there was much to be done before the pupil could really begin to study anything except the language itself. Latin alone made a crowded curriculum. With Greek added the outlook for non-linguistic studies was not improved. A certain amount of historical information radiated of course from the classical authors. It was, indeed, as an adjunct of these that history made its first important

advance in the schools. As such it was used, however, to illustrate linguistic forms and the beauties of literature rather than to give a knowledge of facts. Teachers themselves lacked the "historic sense," and it rarely occurred to them to view even literature historically. When schools for the people began to be common there was again the obstacle of a crowded curriculum. With defective systems of organization, defective apparatus, and defective methods of teaching, it was as much as the schoolmaster could do to manage the three R's.

Thus it happened that while history was for centuries almost uniformly commended by men of the highest intelligence it was at the same time almost uniformly excluded from schemes for general school instruction. The commendation was for the few. For the many, history, if not considered unnecessary or unsuitable, was at least considered unavailable for lack of time.

There were advocates of school instruction in history as early as the sixteenth century. Jacob Wimpheling, the humanist, in 1505 published a textbook on German history, Luther in 1524 argued that history should be taught, and the English Privy Council in 1582 actually ordered a manual of English history to be read in the schools. All of these had in view the secondary and not the elementary school. In the next century Comenius proposed that history should have a place in every

grade of instruction from the "school of the mother's knee" up through the university and the "College of Light," an institution for research which was to follow the university. For the vernacular school of six classes, designed to enroll all children between the ages of six and twelve, as set forth in the Great Didactic, completed in 1632, there was to be a general survey of world history. For the Latin school of six classes, designed to enroll boys of special promise between the ages of twelve and eighteen, the materials were to be grouped as follows: Class I, Epitome of Bible history; Class II, Natural history; Class III, History of arts and inventions; Class IV, History of morals; Class V, History of the customs of different peoples; Class VI, General history of the world, and especially of the pupil's own country.¹

Comenius here clearly foreshadowed at least two important features of the most advanced modern practice. He made provision for history in every year of the school course, and he included morals, customs, arts, and inventions, in a word, what the Germans call *Kulturgeschichte*, as well as politics and war.

Ideas equally modern in spirit appeared in a work by Christian Weise, published in 1676, under the title, *Der Kluge Hofmeister*. In this work Weise set forth the history of Germany, Spain, France, England, Denmark,

¹ *Comenii Magna Didactica*, Leipsic, 1894, pp. 213, 222.

Sweden, Poland, Italy, Turkey, and Switzerland, with an argument for emphasis upon modern rather than upon ancient history similar to arguments heard in our day, and with suggestions on methods of presentation that may still be read with profit.¹

It was, however, rare as yet to find history actually taught. A few secondary schools in Germany had introduced the subject.² The schools of the Oratorians in France had a well-defined course including Bible history and Greek, Roman, and French history. More remarkable still they had special teachers of history.² But the total number of schools in which history was taught before the eighteenth century barely sufficed to make the subject a respectable exception in courses of study.

The eighteenth century as the century first of "Enlightenment," then of the "Natural Man," and finally of revolution, developed much in the trend of its thinking that either tacitly ignored, or consciously defied, history. Its appeals to reason, its doctrines of sovereignty, of the social contract, and of the rights of man were *a priori* and unhistorical. Its grand climax of revolution, the French Republic of the Year I, was in appearance the culmination of an organized movement to abolish

¹ *Pädagogisches Magazin*, Heft 35, Langensalza, 1893, pp. 1-27.

² Compayré, *Doctrines de l'Éducation en France*, I, 218.

history. Yet Rousseau himself prescribed history for his epoch-making *Émile*, though not until *Émile* had attained the age of eighteen, and then not the traditional kind of history. Francke was an advocate of the subject and gave it a place in the Latin school, in the Pädagogium, and in the school for orphans, founded by him at Halle just before 1700. The subjects embraced Old Testament history, New Testament history, the Roman emperors, the political history of various peoples, the history of the church, and the history of learning. His plans for historical instruction did not include the elementary school.

Rollin praised history in his *Traité des Études*, completed in 1731, and then wrote a work on ancient history that was read and enjoyed by generation after generation almost down to our own. "History when well taught," declared Rollin, "is a school of morals for all men. It describes vice, it unmask[s] false virtue, it exposes errors and popular prejudices; it dissipates the enchantment of riches and of all that vain pomp which dazzles men; it shows by a thousand examples more persuasive than all arguments that there is nothing great and laudable except honor and uprightness." It should, then, be a part of the earliest instruction of children. It is equally fitted to amuse and to edify; it develops the intellect and the heart, it stores the memory with facts both pleas-

ing and useful; it gives a taste for study.¹ Similar sentiments were expressed by Barclay, a Scotchman, in his *Treatise on Education*, published in 1763.

Frederick the Great was a friend and promoter of historical instruction. The famous General Regulations of 1763, providing for compulsory education between the ages of five and fourteen, enumerated history as one of the subjects to be taught. The instructions of 1765 to the Berlin Ritter Akademie contained the declaration that it was "no longer possible for a young man who is to live in the great world not to know the events which belong to the chain of European history." The Elector of Saxony believed in history, and by a school ordinance in 1773 decreed that children in the elementary school should be taught "the simplest, the most necessary, and the most useful facts of world history, and especially of the history of Saxony." Basedow's Philanthropinum at Dessau, founded in 1774, under the inspiration of Rousseau's *Émile*, had history in the program of studies. In the same year a new educational law in Austria made history one of the subjects for secondary schools. By the end of the eighteenth century the teaching of history had become fairly general in German secondary schools and had been introduced in a considerable number of elementary schools. Its position was, however, rather

¹ *Traité des Études*, Paris, 1884, II, 162-164.

commonly that of an extra or option without regular hours in the schedule of studies.

In France, before the Revolution, history and geography were taught in connection with grammar and literature and bore especially upon the authors read. The Revolution transferred emphasis to itself. Of the three stages of historical instruction proposed by the decree of 1793, the first two stages were given up exclusively to the Revolution, and the third, while occupied with a general survey of different peoples, looked especially to perfecting through this survey French art and industry.¹ But this plan did not become effective. In England history was scarcely taught at all. Rugby for a time offered to its upper classes a course consisting of Bible history and Roman and English history, but not as a regular part of the curriculum.

The usual eighteenth century conception of history for schools was a general survey of the world, especially the ancient world. Bible history was taught for its ethical and religious significance. Other ancient history, with special attention to characters and events made famous by Greek and Roman writers, was taught partly for its ethical value, partly for the illumination of literature, and partly for general cultural ends. So little was thought of history as a possible aid to an understanding

¹ Pizard, *L'Histoire dans l'Enseignement Primaire*, 11.

of the present that the pupil's own country might easily be neglected. Rollin, for example, qualified his commendation of history by remarking that he was not speaking of the history of France. To that field he had himself devoted little attention. "I am ashamed," he confesses, "to be in a way a stranger in my own country, after having surveyed so many others." French history, he believed, ought to be studied, but it seemed to him a natural order to begin with ancient history, and there was not time in school for both. As a matter of fact some national history was taught in France, but the instruction was ineffective. Rolland, twenty-five years after the death of Rollin, complained that young Frenchmen knew the names of all the consuls of Rome, but were often ignorant of the names of the kings of France; they were acquainted with the deeds of Themistocles and of Scipio, but were ignorant of those of Duguesclin, of Bayard, of Turenne, and of Sully. Rolland proposed to remedy this defect. He urged careful attention, not only to national history, but to local history.¹ In Germany school regulations and the writings of educators in general laid stress upon national history, but here, as in France, ancient history seems to have held the chief place. At the opening of the nineteenth century a German could

¹ Kilian, *Tableau Historique de l'Instruction Secondaire en France*, Paris, 1841, p. 56-57.

still ask, "Shall we go on knowing more about the history of Greece and of Rome than about the history of our own country?"¹

The facts selected for school history in the eighteenth century were largely political and military, and there was a tendency to reduce them to bare names and dates. German programs and textbooks, however, began, especially toward the close of the century, to include an appreciable amount of *Kulturgeschichte*. Both materials and treatment felt to some extent the influence of Rousseau. "All our histories," said Rousseau, "begin where they ought to end." They are concerned with revolutions and catastrophies, with people in their decay. "We know, then, only the bad; the good hardly forms an epoch. It is only the wicked who attain celebrity; the good are forgotten or turned to ridicule; and this is how history, like philosophy, ever calumniates the human race. Moreover, the facts described in history are very far from being the exact portraiture of facts as they really happen; they change form in the head of the historian; they are molded in accordance with his interest and take the tint of his prejudices." Historians who judge are not the historians for a young man. "Facts! facts! Supply him with these and let him form his own judgments. It is in this way that he learns to know men."

¹ Reim, *Methodik des Geschichtsunterrichts*, 186.

The true model is Thucydides, but, unfortunately, "he is always speaking of wars." What is needed is a treatment, in the spirit and with the accuracy of Thucydides, of facts neglected by historians, especially facts relating to individual men, not "at certain chosen moments and on dress parade," but in their ordinary, everyday person. Above all, facts must be presented concretely.¹ Some of these ideas Basedow and his fellow Philanthropinists undertook to apply. Basedow emphasized particularly the need of correct visualization and introduced carefully prepared pictures of historic places and incidents. Salzmann suggested learning the history of one's own neighborhood before proceeding to the history of the Assyrians and Persians, Greeks and Romans. Bahrdt protested against that dry skeleton of universal history which merely fills the memory with dates and names without stimulating the mind to think or the heart to feel, and demanded details for dramatic, lifelike presentation. But history for schools remained for the most part a mere outline of political and military events.²

In the nineteenth century, school instruction in history was advocated by practically all important writers on education. The most notable exceptions were Herbert

¹ *Émile*, Payne's Translation, Appleton, 1911, p. 213-215.

² For history teaching in Germany in the age of the *Aufklärung*, see Julius Gallandt, *Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Geschichts-Unterrichts im Zeitalter der deutschen Aufklärung*, Berlin, 1900.

Spencer and Alexander Bain. Spencer's opinion has already been cited.¹ In the opinion of Bain, "the fact that history presents no difficulty to minds of ordinary education and experience, and is, moreover, an interesting form of literature, is a sufficient reason for not spending much time upon it in the curriculum of school or college. Where there is any doubt, we may settle the matter by leaving it out."² Teachers and school administrators sometimes objected to history. When, for example, in the course of a general inquiry concerning the state of elementary instruction in France, in 1863, inspectors were asked to specify subjects that should be obligatory, fourteen excluded history. "Instruction in history," said one, "is impossible. It is as much as an ordinary teacher can do to teach reading, writing, and ciphering." "Instruction in history," said another, "is useless. Those who know how to read can read history for themselves." "Instruction in history," said another, "is injurious. It is likely to inspire children with a foolish vanity, prejudicial alike to individual happiness and to the repose of society."³ But such objections were comparatively rare. Both theorists and practitioners, while frequently criticising the kind of history that was taught,

¹ See above, p. 70.

² Bain, *Education as a Science*, 286-287.

³ Pizard, *L'Histoire dans l'Enseignement Primaire*, 26.

or the manner of teaching it, agreed in general, and have agreed down to the present, that history ought to be taught.

At the opening of the century history began to be definitely enlisted in the service of patriotism, and attention turned in consequence distinctly to national history. The patriotic conception was by no means novel. It had been suggested by Wimpfeling in his textbook of 1505. It had moved the English Privy Council to the action of 1582. It had been in the minds of Comenius and of Rolland. It had inspired the French proposals of 1793. "Especially the history of the Fatherland" had again and again appeared in school programs for history. But it remained for the new patriotism of the nineteenth century and the new need felt by rulers for popular support to make the conception really effective. The history of the Fatherland, declared Riedel, in substance, must be taught in all our schools; it must have a place in our universities; patriotic men must unceasingly speak of it, to the end that love and reverence for existing institutions may be inculcated. No branch of public affairs must be intrusted to men who do not appreciate the history of their own country. Then will history live in the people and the people will live on in history. Riedel was a Prussian and spoke with the authority of historical scholarship. Gedicke, a schoolmaster of Leip-

sic, was equally emphatic: "The history of the Fatherland deserves the first place." Kohlrausch went a step farther and made patriotic history an accomplished fact. His *German History for Schools*, published in 1816, received immediately the compliment of extended use and became the model for a multitude of textbooks both elementary and advanced. In it spoke the spirit so powerfully stimulated, first by defeat and then by victory, in the conflict with Napoleon. Battles and the doings of royalty constituted its substance. German patriotism tended, however, to assume the form of particularism. The Fatherland was not one; it was many, divided in interest and sentiment. Before long "every duodecimo state wanted its own glorious history, which must, so far as possible, be older and more glorious than that of the Hohenzollern."¹

In France, by the program of 1802 for secondary schools, French history and geography were placed on an equal footing with ancient history. The program for elementary schools had, during the Napoleonic régime, no history at all, but that there was a certain kind of popular historical instruction is indicated by a *Catechism for Use in All the Churches of the French Empire*, published in 1806. This catechism, after enumerating the duties of Christians toward their ruler, continues:

¹ Reim, *Methodik des Geschichtsunterrichts*, 186-187.

“Question. Are there not special motives that ought to attach us more strongly to Napoleon I, our Emperor?

“Answer. Yes, for it is he whom God has raised up at a critical time to reestablish the holy religion of our fathers and to be its protector. He has restored and conserved public order by his profound and ever active wisdom and defends the State with his powerful arm. . . .”¹

The spirit here illustrated is said to have been reflected, though not without protest, even in the university.

The downfall of Napoleon furnished both the occasion and the opportunity for the development of patriotic history in the schools of most of the countries of Europe. Patriotism became in fact the dominant purpose of school instruction in history, and is, in most countries, still the dominant purpose. Patriotism meant, first of all, loyalty to king or prince. But it meant also a character and spirit shaped by national ideals. The Prussian was to be made more Prussian, the Bavarian more Bavarian, the Austrian more Austrian, the Frenchman more French. As the century advanced the effect was seen in the framing of elementary history programs devoted almost exclusively to national history. It was of course scarcely possible to teach the history of any European

¹ Pizard, *L'Histoire dans l'Enseignement Primaire*, 14.

country without some reference to general European conditions, but the latter were, as a rule, reduced to the lowest possible minimum and used chiefly for the elucidation or glorification of national or local history. In secondary schools ancient history continued to be important. If it was wise to devote substantially half of the total instruction hours to Greek and Latin, it could not be unwise to devote some hours to the history of Greeks and Romans. But the history of the Fatherland received a new emphasis. It was in some cases the point toward which all other history was made to converge. It was in all cases at least recognized. Bible history commonly remained both in elementary and in secondary schools, but it was often classed with religious rather than with historical instruction.

The history of the Fatherland for the elementary school, general history, with special reference to the history of the Fatherland, for the secondary school, constituted a natural apportionment of fields.¹ The distinction in Europe between the two kinds of schools is not, as in the United States, a distinction merely between lower and higher grades of instruction. Schools classed as elementary in Europe may include subjects and grades of instruction which belong with us to the high school;

¹ The use here made of the terms "elementary" and "secondary" is objectionable, but no better terms seem to be available.

schools classed as secondary may include subjects and grades of instruction which with us belong to the elementary school. Secondary schools in Europe are not, that is, as with us, schools superimposed upon elementary schools. The distinction between them is social. Each has a field peculiar to itself; each is a unit for the construction of programs. The public elementary school is the people's school. It provides the compulsory minimum of free instruction and a varying amount of additional free instruction. Public secondary schools, while supported by taxation, usually charge tuition fees and are intended for the selected few. They are institutions of general culture alike for those who do, and for those who do not, expect to go to the university, and to the professions for which university training is essential. The preparatory work of the first three or four years can be done in the public elementary school. Usually it is done either in special schools or in special preparatory classes attached to secondary schools. The full course in boys' secondary schools is commonly completed at about the age of eighteen and leaves the pupil at about the point where American colleges leave him at the end of the sophomore year. The full course for girls' secondary schools is as a rule, less comprehensive and is commonly completed at the age of seventeen. Until late in the century state-supported secondary schools existed for

boys alone. Girls were excluded. Provision for their interests was left to private schools and to local initiative.

The elementary school in Europe commonly takes account of the pupil up to the age of thirteen or fourteen, sometimes up to the age of sixteen or seventeen. The secondary school takes account of the pupil's preparation as far back as the age of six. In the matter of grading and arranging material for historical instruction the two kinds of schools have, therefore, essentially the same problem. The arrangement first adopted was chronological, the treatment of events in the order of their occurrence. But this, it was objected, is not to grade history at all, and has the further disadvantage of deferring to the very end of the course the history which lies nearest to the pupil and is most important to him. Some proposed, therefore, to reverse the chronological arrangement, to begin with the present and to study history backward. This plan was advocated by d'Alembert and Basedow in the eighteenth century. It seemed to have the approval of the present German Emperor when, in 1890, he said: "Hitherto the road has led from Thermopylæ by way of Cannæ to Rossbach and Bienville. I would lead our youths from Sedan and Gravelotte by way of Leuthen and Rossbach back to Mantinea and Thermopylæ."¹ Others proposed the "high point" plan. They would

¹ Reim, *Methodik des Geschichtsunterrichts*, 77.

begin with some great person or some great event easily within the intelligence of the pupil and then by a course of questioning lead him either backward or forward to other great persons, or other great events, equally suited to his intelligence. Haupt in 1841, applying principles laid down by Pestalozzi, proposed a grouping arrangement. He would have the first year of school history devoted to home life, illustrated by scenes from the home life of Romulus, Cyrus, Alexander, Henry IV, Frederick II, and so on, the second year to social life, illustrated by reference to the social conduct of well-known characters, the third year to political life, illustrated by reference to great rulers, the fourth year to religious life, the fifth year to the arts and sciences, and the sixth year to a general chronological survey of history. Biedermann in 1860 proposed a retrospective arrangement. His plan for German *Kulturgeschichte* was to make clear the conditions of life at selected intervals, to pass, for example, from conditions in the fifth century to conditions in the eighth century, compare them, note the changes, and then move backward from the eighth century to the fifth to discover the causes that produced the changes. The Herbart-Ziller-Rein school of pedagogy applied the culture-epoch theory.

All of these influenced to some extent the construction of programs. But the plan most widely adopted was the

“concentric circles,” or “spiral” plan. The general principle of this arrangement is that there should be well-defined stages of historical instruction corresponding to stages of the pupil’s development, and that in each stage there should be a survey of the field as a whole. In the most elementary survey the design is to leave vivid impressions of individual persons and events, either real or imaginary, with little or no attempt to make a connected story. In subsequent surveys facts already presented are again brought out, but new facts are added and there is increasing emphasis upon the relation of facts to each other. In this way the pupil may pass over the ground laid out for school history, or, to keep the figure of the circle, may look about him from a rising center as many times as may be desirable.

In France history had, as we have seen, a place in the program of 1802 for secondary schools. It was, indeed, by the law of that year included in the very definition of a secondary school. Since then its fortunes have fluctuated somewhat violently with the ups and downs of French politics. It has been sometimes neglected in actual instruction and sometimes barely tolerated, sometimes practically banished and sometimes taught with enthusiasm. But it has always appeared in the program prescribed by the state for local *collèges* and for state *lycées*, the two general types of French secondary schools.

The program of 1802 had history in three years of the six-year course: epitomes of Bible history and of Greek history in the first semester of the first year, ancient history in the second semester of the second year, and the history and geography of France throughout the third year. By 1821 the number of classes had been increased by establishing two years of preparatory work and by offering at the end of the sixth year, for those who were not candidates for degrees, the option of passing to special classes in philosophy, mathematics, and physics. For boys who elected the latter there were special lessons in modern history. The regular program provided history in seven of the eight years of the course: Bible history in the two preparatory years; comparison of ancient and modern geography in the third year; ancient history in the fourth and fifth years; the Middle Ages in the sixth year; and modern history, especially the history of France, in the seventh year. The program of 1842 had history throughout the eight years of the regular course. Retaining, for the first seven years, the arrangement of 1821, it added in the eighth year a survey of French history up to 1789. There was another significant addition. Provision was made in each year for studying in connection with history the "geography of this part of history." In 1852 the concentric circles arrangement was adopted. After two preparatory years

of Bible history, ancient history and geography were treated in the third year as an introduction to French history. French history was begun in the fourth year and completed in the fifth year. Geography was treated as in the program of 1842. Then followed a chronological survey of history and historical geography from ancient to modern times, completed in the eighth year. In 1865 special mention of historical geography was discontinued and the concentric circles arrangement was abandoned. There were now three preparatory classes. The first two had Bible history as before. The third had a summary of French history. This was followed by a chronological survey of ancient history, begun in the fourth year and completed in the sixth year. Then came a chronological survey of French history to 1815, completed in the ninth year. The class in philosophy had contemporary history, 1789-1864. In 1876 European history was substituted for French history in the seventh, eighth, and ninth years, and contemporary history for the class in philosophy was changed to the period 1789-1848. In 1887 Bible history disappeared. The first year was now devoted to biographical stories of famous men, ancient and modern. The next two years were given to a chronological survey of French history. Contemporary history for the class in philosophy was brought down to 1875. In other respects the

program remained as in 1876. In 1890 contemporary history for the class in philosophy was extended to 1889.¹

In this rapid sketch of programs from 1802 to 1890 only the most important acts of revision have been cited. A fuller account would show the history course in almost continuous process of reconstruction. The chief difficulty appears to have been the management of modern history, especially modern French history. The history that men had been living had, after 1789, shifted so often its channel and had left behind so much material for controversy that each new régime seemed to require a new kind of history. The Restoration enjoined caution. Teachers were instructed to avoid whatever might stir political feeling and engender party animosity. In 1842 the special course in French history ended abruptly at 1789; in 1852, at 1815. In 1865 contemporary history was carried for the first time to the pupil's own day. In 1876 the limit was fixed at 1848; in 1887, at 1875; in 1890, at 1889.

In the time schedule history was often listed with geography, for classes in which geography was taught, but the two were treated as independent subjects with little attempt at correlation beyond the emphasis placed

¹The material here used for programs before 1890 is taken from *Statistique de l'Enseignement Secondaire en 1887*, appendix. A somewhat different view of programs is presented by Gréard in *Éducation et Instruction, Enseignement Secondaire*, II, 274-319.

upon historical geography. The time allowance varied with class and program. At one time history and geography together had one hour a week throughout the course; at another time they had four hours a week. The average was about two hours a week in the lower classes and about three hours a week in the upper classes. This meant for history and geography together an average of about one tenth of the total of instruction hours.

The program at present in force for boys was adopted in 1902, and is as follows :

YEAR. CLASS¹

1. Classes enfantines. Anecdotes and biographical stories, historical and legendary. Stories of travel. Explanation of pictures.

PREPARATORY DIVISION

History one hour a week

2. Première année. Stories and familiar conversations concerning the great characters and chief facts of national history.
3. Deuxième année. The program of première continued.

ELEMENTARY DIVISION

History and geography three hours a week

4. Huitième. Summary of French history to 1610.
5. Septième. Summary of French history, 1610-1871.

¹ As designated in the program.

FIRST CYCLE

History and geography three hours a week

6. Sixième. Ancient history to Theodosius.
7. Cinquième. Middle Ages to the end of the fifteenth century.
8. Quatrième. Modern history to 1787.
9. Troisième. Modern history continued to 1889. The government of France in the nineteenth century.

SECOND CYCLE

10. Seconde. Review of Europe, tenth to fifteenth centuries. Modern history to end of seventeenth century. Two hours a week. All sections.
Ancient history: the Orient and Greece. Two hours a week. Sections *A* and *B*.¹
11. Première. Modern history, Louis XV to 1815. Two hours a week. All sections.
Ancient history: Roman and European history to the tenth century. Two hours a week. Sections *A* and *B*.
12. Philosophie et Mathématiques.² Modern history since 1815. Two hours a week, first semester; three hours a week, second semester. All sections.³

As pupils begin the course here outlined at about the age of six, the twelve years correspond to the twelve

¹ Different sections pursue different courses of study. In the first cycle pupils have an option between two sections, *A* and *B*. The first makes Latin obligatory and Greek optional. The second has neither Greek nor Latin. In the second cycle there are four sections: (*A*) Latin with Greek; (*B*) Latin and modern languages; (*C*) Latin and the sciences; (*D*) Modern languages and the sciences, without Latin.

² The pupil enters either *classe de philosophie* or *classe de mathématiques*. Each class comprises two sections.

³ *Plan d'Études et Programmes d'Enseignement dans les Lycées et Collèges de Garçons*.

years spent by American pupils who follow the usual eight-year course of the elementary school and then pass through the usual four-year course of the high school.

Lycées and collèges for girls were authorized for the first time by a decree of 1881. The instruction, as organized in 1882, admitted pupils at the age of twelve and was divided into two *periods*, one of three years, and one of two years. The history for the first *period* was a chronological survey of French history, with some reference to general history, down to 1875. The history for the second *period* was a general survey of civilization from prehistoric times down to the pupil's own day. The program for preparatory classes was left to the discretion of the individual lycée or collège, subject to approval by the rector of the academy.¹ The program at present in force retains the plan of "facts" for the first *period* and "civilization" for the second *period*, and includes a model for guidance in constructing programs for preparatory classes. The latter, designed for girls between the ages of eight and twelve, provides in the first three years one hour a week of biographical stories, chiefly from French history, and in the fourth year one hour a week in ancient history. In the upper classes history has two hours a week. French history, with a summary of general history, is carried to 1610 in the first

¹ Academies are administrative districts.

year of the first *period*, continued to about 1787 in the second year, and to contemporary France in the third year. In the first year of the second *period* the history of civilization is carried from its origins in prehistoric times to 1787, and in the second year to the present.¹

In the German states the particularism already noted led, after 1816, to such variety of detail in history programs that general descriptions are likely to be misleading. That history should be taught in secondary schools was accepted as a matter of course. But different states had different programs and even within the same state there were marked variations. Moreover, revisions were as frequent as in France. The position of Prussia since 1871 has given a certain prestige to Prussian practice; but secondary schools in other parts of the empire have continued to shape their history programs with special reference to local conditions. In the following examples of Gymnasium programs the years in the course are, for convenience, designated by numbers and not by the German names for the different classes. A six-year course commonly implies that pupils enter at the age of twelve, a nine-year course, that they enter at the age of nine.

Minden, 1824. Six-year course. 1. Biographical sur-

¹ *Plan d'Études et Programmes de l'Enseignement Secondaire des Jeunes Filles.*

vey of ancient history. 2. Biographical survey of mediæval and modern history. 3. Review of general history, followed by Greek history, with the geography of ancient Greece. 4. Review of general history, followed by German history. 5 and 6. General history, review of ancient history.¹

Schleusingen, 1841. Five-year course. 1. Biographical survey to the discovery of America. 2. General history to the discovery of America. 3. German history to 1700. 4. Ancient history to Augustus. 5. General history from the discovery of America to the French Revolution, followed by mediæval history.²

Mühlhausen, 1841. Five-year course. 1. Biographical survey of general history to the Reformation. 2. Chief events of ancient, mediæval and modern history. 3. General history from the beginning of historical knowledge to Charlemagne. 4. Ancient history and geography to end of Greek independence. 5. General history from the beginning of historical knowledge to Charlemagne.³

Münster, 1842. Six-year course. 1. Ancient history to Alexander. 2. Roman history to 476 A.D., with the geography of the Roman Empire. 3. German history to Peace of Westphalia. 4. Ancient history. 5. An-

¹ *Jahresbericht über das Gymnasium zu Minden, 1824-1825.*

² *Jahresbericht des gemeinschaftlichen hennebergischen Gymnasiums zu Schleusingen, 1841.*

³ *Jahresbericht über das Gymnasium zu Mühlhausen, 1841.*

cient history, followed by a review of German history to 1273. 6. Mediæval and a part of modern history.¹

Münster, 1851. Nine-year course. 1. Ancient history to the Romans. 2. The Middle Ages. 3. The Greeks to the death of Alexander. 4. The Romans to Augustus. 5. German history to Ferdinand I. 6. Ancient history to Alexander. 7. Greek and Roman history. 8. Roman history, followed by the Middle Ages to the end of the Crusades. 9. General history from the Crusades to the Peace of Westphalia; Brandenburg-Prussia to death of Frederick the Great.²

Münster, 1856. Nine-year course. 1. No history 2. No history. 3. The Greeks to the death of Alexander. 4. The Romans to Augustus. 5. The Germans in the Middle Ages to death of Maximilian. 6. Ancient history to Alexander. 7. Greek history after Alexander; Roman history to Augustus. 8. Roman history from Augustus to 476 A.D.; the Middle Ages, with special reference to German history. 9. Modern history to the French Revolution; Brandenburg-Prussia to 1815.³

Nordhausen, 1842. Six-year course. 1. Greek history to beginning of Persian wars. 2. Geography and history of Germany, especially Prussia. 3. Geography and history of Europe. 4. Ancient history and geog-

¹ *Jahresbericht über das Königliche Gymnasium zu Münster, 1842-1843.*

² *Ibid.*, 1851-1852.

³ *Ibid.*, 1856-1857.

raphy to downfall of Persian Empire. 5. Geography and history of Italy to fall of Roman Republic. 6. Modern history after 1660.¹

Nordhausen, 1848. Six-year course. 1. Biographical stories from ancient history. 2. History and geography of Germany and Prussia. 3. History and geography of Europe outside of Germany. 4. Ancient history to the battle of Ipsus. 5. Roman history, 390 B.C. to downfall of Republic. 6. General history; the Middle Ages to 1273.²

Up to about 1860 the Gymnasium was practically the only type of German secondary school. Its ideals were classical. Latin and Greek alone consumed almost half of the total hours of instruction. After 1860 other types of secondary schools developed rapidly — Realgymnasien, Oberrealschulen, Realschulen, and höhere Bürgerschulen. The Realgymnasium omitted Greek and laid stress on modern languages, mathematics, and natural science. The others omitted both Greek and Latin. The history program has varied somewhat with the type of school. The Realschule at Nordhausen, for example, with a seven-year course, had in 1856 the following history program: 1. Preparatory class. No history. 2. No history. 3. Biographies from ancient history. 4. German history. 5. The German people, most important

¹ *Zu der öffentlichen Prüfung sämtlicher Klassen des Gymnasiums zu Nordhausen, 1842-1843.*

² *Ibid., 1848-1849.*

achievements. 6. The Greeks. 7. Mediæval and modern history to the beginning of the Thirty Years' War.¹ The same Realschule in 1878, with a six-year course, had: 1. No history. 2. No history. 3. Greek and Roman history. 4. German history to the end of the Middle Ages. 5. The Greeks and their oriental neighbors. 6. The Middle Ages.²

History and geography were sometimes listed together throughout the course, sometimes listed together for a part of the course and separated for the remainder of the course, sometimes listed separately throughout the course. There was occasionally systematic correlation for a part of the course, but in the main each subject was treated independently. The time allowance for history was more generous in the secondary schools of Germany than in those of France. It was rare in Germany to find less than two hours a week given to history in any class, and the allowance for upper classes was sometimes four hours a week.

The following are examples of current German programs:

Prussia. Gymnasien and Realgymnasien. 1. Scenes from the history of the Fatherland., One hour a week. 2. Stories from ancient history and mythology. The

¹ *Zu der öffentlichen Prüfung sämtlicher Klassen der Realschule zu Nordhausen, 1856-1857.*

² *Ibid., 1878-1879.*

Greeks to Solon, the Romans to the war with Pyrrhus. One hour a week. 3. Greek history to the death of Alexander; Roman history to the death of Augustus. Two hours a week. 4. The Roman Empire under the great emperors. German history from the first conflict between Romans and Germans to the end of the Middle Ages. Review of ancient history. Two hours a week. 5. German history from the end of the Middle Ages to the accession of Frederick the Great, especially Brandenburg-Prussian history. Two hours a week. 6. German and Prussian history from the accession of Frederick the Great to the present. Two hours a week. 7. Greek history to the death of Alexander; Roman history to Augustus. Review of German history. Three hours a week. 8. The most important Roman emperors. German history to the end of the Thirty Years' War. Review of ancient history. Three hours a week. 9. Modern history, 1648 to the present, especially Brandenburg-Prussian history. Three hours a week.¹

Saxony. Gymnasien. 1. Greek mythology; scenes from Greek and Roman history. Two hours a week. 2. Scenes from later Roman history and from German history to the death of Charlemagne. Two hours a week. 3. Stories from German history from the death of Charle-

¹ *Lehrpläne und Lehraufgaben für die höheren Schulen in Preussen*, 1911, p. 46-48.

magne to the Thirty Years' War, with special reference to Saxony. Two hours a week. 4. German history from 1648 to the present, with special reference to Saxony. Two hours a week. 5. Oriental and Greek history. Two hours a week. 6. Roman history. Two hours a week. 7. The Middle Ages. Three hours a week. 8. Modern history, 1500-1740. Three hours a week. 9. Modern history, 1740 to the present. Three hours a week.

Saxony. Realgymnasien. 1. Scenes from Greek history and mythology. One hour a week. 2. Scenes from Roman and German history to the death of Charlemagne. One hour a week. 3. Scenes from German history from Charlemagne to the Reformation. Two hours a week. 4. German history from the Reformation to the present. Two hours a week. 5. Oriental and Greek history to the death of Alexander. Two hours a week. 6. Roman history to Diocletian. Two hours a week. 7. Roman history after Diocletian; the Middle Ages. Two hours a week. 8. Modern history to the French Revolution. Two hours a week. 9. Modern history, 1789 to the present, especially German history. Three hours a week.¹

In Germany, as in France, state-supported secondary schools for girls were a late development of the nineteenth century. The course, including three years of

¹ *Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, 1912, Heft 2, p. 100-101.

preparatory work, usually extends over a period of ten years. The following are examples of the most recent types of programs :

Prussia. 1-3. Some history stories in connection with instruction in German. 4. Stories from classical antiquity. Scenes from Brandenburg-Prussian history. 5. Scenes from general history, especially German history and local history. Two hours a week. 6. Chief events of Greek history to the death of Alexander and Roman history to the death of Augustus; the great Roman emperors; the triumph of Christianity. Two hours a week. 7. German history to the end of the Middle Ages. Two hours a week. 8. The Reformation and Counter-Reformation. The Thirty Years' War. Age of Louis XIV. Brandenburg-Prussian history to the death of Frederick the Great. Review of ancient history. Two hours a week. 9. Modern history, French Revolution to the present. Two hours a week. 10. Selected topics in general history. Readings from sources and from standard histories.¹

Saxony. 5. Scenes from German and Saxon history to the beginning of the Thirty Years' War. Two hours a week. 6. Scenes from German and Saxon history from the Thirty Years' War to the present. Two hours a week. 7. Ancient history to the Germanic migrations.

¹ *Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, 1912, Heft 1, p. 36-37.

Two hours a week. 8. German history continued to 1555. Two hours a week. 9. German history, 1555-1815, with special reference to Saxony and Prussia. Two hours a week. 10. German and Saxon history to the present, with special attention to industrial and social development. Two hours a week.¹

In Austria, after the reorganization of secondary schools by the law of 1805, history received about the same amount of time as in the states of Germany. The program of 1849 proved so satisfactory that it became the model for some later programs in Germany. This program had geography, but no history, in the first year. Beginning with the second year, history and geography were listed together with a time allowance of three hours per week. The arrangement was: 2. Ancient history to 476 A.D., with the geography of the countries treated. 3. The Middle Ages. 4. Modern history, with special attention to Austria. 5. Ancient history to the conquest of Greece by the Romans, including Greek literature and mythology and the ancient geography of Asia, Africa, and Greece. 6. Roman history, including Roman literature and mythology and the geography of the Roman Empire, followed by the Middle Ages to the Crusades. 7. From the Crusades to the War of the Spanish Succession. 8. From the War of the Spanish Succession

¹ *Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, 1912, Heft 1, p. 36-37.

to 1815, with special reference to Austria, and with attention to the geography of all the countries considered.¹ In 1884 the time allowance for history was nearly doubled and some changes were introduced, chiefly in the upper classes. General modern history was completed in the seventh year. The eighth year was devoted to the history of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy and to a review of Greek and Roman history.² In the current program, adopted in 1909, the field for the third year extends to 1648. In the eighth year the review of ancient history is retained for one semester, but Austro-Hungarian history no longer appears. In other respects the program remains as in 1884. The same ground is covered in the Realgymnasien and in the Realschulen, but the arrangement differs slightly and there is no review of ancient history at the end.³

Most of the other countries of continental Europe have formulated programs in history for secondary schools as systematic as those of Austria, Germany, and France. The plans vary widely, but there is general agreement that general history should be taught with special reference to national history. The following are examples of programs:

¹ *Programm des K. K. Neustädter Gymnasiums zu Prag*, 1853.

² Joseph Baar, *Studien über den geschichtlichen Unterricht an den höheren Lehranstalten des Auslandes. Beilage zum Programm des Progymnasiums in Malmedy*, 1895, appendix.

³ *Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, 1912, Heft 2, p. 98.

Sweden. Ten-year course. Two hours a week, first year; four hours a week, sixth year; three hours a week in each of the other years. 1. Northern history and mythology; Sweden to 1319. 2. Sweden, 1319-1611; stories from Greek and Roman history. 3. Sweden, 1611-1718; ancient history. 4. Sweden, 1718-1809; general history to 1648. 5. Sweden, 1809 to the present; general history, 1648 to the present. 6. Review of Sweden since 1809; the government of Sweden; review of general history since 1815. 7. Ancient and mediæval civilization, Sweden and Europe. 8. General history, 1500-1715; Sweden, 1520-1718. 9. Sweden, 1718-1844; general history, 1715-1848. 10. Sweden since 1809; general history, 1815 to the present.¹

Belgium, Athenées Royaux, since 1889. Seven-year course. Two hours a week throughout the course. 1. Survey of general history. 2. Ancient history; the Middle Ages to the Crusades. 3. Review of "2"; general history from the Crusades to 1789. 4. Brief survey of contemporary history; history of Belgium. 5. Ancient history; the Middle Ages to the Crusades. 6. Review of "5"; general history from the Crusades to 1789. 7. History of Belgium; modern history since 1789.²

¹ *Redogörelse för Lunds Högre Allmänna Läroverk, 1911-1912.*

² *Ministère de l'Intérieur et de l'Instruction publique, 1905, p. 22-26.*

Russia, program of 1890. Eight-year course. 1 and 2. No history. 3. Russian history. 4. Ancient history. 5. The Middle Ages; Russian history to Ivan IV. 6. Modern history; Russian history to the death of Peter I. 7. Modern history, 1715 to the present; Russian history. 8. Greek and Roman history; Russian history. The time allowance for history in the fifth year is three hours a week and in the other years two hours a week.¹

Italy, program of 1894. Eight-year course. 1-3. No history. 4. Oriental and Greek history. 5. Italian history to 476 A.D. 6. European history, 476 to Henry VII of Luxembourg, with special reference to Italian history. 7. European and Italian history, Henry VII to 1748. 8. European and Italian history, 1748 to the present. The time allowance for history is four hours a week in the last two years and three hours a week in each of the other years.²

Spain, program of 1895. Five-year course. Two years of history. 2. History of Spain. Three hours a week. 3. General history. Three hours a week.³

In England the systematic teaching of history in secondary schools was inaugurated by Thomas Arnold at Rugby about 1830. His plan was to begin in the

¹ Joseph Baar, *op. cit.*, Part I, appendix.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*, Part II, 15.

lowest classes with scenes from universal history. These were followed in the middle classes by lively histories of Greece, Rome, and England, and in the higher classes by the study of some historian of the first rank, "whose mind was formed in, and bears the stamp of, some period of advanced civilization analogous to that in which we now live"; for example, Thucydides or Tacitus.¹ After Arnold little was done with history until the universities of Oxford and Cambridge in the seventies began to recognize history in their examinations. History then became practically universal in secondary schools. Examinations, however, encouraged subjects rather than well-organized courses in history. The fields usually covered were Greek and Roman history, and English history to 1815 or to 1832. Often also Bible history was included, and occasionally modern continental Europe received some attention. During the last twenty years some schools have introduced more connected courses, but in general the subject system still prevails.

Elementary education lagged behind secondary education, and history programs for elementary schools developed in consequence less rapidly than those for secondary schools. Where elementary schools existed, history, as a rule, received some attention, but it was not until about 1850 that it began to be generally

¹ Withers, *Teaching of History*, 113.

recognized as a separate branch of instruction, and it was not until about 1870 that it began to be generally prescribed for all elementary schools. Even then England formed a notable exception. Here history remained to the very close of the century an option, to be included in elementary instruction, or omitted, at the discretion of the masters.

Programs for the elementary schools down to the present have in most cases confined the material to national history. Surveys of general history beyond what is strictly essential to an understanding of national history are sometimes included, but usually amount to little more than a bare outline. The arrangement of materials has varied as widely as the arrangement of materials for the secondary school. The plan most generally favored appears to have been the concentric circles plan, but the culture-epoch theory has also exerted a very considerable influence. Both now seem to be declining in favor. At the present time history is taught in elementary schools throughout Europe, sometimes in every year of the course, more often in the last four or five years only. Programs for girls occasionally differ from those for boys in their greater emphasis upon *Kulturgeschichte*. Where history is taught in the lowest classes it usually receives one hour a week. In the upper classes the allowance is usually two hours, but

may, for girls, be reduced to one hour in the last year or two years. In the following examples of current programs the numbers indicate the age of pupils and not the year in the course.

France. 5-7. Anecdotes and biographical stories from French history; stories of travel; explanation of pictures. 7-9. Stories of great characters and chief events of French history to end of Hundred Years' War. 9-11. Summary of French history from end of fifteenth century to the present. 11-13. Review of French history, with a more thorough study of the modern period; very brief summary of general history.¹

Berlin. 8. The Emperor and his family, his parents and grandparents. 9. Biographical stories from Augustus to Rudolph of Hapsburg. 10. German history, especially *Kulturgeschichte*, from Maximilian to end of Thirty Years' War. 11. Brandenburg-Prussian history to the death of Frederick the Great; Louis XIV; Peter the Great; Charles XII. 12. Prussian history to the present; the government of Prussia and of Berlin; the American Revolution; the French Revolution; the Napoleonic Empire; Napoleon III; the unification of Italy. 13. German and Prussian territorial expansion; German and Prussian constitutional history.²

¹ *Plan d'Études des Écoles Primaires Élémentaires.*

² Reim, *Methodik des Geschichtsunterrichts*, 82-84.

Munich. 10. The foundation of German Christian culture: German and Bavarian history to the death of Frederick Barbarossa. 11. The development of Germanism: German and Bavarian history to Frederick the Great. 12. The rebirth of the German Empire: German and Bavarian history from Frederick the Great to the present. 13. The new German Empire; the history of Munich; position of Bavaria in the Empire; industrial and constitutional development of Bavaria and of the Empire.¹

London. 7-8. Simple stories and events mainly connected with a few outstanding characters. 9. Stories of ancient life and civilization. 10-11. British history from the earliest times to 1688. 12. British history from 1688 to the present day. 13. A more definite understanding of modern British history, combined with Imperial history from the beginning of the age of discovery.²

The nineteenth century has been called the century of history. It was then that historians began really to see the past clearly through the eyes of the past and to recognize in a new and fuller sense the differences between existence in the past and existence in the present. The idea of development changed the whole aspect of

¹ *Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, 1913, Heft 1, p. 25-27.

² Recommendations in *Report of a Conference on the Teaching of History in London Elementary Schools*, 1911, p. 51.

historical study and made the historical point of view essential in every department of learning. But school programs in history responded slowly to these profound changes. The nineteenth century inherited and preserved the tradition that history should cultivate the moral and spiritual nature of the pupil. To this was added the patriotic motive. Until late in the century the idea that history should cultivate a historical attitude of mind, that only through the past can the present be made intelligible, and other implications of scientific history received scarcely more than casual mention. After 1860 *Kulturgeschichte* became a general issue, and after 1870 a generally recognized feature of school history. The use of primary sources was vigorously advocated, but still more vigorously opposed. After 1890 the demand that school history should be historical, that it should trace development, that it should, above all, explain the present, and that the chief emphasis should in consequence be laid upon later modern history, became rather general in educational discussions. But it was not until the formulation of the French program of 1902 that such considerations became really paramount in practice, and the French program remains the most advanced example of its kind.¹

¹ For further references to the content of school history see Chapters VI and VII.

CHAPTER V

HISTORY IN THE SCHOOL CURRICULUM IN THE UNITED STATES

IN the United States the recognition of history as an independent branch of school instruction began to assume perceptible proportions about 1815. Before that time history, when taught at all, appears to have been taught incidentally in connection with other subjects. Early in the eighteenth century separate textbooks for history began to be imported and by the middle of the century to be produced, but their circulation seems to have been very limited. No textbook treatment of American history was attempted until about 1785, when Noah Webster included "short stories of the geography and history of the United States" in his *Grammatical Institutes of the English Language*, a combination of reading book, spelling book, and grammar. In 1788 the same author wrote for Morse's *Geography* "an account of the transactions of the United States after the Revolution; which account fills nearly twenty pages."¹ Just at the close of the century his-

¹ Quoted by Russell, in *History Teacher's Magazine*, V, 311.

tory seems occasionally to have received some special attention. Lewis Cass, who left the academy at Exeter in 1799, carried with him a certificate that named history as one of the studies in which he had made "valuable progress."¹ In the early years of the nineteenth century there may have been other schools in which pupils made "valuable progress" in history, but the school curricula of the time bear scarcely any testimony to suggest the opportunity for winning such distinction.

The earliest indications of a "movement" toward the establishment of history as a separate school study may be dated about 1815. It was at first a slow movement. History, in the course of ten years, was added to the curriculum in perhaps a score of academies in New England and New York. In 1827, Massachusetts, by statutory mandate, placed "the history of the United States" on the list of subjects to be taught in "every city, town, or district of five hundred families or householders," and "history" on the list of subjects to be taught, "in addition to all the foregoing branches," in "every city, town, or district containing four thousand inhabitants." The law was never rigidly enforced, but ten years later more schools had provided for both the "history of the United States" and for "history" than for any other subject added by the law to the older

¹ McLaughlin, *Lewis Cass*, 39.

strictly common branches. More than two thirds of the towns reporting in 1837 offered United States History.¹ Within the same period history advanced rapidly in the academies of New York. In 1834 all but one of those reporting to the Regents of the University of New York had admitted history. Later, as the number of schools increased, the proportion of those teaching history for a time fell off somewhat. In Massachusetts also, there was, for some years after 1837, a relative decline. But in both sections the academies and high schools that offered history continued to constitute a majority. In 1852, 126 out of 170 in New York offered general history and 91 United States history; in 1862, 132 out of 204 academies offered general history and 169 United States history.²

Outside of Massachusetts and New York the response to the claims of history appears to have come less readily. Among the newer states Michigan manifested, perhaps, the keenest and most sustained interest. Here in 1837, at the very beginning of statehood, the Superintendent of Public Instruction included in his *Report* a plea for the teaching of United States history in the common schools.³ In 1847 the University of

¹ Russell, in *History Teacher's Magazine*, V, 312-315.

² See *Reports*, Regents of University of New York, for years indicated.

³ *Report*, Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1837, p. 16.

Michigan shared with Harvard the honor of introducing history as an entrance requirement. In 1870 Michigan stood alone in adding to the list of entrance requirements American History.

A few years after history began to be admitted to secondary schools it began also to be admitted to elementary schools. Its progress was in some cases more rapid in elementary than in secondary school curricula. In 1826, in the state of New York, "the history of the United States was studied in six towns only." In 1834, it constituted "a part of the course of instruction in one hundred and four towns."¹ In 1844, it was reported as taught in most of the schools of the entire state.² Scattering references to the conditions in other states indicate, in most cases, a somewhat later but equally decisive advance.

During the formative period scarcely any attempt was made to draw up a systematic program for history. The idea was to teach subjects in history and not, as in Germany and France, to organize courses in history. The subject for the elementary school was American history. "The history of foreign countries," said the New York State Superintendent of schools in 1835, "however desirable it may be, cannot ordinarily enter

¹ *Report*, New York Superintendent of Schools, 1833-1835, p. 21.

² *Ibid.*, 1844, p. 452.

into a system of common school education without opening too wide a field. It is safer in general to treat it as a superfluity, and leave it to such as have leisure in after life.”¹ To such the elementary school did for many years in fact leave it, partly because the time allowed for history was too short for any account of foreign countries, and partly because of a belief that American history was all sufficient for the purposes of American elementary schools. The subject was commonly taught in the upper grades only, often only in the last year.

In academies and high schools the subjects varied widely. The work was sometimes confined to general history or to ancient history, sometimes to American history; sometimes two or all three of these subjects were offered, sometimes English history was substituted for one of them, or added as a fourth subject. Other subjects often listed separately were Grecian antiquities, Roman antiquities, mythology, and, occasionally, ecclesiastical history. Foreign countries received, on the whole, more attention than the United States. In New York, for example, until about 1860, general history alone was listed more frequently than United States history. The arrangement of subjects in the curriculum varied as widely as the subjects themselves.

¹ *Report*, New York Superintendent of Schools, 1833-1835, p. 21.

Among the values most frequently claimed for historical instruction were moral training, training for citizenship, and discipline of the memory, the judgment, and the imagination. The moral and disciplinary values of history were described quite in the manner that had already become traditional in Europe. The ideas were essentially the same as those advanced by Rollin in the eighteenth century.¹ The relation of history to citizenship in a free country presented a new condition and invited new forms of expression. Love of country, loyalty to national ideals, reverence for law, and respect for constituted authority were enumerated quite in the spirit of old-world tradition. But a different chord was touched in enlarging on the duties of free citizens. Every voter, it was urged, is in effect called upon to be a statesman, and statesmen need history in a special way both for guidance and for inspiration. Other and more general values claimed for history were that it "elevates the mind" and "enlarges the soul," opens sources of amusement as well as of profound thought, and gives a taste for solid reading. It was also asserted, but less frequently, that the study of history promotes sound religion.

By 1870 history appears to have won fairly general acceptance as one of the essential school studies. Its

¹ See above, p. 89.

position in the high school began at about this time to be materially strengthened by a widening recognition of history as a requirement for entrance to college. But for about twenty years history continued to develop substantially along the lines already indicated. A committee of the National Education Association, reporting, in 1876, a course of study from the primary school to the university, probably represented the average practice of the day in recommending United States history as a subject to be required in elementary schools and "universal history and the Constitution of the United States" as subjects to be required in high schools. In the better schools United States history continued to find a place in one or both of the upper grades of the elementary schools; ancient history, or a brief course in general history, or both, in the high school. Few elementary schools began history before the seventh grade, and fewer still admitted any European history. The consequence for children who left school before entering the seventh grade, as was the case with the majority, is at once apparent. Instruction in history in the high school might be for a term, a half year, or a year. In some favored schools it might extend over two or more years and include, in addition to the courses already indicated, a course in American history, or a course in English history, or both.

In 1892 the National Education Association created the Committee of Ten with instructions to organize conferences for the discussion of the various subjects that entered "into the programs of secondary schools in the United States and into the requirements for admission to college," and to make such recommendations as might seem appropriate. The Conference on History, Civil Government, and Political Economy met at Madison in December, 1892, and its report placed before the general educational public for the first time in America a history program approaching in completeness programs for more than fifty years familiar in Europe. The Conference asked for eight consecutive years of history, four in the elementary school, and four in the high school, as follows:

1st and 2d years. Biography and mythology.

3d year. American history; and elements of civil government.

4th year. Greek and Roman history, with their Oriental connections.

5th year. (Beginning of high school.) French history. To be so taught as to elucidate the general movement of mediæval and modern history.

6th year. English history. To be so taught as to elucidate the general movement of mediæval and modern history.

7th year. American history.

8th year. A special period, studied in an intensive manner; and civil government.

For schools unable to adopt this arrangement an alternative course of six years was suggested :

1st and 2d years. Biography and mythology.

3d year. American history, and civil government.

4th year. (Beginning of high school.) Greek and Roman history, with their Oriental connections.

5th year. English history. To be so taught as to elucidate the general movement of mediæval and modern history.

6th year. American history and civil government.

The Conference further resolved that "in no year of either course ought the time devoted to these subjects to be less than the equivalent of three forty-minute periods per week throughout the year."¹

The elementary school, unfortunately, was beyond the province of the Committee of Ten. The vital principle of consecutive study could, therefore, not be considered in the form proposed. It proved difficult to apply even for the high school. The history conference was only one of nine conferences. When the conclusions of all were tabulated, it appeared that to carry all the recommendations into effect would require 22 instruction periods per week in the first year of the high school, $37\frac{1}{2}$ in the second, 35 in the third, and $37\frac{1}{2}$ in the fourth. The Committee adopted twenty periods per week as a desirable maximum and arranged four different courses

¹ *Report, Committee of Ten, p. 163.*

of study. The number of periods per week allotted to history in the various courses is shown in the following table:

YEAR	CLASSICAL	LATIN	SCIENTIFIC	MODERN LANGUAGES	ENGLISH
1	4		4	4	4
2	3		0	0	4
3	0		2	2	4
4 ¹	3		3	3	3 ²

The report of the Committee of Ten indicated clearly the possibility of more history for the high school. It indicated also a condition that has puzzled makers of programs down to the present day. History for all high school pupils in every year of the course was apparently beyond hope of attainment. The Committee proposed four years for the English course only. In the other three courses there were to be two years of required history and one year of elective history. Here lay the difficulty. What history was best for those who would satisfy only the minimum requirement? What history was best for those who would elect an additional year? Either question alone might have been answered with some degree of assurance. The Madison Conference had, indeed, already answered the second question: 1st year, ancient history; 2d year, English history;

¹ Except in the English course, fourth year pupils were offered a choice between history and mathematics.

² *Report*, Committee of Ten, p. 46-47.

3d year, American history and government. But the question of what was best for a three years' course could not be separated from the question of what was best for a two years' course. The arrangement proposed by the Conference would leave pupils who failed to elect the third year's work strangers in their own country. The subjects might of course be shifted: 1st year, English history; 2d year, American history; 3d year, ancient history; or, 1st year, ancient history; 2d year, American history; 3d year, English history. But ancient history in the third year, apart from any question of orderly sequence, would obviously not be fair to the classical course. English history in the third year would, for the two years' course, leave an unspanned gap between ancient history and American history, and, for the three years' course, erect a span after the passage.

For several years the problem thus presented was left to the initiative of individual schools for solution. Coöperative efforts were, in the meantime, directed to increasing the amount rather than to specifying the kind of history. The most likely avenue of approach seemed to be that of college entrance requirements. Colleges had since 1870 been steadily extending the range of the history requirement. In 1895, out of a total of 475 universities and colleges investigated by the United States Bureau of Education, 306 required American history;

127, general history; 112, Greek history; 116, Roman history; 57, English history; 9, state and local history; and 1, French and German history.¹ These conditions were in part the source, and in part the reflection, of a larger interest in history in the high schools. They had developed in response to local opinion and local practice and were now becoming somewhat unmanageable. Most high schools had to consider a variety of college requirements and taught in consequence, not a carefully arranged course in history, but, as of old, merely subjects in history. Most of the colleges had to consider a variety of preparation for college work in history and prescribed in consequence college courses that were themselves preparatory. It would clearly be to the advantage both of high schools and of colleges to encourage at least some degree of uniformity. The question was considered in 1895 by a committee of the New England Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools, and in 1896 by a conference, representing six leading eastern universities, held at Columbia.

The New England Committee suggested seven topics, any two of which, on the assumption that each had been pursued three periods a week for a year, were to constitute a subject for entrance. The colleges were further "earnestly requested to accept any additional

¹ *Report, Commissioner of Education, 1896-1897, p. 468.*

topic or topics from the list as additional preparation for entrance or for advanced standing." The topics were:

1. The History of Greece, with special reference to Greek life, literature, and art.
 2. The History of Rome; the Republic and Empire, and Teutonic outgrowths to 800 A.D.
 3. German History
 4. French History
- { To be so taught as to elucidate the general movement of mediæval and modern history.
5. English History, with special reference to social and political development.
 6. American History, with the elements of Civil Government.
 7. A detailed study of a limited period pursued in an intensive manner.¹

The New England Association adopted these suggestions with one important modification. The attempt, in the second topic, to bring Roman history into connection with general European history, by going beyond the traditional "Fall" of 476 A.D., encountered opposition from secondary-school men on the ground that so extended a period could not be covered in a single year. The Association heeded the protest and substituted for 800 A.D. the accession of Commodus.²

The Columbia Conference accepted the general principle which had been laid down by the New England

¹ *Publication No. 5*, New England History Teachers' Association, 13.

² *School Review* III, 619-631.

Committee, but changed the topics somewhat and arranged them in two groups. In the first group were four topics any two of which, on the assumption that each had been pursued three periods a week for a year, were to be accepted for entrance. The topics were:

1. The History of Greece to the death of Alexander, with due reference to Greek life, literature, and art.
2. The History of Rome to the accession of Commodus, with due reference to literature and government.
3. English History, with due reference to social and political development.
4. American History, with the elements of civil government.

In the second group were four topics any one of which, on the assumption that it had been pursued three periods a week for two years, was to be accepted either as additional preparation for entrance or for advanced standing. The topics were:

1. Greek and Roman History for those who have offered English History and American History as an elementary subject.
2. English History and American History for those who have offered Greek and Roman History as an elementary subject.
3. The History of Europe from the Germanic Invasions to the beginning of the seventeenth century.
4. A year's study of any of the elementary fields not already offered as an elementary subject, combined with a year's detailed study of a limited period within that field.¹

¹ *Publication No. 5*, New England History Teachers' Association, 16, 17.

Within a year Cornell, the University of Pennsylvania, and Tufts College accepted the recommendations of the Columbia Conference. Dartmouth and Mount Holyoke soon followed, and Harvard also accepted them provisionally. By 1900 a number of other colleges and universities had them under consideration.

The effect upon the high schools, as was foreseen and intended, was to increase in a marked degree the amount of historical instruction. Objections to the new arrangement came chiefly from teachers of the classics. In their opinion, to increase the offering in history would lead inevitably to a decrease in the attention devoted to Greek and Roman history. Their influence was to some extent felt in the discussions of the New England Association. It secured from the Columbia Conference the definite statement that "it is very desirable that Greek and Roman history be offered as a part of the preparation of every candidate," and the recommendation that these two topics be named wherever a college "finds it necessary to specify the particular subjects to be required."¹

In the meantime, the Committee on College Entrance Requirements, authorized in 1895 by the National Education Association, through its Departments of Secondary and of Higher Education, had been seeking the coöperation of other organizations in an attempt to

¹ *Publication No. 5*, New England History Teachers' Association, 16.

deal with the entire question. The response of the American Historical Association was the appointment in December, 1896, of the Committee of Seven. To that committee, however, according to the report made in 1899, even before the members "began seriously to consider what work was to be done, it became apparent that only a thorough study would be profitable, that general conclusions or recommendations, even on such a question as that of college entrance requirements, could not be made without an examination of the whole field and a consideration of many fundamental principles, or without ascertaining what was now doing in the high schools and academies of the country."

"Before this work was undertaken," continues the report, "there had not been any systematic attempt of this kind; nor had there been any prolonged effort by any national association to present the claims of history or to set before the schoolmen a statement of what might be considered the value of historical study and the place which it should occupy in the school program. We do not leave out of consideration the work of the Committee of Ten, nor do we underestimate the value or the effect of the able and highly interesting report of the Madison Conference on History, Civil Government, and Economics; and we do not lose sight of the fact that historical instruction in the secondary schools had

often been discussed in pedagogical conferences and teachers' associations. Before we began our work, it was plain that there was an awakening interest in this whole subject, and the time seemed to be at hand when a systematic effort would meet with response and produce results. But in spite of all that had been done, and in spite of this awakened interest, there was no recognized consensus of opinion in the country at large, not one generally accepted judgment, not even one well-known point of agreement, which would serve as a beginning for a consideration of the place of history in the high school curriculum. Such a statement cannot be made concerning any other subject commonly taught in the secondary schools." ¹

The Committee, after a careful consideration of programs and conditions both in the United States and in Europe, recommended a four years' course in history, as follows :

- First year. Ancient History to 800 A.D., or 814, or 843.
- Second year. Mediæval and Modern European History.
- Third year. English History.
- Fourth year. American History and Civil Government.

For a three years' course the committee suggested either "any three of the above blocks" or such modifications as the following :

¹ *Report*, Committee of Seven, 2-3.

B

- First or second year. Ancient History to 800 A.D.
Second or third year. English History, with special reference to the chief events in the history of continental Europe.
Third or fourth year. American History and Civil Government.

C

- First or second year. Ancient History to 800 A.D.
Second or third year. Mediæval and Modern European History.
Third or fourth year. American History, with a consideration of the chief events in the history of England.¹

In the adjustment of college entrance requirements the Committee laid down two conditions as essential: (1) "that the fundamental scope and purpose of the major part of the secondary schools be regarded;" and (2) "that such elasticity be allowed that schools may fit for college and yet adapt themselves to some extent to local environment and local needs." A unit of history was defined as "one year of historical work wherein the study is given five times a week or two years of historical work wherein the study is given three times per week." For colleges with complete options in entrance requirements, colleges, that is, which accepted "a given number of years' work, or units, without prescribing special subjects of study," the Committee recommended four

¹ *Report*, Committee of Seven, 134-135.

units of history "as an equivalent for a like amount of work in other subjects," likewise one, two, or three units; for colleges that definitely prescribed some subjects, and required in addition a certain number of other subjects to be chosen from a list of options, one unit of history in the list of prescribed studies, and one, two, or three units in the list of optional studies; for colleges with "several distinct courses of study leading to different degrees," and distinct groups of entrance requirements, one unit of history for the classical course, one for the Latin, two units for the scientific, and three for the English, the offerings in each case to be taken from the blocks in the four years' course proposed by the Committee.¹

The National Education Association indorsed these recommendations, but with the proviso that one year of American history and government should be accepted as a requirement for admission by all colleges, and a further resolution "that colleges should accept, in addition to the one year of United States history and civil government already recommended, at least one half year of intensive study of some period of history, especially of the United States."²

The Committee of Seven devoted ten pages to a dis-

¹ *Report*, Committee of Seven, 121, 123.

² *Proceedings*, National Education Association, 1899, p. 648, 665.

cussion of the value of historical study. The chief advance over earlier ideas was in the emphasis placed upon history as an aid "in developing what is sometimes called the scientific habit of mind and thought," and upon "the training which pupils receive in the handling of books."¹ The other claims were essentially those familiar in the middle of the nineteenth century, except that nothing was said of historical instruction as a factor in religious training. The proportions were, however, somewhat different. History as an aid in cultivating the judgment received more attention than history as an aid in forming character. The treatment of the latter can practically be summed up in a sentence. "We may venture to suggest," said the Committee, "that character is of even greater value than culture."²

The blocks recommended by the Committee of Seven became, within a few years, the units most generally recognized both in high school courses of study and in requirements for entrance to college. A considerable number of schools offered all of the blocks, sometimes in the order proposed by the Committee, sometimes with English history in the second year and mediæval and modern European history in the third year. A still greater number offered three of the blocks,

¹ *Report, Committee of Seven*, 23, 25.

² *Ibid.*, 25.

omitting, as a rule, English history. But the schools that offered all the blocks in relatively few instances required all for graduation. Some of them required no history at all and offered the blocks merely as electives; some of them required one block, some two blocks, some three blocks, and offered the remainder as electives. The schools that offered three of the blocks in a larger proportion of instances required all three, but a considerable fraction required only two blocks, a smaller fraction only one block, and in some cases all three blocks were elective.¹

There was from the first some dissatisfaction with the blocks proposed by the Committee. Since ancient history was to be followed by mediæval and modern European history the extension of the former to 800 A.D. seemed to some unnecessary and unwise. Ancient and mediæval history, in the opinion of others, had a disproportionate share of time, and English history ought, it was sometimes said, to come before general European history. But granting that either the four blocks or the three blocks, as presented by the Committee, made an acceptable course, the fact remained that most pupils must leave the high schools with not more than two years of history, and many with only

¹ For a survey of conditions in 1909 see *Indiana University Bulletin*, September, 1909.

one year of history. Did any one of the four blocks, or any two of them, constitute the best arrangement that could be made for so short a course? The answer of the Committee was in the affirmative. For those who might take a different view there was merely a somewhat reluctant suggestion of modes of compressing English and American history, or English and European history, into a single year.¹ But textbook writers almost universally adopted the regular blocks, and most teachers, of necessity, followed the textbooks.

In December, 1907, on the presentation of a formal request from the Headmasters' Association for changes in the recommendations of the Committee of Seven, the American Historical Association authorized the appointment of the Committee of Five "to determine what modifications, if any, were needed." The result was essentially a reargument of the case presented by the Committee of Seven, but two of the four blocks were changed materially with a view to greater emphasis upon modern history. The Committee of Five did not advocate "an immediate change in every school, the universal abandonment of the plan of the Committee of Seven, and the immediate substitution of a new curriculum." "We content ourselves," said the Committee of Five, "first, with advising a change in emphasis when

¹ *Report, Committee of Seven, 43.*

the plan of the Committee of Seven does not seem feasible; and second, by the proposal of a course which we believe to be on the whole better than the old, and which we think will suit the needs of schools ready to take up seriously the study of modern history.”¹ The new course was as follows:

- First Year. Ancient history to 800 A.D. or thereabouts, the events of the last five hundred years to be passed over rapidly.
- Second Year. English history, beginning with a brief statement of England's connection with the ancient world. The work should trace the main line of English development to about 1760, include as far as possible or convenient the chief facts of general European history, especially before the seventeenth century, and give something of the colonial history of America.
- Third Year. Modern European history, including such introductory matter concerning later mediæval institutions and the beginnings of the modern age as seems wise or desirable, and giving a suitable treatment of English history from 1760.
- Fourth Year. American history and government, arranged on such a basis that some time may be secured for the separate study of government.²

The majority of schools apparently still find the plan of the Committee of Seven feasible and will no doubt

¹ *Report, Committee of Five*, p. 2, 55, 56.

² *Ibid.*, 64.

continue to find it feasible until the colleges introduce other units into their list of entrance requirements. Reports received in 1914 from about six hundred schools seemed to indicate that about forty of these schools were disregarding altogether the block system. Of the remainder, 510 offered ancient history; 456, European history; 348, English history; and 473, American history. The subjects were distributed as follows:

	FIRST YEAR		SECOND YEAR		THIRD YEAR		FOURTH YEAR	
	Required	Elective	Required	Elective	Required	Elective	Required	Elective
Ancient History . . .	198	93	133	59	18	5	3	1
European History . . .	18	3	179	96	92	60	5	3
English History . . .	31	11	39	22	103	118	11	13
American History . . .	11	3	11	2	52	19	305	70

The increase of interest in history after 1892 extended also to the elementary school. The Committee of Fifteen on elementary education, reporting to the Department of Superintendence of the National Education Association in 1895, recommended oral lessons in general history and biography, sixty minutes a week, throughout the eight years of the elementary course.¹ These lessons were to "proceed from the native land

¹ *Report, Committee of Fifteen, 93.*

first to England, the parent country, and then to the classic civilizations (Greece and Rome being, so to speak, the grandparent countries of the American colonies)."¹

In the seventh year and the first half of the eighth there were to be, in addition to the oral lessons on general history, five textbook lessons a week on United States history up to the adoption of the Constitution, and in the second half of the eighth year five lessons a week on the Constitution. "The formation of the Constitution, and a brief study of the salient features of the Constitution itself," says the report, "conclude the study of the portion of the history of the United States that is sufficiently remote to be treated after the manner of an educational classic." The later epochs seemed to the Committee "not so well fitted for intensive study in school as the already classic period of our history," and were left to be read at home!² To this proposition, however, not all of the members subscribed.

The Committee of Twelve on rural schools, appointed at the meeting of the National Education Association in 1895, proposed a program for history strongly suggestive of French influence, both in the grouping of classes and in the treatment of materials.³ The plan was as follows :

¹ *Report, Committee of Fifteen, 70.*

² *Ibid., 66.*

³ For outline of French program see above, p. 124.

- Group I. (Age, 5- 7) Stories from biography, history, and travels. Explanation of pictures.
- Group II. (Age, 7- 9) Current Events. Stories of eminent characters and memorable events.
- Group III. (Age, 9-11) Extension of II. Readings in United States history.
- Group IV. (Age, 11-13) Selected epochs of general history, with study of leading historical characters.¹

Interest in the elementary history program, usually including civics, was further stimulated and directed by individual contributions. Gordy and Twitchell applied the concentric circles idea to American history and carried it far beyond the limit set in Europe. European programs of the concentric type had two or three surveys of the field. Gordy and Twitchell had seven surveys of American history, one in each of the first six grades, and one running through the two upper grades.² Miss Lucy M. Salmon, a member of the Committee of Seven, in her *Study of History Below the Secondary School*, published as an appendix to the report of the Committee, proposed that history should begin in the third grade. The materials were to be stories from the Iliad, the Odyssey, the Ænead, the sagas, the Niebelungen Lied, and stories of King Arthur, Roland and Hiawatha. For the fourth grade there were biographies of characters

¹ *Report*, Committee of Twelve, 174-175.

² Gordy and Twitchell, *Pathfinder in American History*, Boston, 1892-1893.

prominent in Europe and America. For the grades above the fourth the arrangement was the same as that proposed by the Committee of Seven for the four years' course in the high school. Numerous suggestions, for the most part inspired by the culture-epoch theory, came from teachers in normal schools. Miss Emily J. Rice proposed the correlation of history and literature with such constructive activities as the building of models of primitive houses and the reproduction of primitive arts and inventions.¹ Charles A. McMurry proposed a combination of topics in European and American history enriched by readings from literature.² Kemp proposed for the first grade the primitive Aryans; for the second grade the ancient Egyptians, Hebrews, and Phoenicians; for the third grade the Greeks; for the fourth grade the Romans; for the fifth and sixth grades English history, and for the seventh and eighth grades American history.³ Bliss proposed primitive civilization for the first four grades, selected topics in history and legend from Charlemagne to Napoleon for the fifth and sixth grades, and American history, with some references to Europe, for the seventh and eighth grades.⁴

All of these programs have stood the test of some actual

¹ *Course of Study in History and Literature*, Chicago, 1898.

² *Special Method in History*, New York, 1904, p. 238-268.

³ E. W. Kemp, *An Outline of History for the Grades*.

⁴ Bliss, *History in the Elementary Schools*, New York, 1911.

experience, but the extent to which they have been applied is difficult to determine. Of fifty-three representative American cities, investigated in 1909, nearly one half had American history from the fifth grade on through the eighth; one had English history in the fifth grade, 6 in the sixth grade, 19 in the seventh grade, and 7 in the eighth grade; one had general history in the fifth grade, 5 in the sixth grade, 11 in the seventh grade, and 6 in the eighth grade; one had French history in the fifth, sixth, and seventh grades; 4 had local history in the fifth grade, 9 in the sixth grade, 6 in the seventh grade, and 8 in the eighth grade.

Such were the conditions when, in 1909, the report of the Committee of Eight appeared. This Committee, which had been appointed four years earlier by the American Historical Association, undertook to do for history in the elementary school what the Committee of Seven had accomplished for history in the secondary school. The Committee recognized the need on the part of elementary teachers of special guidance and presented, in addition to suggestions on modes of treatment, a full syllabus of history for an eight years' course, including references to books. The Committee also made special suggestions for the teaching of civics from the fifth grade on through the eighth. The program was as follows:

- First grade.** Indian life. Stories connected with Thanksgiving day and Washington's birthday. Stories connected with local events.
- Second grade.** Indian life. Thanksgiving day. Washington's birthday. Local events. Memorial day.
- Third grade.** Heroes of other times: Joseph, Moses, David, Ulysses, and so on to Columbus. The Indians. Independence day.
- Fourth grade.** Historical scenes and persons in American history, colonial period.
- Fifth grade.** Historical scenes and persons in American history continued. Great industries of the present.
- Sixth grade.** European background of American history. Selected topics from Greek, Roman, and European history to the end of Raleigh's colonial enterprises in America.
- Seventh grade.** American history to the close of the Revolution. European background continued.
- Eighth grade.** American history since the Revolution. Great events in European history.

The surveys of history programs in this and in the preceding chapter inevitably invite comparison and raise questions somewhat disquieting to American teachers. The position of history in the schools of the United States is, it is clear, far less favorable than its position in the schools of continental Europe. In the latter, history forms almost invariably a coherent, continuous course required of all pupils. The preparatory stages are completed at an age two or three years earlier than in

the United States. In the secondary schools of Germany, Austria, and France, ancient history is presented to children of ten or eleven about as systematically as it is presented in the first year of American high schools. In the elementary schools of the same countries, national history is treated about as systematically for children of ten or eleven as it is treated in the United States for children of twelve or thirteen. The history programs of continental Europe are, as a rule, more skillfully organized than the history programs of the United States, and leave more connected impressions of history. These differences are indicated by the bare outlines to which the present description has of necessity been limited. They would be more apparent if there were space for details.

The problem presented to makers of history programs is more difficult in the United States than in Europe. There is with us no central authority to impose programs upon the country as a whole. Our organization of secondary education differs radically from that of Europe. A Frenchman, some years ago, discussing at a conference in Paris the teaching of history in the secondary schools of the United States, began his address with the remark that there were no secondary schools in the United States, and then proceeded to give an account of the teaching of history in American colleges as the nearest equiv-

alent of the French lycées.¹ The work of secondary schools in Europe does, as already pointed out, usually include the equivalent of our first two years of college. But it includes also grades of instruction classed in the United States as elementary, and in its preparatory classes, even the lowest grades of elementary instruction. The course in history can, therefore, be planned for a continuous period, ranging in boys' schools from eight to twelve years, and in girls' schools from five to ten years. A similar unit might be formed in the United States by including in one view history for both the elementary school and the high school. But since the Madison Conference this has not been seriously attempted. The elementary school has formed one unit, the high school another. Even if the two could be combined, the conditions would be less favorable than in Europe. In Europe programs for secondary schools can be formulated on the assumption that pupils are qualified for serious study. Those who lack either taste or ability for learning will presumably not be encouraged to remain. Our general theory has been that classes and masses do not exist, that there should be one kind of instruction good alike for those who have the desire and the ability to learn and for those who have not, good alike for boys and for girls, good alike

¹ *Conférence du Musée Pédagogique, 1907, p. 99.*

for those who drop out at the end of the elementary period, or earlier, and for those who go on to the high school.

Under the circumstances a certain conservatism in the planning of history programs for American schools is to be expected. One of the first decisions of the Madison Conference was that no attempt should be made to form an ideal program. "The Conference was unanimously of the opinion that it would suggest nothing that was not already being done in some good schools."¹ A similar spirit seems to have dominated all coöperative efforts to improve the history program for American schools. Very considerable changes have, it is true, from time to time been proposed. Textbooks had to be rewritten to conform to the recommendations of the Committee of Seven. They are now being rewritten to conform to the recommendations of the Committees of Eight and of Five. But all of these committees sought precedents in actual American practice.

The history program cannot escape the limitations imposed by our general system of school organization. But in some other respects it is barely possible that our committees have been moved by an excess of caution. In dealing with a subject like history it is barely possible that an ideal course of eight years for the ele-

¹ *Report, Committee of Ten, 167.*

mentary school, or of four years for the high school, would be no more difficult to establish than courses of eight or of four years, confessedly not ideal. To induce Nebraska or California to do what some good schools in Massachusetts or New York are already doing, to induce Massachusetts or New York to do what some good schools in Nebraska or California are already doing may, after all, involve difficulties equal to those of inducing them to examine a history program on its merits. Since textbooks are with us the all-important guide in historical instruction, and since publishers have shown the utmost goodwill in meeting new demands, it would seem, on the whole, entirely safe for any committee likely to be authorized by the American Historical Association to walk in the light of its own best judgment as to what an eight years' course or a four years' course ought really to be.

At the present time history seems to be losing rather than gaining in favor with school administrators. The demand is for social studies of direct and immediate concern to individual communities. Questions relating to public health, to housing and homes, to good roads, and the like, in the present, are coming to be viewed as of greater importance than questions relating to how people lived in the past. The educational perspective is rapidly changing. It is becoming increasingly clear

that children should know something about the duties of the garbage collector and the gas inspector; it is becoming less clear that they should know something about the deeds of Alexander and of Charlemagne. Attention is now being focused more definitely than ever before upon vital present problems, and there is a growing tendency to ask of history primarily and chiefly that it contribute to an understanding of these problems. The question then becomes, not what in the past is important in representing and explaining the past, but what in the past is important to us. Current programs and current textbooks are severely criticised because they do not properly subordinate history to this most recent use of history. Already the movement has called into being a committee, and a preliminary report has already been published. The committee, we are informed, intends to outline five unit courses as follows:

(1) Community civics and survey of vocations.

(2) European history to 1600 or 1700 (including English and colonial American history).

(3) European history since 1600 or 1700 (including contemporary civilization).

(4) United States history since 1760 (including current events).

(5) Economics and civic theory and practice.¹

¹ Committee on Social Studies, National Education Association. For the preliminary report see *History Teacher's Magazine*, December, 1913, p. 291-296.

CHAPTER VI

THE BIOGRAPHICAL APPROACH TO HISTORY

THE field with which the teacher of history has to deal offers as units of instruction individual human beings and groups of human beings. Facts relating to the former make up the special subject matter of biography. Facts relating to the latter make up the subject matter of history proper. School instruction in history may begin with either, but group units are, in most cases, regarded as at least the ultimate goal. Pupils, that is, are at some stage expected to study Athens, the Roman Empire, the Christian Church, the American people, and individual Athenians, Romans, Churchmen, or Americans, only as these appear to be needed for the illustration or explanation of Athens, the Roman Empire, the Christian Church, or the American people. A choice between individuals as units and social groups as units is, therefore, ordinarily presented only in the earlier stages of instruction. The usual view is that history for children should begin with individuals as individuals, but that the subjects should be so

selected and so treated as to prepare for a study, later in the course, of social groups. This mode of procedure may be described as the biographical approach to history.

The use of biography for beginners appears to have been first suggested by Rousseau. Biography itself as an independent form of literature was then comparatively new. "Lives" had, of course, been produced, both by antiquity and by the Middle Ages. Indeed, the earliest appearance of the word "biography" in the English language seems to have been Dryden's use of it in 1683 to describe the famous *Parallel Lives* by Plutarch. Both the original of the word and its application to "lives" must be credited to the Greeks. But most of these earlier "lives" lacked the true biographical motive. They were either accounts of the "times" written after the manner of histories in general, or, if more personal, were designed to celebrate moral qualities, to impress solemn warnings, to defend or defame a character, to win support, or to inspire opposition, to a doctrine or policy, rather than faithfully to portray the life of a man. It was not until Dryden's own century that any considerable part of the literary world began to demand from writers of "lives" primarily a truthful record of lives and to recognize clearly a distinction between biography and history.

Rousseau proposed a truthful record for *Émile*. He would have men exhibited as they really were. That was his one reason for resorting to biography. *Émile* was to begin his "study of the human heart" with the reading of "individual lives," because in them men are more fully revealed than in narratives of broader scope. In them "it is in vain for the man to conceal himself, for the historian pursues him everywhere; he leaves him no moment of respite, no corner where he may avoid the piercing eyes of a spectator."¹ The study of the past was, however, to begin for *Émile* at the relatively mature age of eighteen. It was, then, a study apparently beyond the usual bounds even of a secondary school course. Could biography be adapted to lower stages of instruction? Was it desirable for lower stages of instruction?

The questions were raised by Basedow and other early supporters of Rousseau, but nearly fifty years passed before educators began to return definitely favorable answers in the form of actual programs. In the process the fundamental postulates of Rousseau, that men should be exhibited as they really were, and that "individual lives" are to be preferred to more general narratives because of their fuller revelations of men, were all but forgotten. There was a distinct tendency to

¹ *Émile*, Payne's Translation, 215-216.

revert to older conceptions of biography, to regard "lives" as vehicles for conveying lessons in morals and patriotism, to seek illustrations, not of life, but of ideals of living. There was another modification. Rousseau, while demanding sober facts, placed no emphasis upon the study of individuals as a preparation for the study of social groups. Later advocates of the biographical plan, with less regard for "lives" as truthful portraiture, had much to say of biography as a bridge to history, and some of them eventually reached the conclusion that history of any kind desirable for school can and ought to be reduced to biography.

The introductory biographical survey began to appear with some degree of frequency in German programs soon after 1820, and in the course of the next thirty or forty years gradually established itself in the world at large as the usual approach to history. There was some competition between biography and myths and sagas. Advocates of the culture-epoch theory naturally preferred the latter. But even in culture-epoch programs biography was, in some cases, combined with myths and sagas. (Biography has remained, down to the present, the usual introduction to history.)

In its completed form the argument for biography rested, and still rests, upon the following general propositions:

(1) The individual person is a simpler subject to study than the tribe, city, or nation to which he belongs.

(2) Children have a natural and healthy interest in persons; they live and suffer with their heroes and thus enlarge their own experience in a manner scarcely to be thought of in dealing with social groups.

(3) Acquaintance with the great and noble characters of the past creates a desire to be like them and makes the evil deeds of evil men abhorrent.

(4) Individuals can be made to represent social groups, so that a study of the characteristics and experiences of individuals is in effect a study of the characteristics and experiences of social groups themselves.

Advocates of biography emphasize, of course, the need of careful selection. The individual person is a simpler unit for study than the social group to which he belongs. It does not follow that the individual person is himself necessarily either simple or interesting, or, if both simple and interesting, that he is either a desirable example to place before children or a fair representative of his social group.

Each country naturally includes its own leaders and heroes. Most countries include also at least some characters of world fame or of world infamy. These are in a measure privileged subjects to be admitted with or without reference to any fixed conviction as to the

kind of person most readily adapted to the intelligence of children. In the selection of other subjects the standards most generally in evidence are those supplied by the doctrine of natural tastes and interests, or by the culture-epoch theory. For children up to the age of ten or eleven there is in consequence a liberal representation of persons of primitive instincts — cavemen, Indians, and the like — and of persons of various instincts who “did things,” especially brigands, pirates, adventurers, explorers, pioneers, generals, and kings. Artists, inventors, builders, captains of industry, and other “doers” of the less adventurous sort are to some extent recognized, and there are occasional references to writers, preachers, philanthropists, philosophers, teachers, and even professional scholars. In the main, the demand is for “plenty of action,” and this usually implies action that savors somewhat of the spectacular. Subjects and treatment frequently transcend the limits of strict biography. Fictitious events may be associated with real persons, real events may be associated with fictitious persons, events and persons may be alike fictitious. The essential condition is the use of stories told in biographical form. It is, then, quite possible to construct characters that move exclusively in realms peopled by the supposed interests of children. The characters may themselves be children and may easily

be assigned rôles in which they play their full parts without "the ignominy of growing up" and thus growing out of their proper sphere. For children beyond the age of eleven or twelve, both subjects and treatment are, as a rule, more strictly biographical. But action is still the ruling principle.

The length of the introductory biographical survey varies greatly. In France it is completed at the end of the third year. In England it is often carried to the end of the seventh year, and sometimes to the end of the eighth year. In the United States many programs carry it to the end of the sixth year. Both in Europe and in America there are occasional demands that it should be carried even into secondary instruction.

National leaders and heroes and the somewhat mixed company of other characters associated with them in the school curriculum are, perhaps, less generally intelligible and less generally interesting than is commonly supposed. Often they are presented so abstractly that children can find little with which to live and suffer except vague adjectives and broad generalizations. If the presentation were in all cases concrete, if the characters could in all cases be made to stand out as real persons, it is more than probable that many a program would undergo somewhat radical revision. Those tales of fighting, killing, and other forms of physical violence, that even now

occasionally shock the sensibilities of children, would, if properly realized, shock them still more, and some other tales would be found to convey very doubtful ethical lessons.

For moral and patriotic purposes the chief stress is naturally and properly laid upon "highly endowed" and "nobly striving" men. The general principle is that "if we walk with those who are lame, we learn to limp" and "if we associate with princes, we catch their manners." "I fill my mind," said Plutarch, "with the sublime images of the best and greatest men." To fill the minds of children with images of the same kind, and to make these images factors in the adjustment and regulation of everyday conduct, is commonly regarded as the supreme aim of biography in school. The pupil is "to feel that these heroic characters are not romantic ideals to which he cannot approach, but facts and forces of everyday practical life. Progressively he becomes touched with the feeling of debt he owes to the mighty workers of the past, and more and more sees that every hero of history is as near to him as his next-door neighbor, and constitutes a large portion of the daily bread of his entire spiritual life. Out of the inspiration which he draws from these perpetual fountains of greatness arise a breadth of view and a moral energy which give him power and purpose within the line of

his pursuits and the circle of his influence to become himself as truly a benefactor of mankind. It is the fine task of the teacher to give him the inspiring thought, that within the circle of his own work and duty he can be as heroic as they by being as courageous, generous, simple, truthful, refined, and noble; in short, by clothing his own acts in hero's clothes, by never flinching when there is need for heroic blood and brawn."¹

Such ideals many of the lives actually presented to children tend no doubt to promote. Even stories of fighting and killing can no doubt be so manipulated as to teach important lessons in courage, endurance, and love of home and country. From consequences of a different kind most children are, perhaps, delivered by the limitations of their own intelligence. They do not make the logical application. What they carry away very often is only a vague impression that certain characters of the past were in some obscure way either hopelessly good or hopelessly bad, rather stupid, and on the whole not sufficiently interesting to be imitated. This is in some cases fortunate. There are examples placed before children which, if really understood and really taken to heart, would almost certainly impair the discipline of the schoolroom. A pupil undertaking to live up to them would almost certainly be dismissed

¹ Kemp, *Outline of Method in History*, 267.

from school and might in time find his way to jail through that lack of harmony with his social environment which brought some hero of his to the same end. "Lives of great men" often "remind us" that the way to "make our lives sublime" is to defy established conventions. If relatively few children learn that lesson in school and apply it in undesirable ways, the fault is not in the examples. A few do learn it and early begin to recognize that the situation is saved for others by misinterpretation. Even apparently unimpeachable examples of strictly conventional virtues are not always entirely safe. The story of George Washington and his hatchet, for example, has been known to produce somewhat melancholy results. It has actually inspired the desire to commit some act of depredation for the sake of an opportunity to tell the truth like George Washington and like him to be rewarded. Many a child has tried the experiment and met with a treatment so different from that which George Washington received as to lead him to question very seriously whether honesty is, after all, the best policy.¹ The moral and patriotic purpose of biography is one to be promoted at all hazards, but the

¹This statement is based upon the testimony of several hundred teachers. The author has himself rather mournful recollections of what happened in his own case when as a boy of eight he put the story to this kind of test.

responsibility of the teacher is so grave that every effort should be made to eliminate the hazards.

The representative character of the lives presented in school is almost invariably linked with the "great-man theory" of history. The general idea is expressed in the well-known dictum of Carlyle that "the history of what man has accomplished in this world is at bottom the history of the great men who have worked here."¹ It is more neatly expressed in the dictum of Cousin that "great men sum up and represent humanity."² The relation here implied may be either the relation of a great man to his own times or the relation of a great man to posterity. Biography when distinctly urged as a bridge to history commonly emphasizes the former. The idea is so to present individual characters as to typify the age in which they lived.

An issue is thus raised which has long invited controversy. Greatness is usually associated with fame. Yet greatness, as defined by moralists, may utterly fail to achieve fame, and fame may be quite unrelated to moral or even to intellectual greatness. What determines fame? The whims of fortune rather than any careful weighing of worth, according to Sallust; the place in which an act happened to be performed, accord-

¹ *Heroes and Hero Worship*, 1.

² Quoted by Bourdeau, *L'Histoire et les Historiens*, 17.

ing to Cato; the talent of the writer who happened to record it, according to Vopiscus.¹ Often fame has come to men, not because they embodied the characteristics of their own generation, but because they did not embody them, not because they were representative men, but because they were unrepresentative men. Often fame has been denied by contemporaries and has been bestowed by posterity. As for the famous who were also great, the very act of describing them as great sets them apart as more or less exceptional. They tower above the rank and file of humanity as mountains tower above the plains of the earth. "What would you think," asks Bourdeau, "of a geographer who for a complete description of the earth should content himself with a mention of the highest summits?"² The great-man theory at best suggests a description of humanity somewhat analogous to such a geographer's description of the earth.

Representative conditions and events can no doubt to some extent be grouped about national leaders and heroes. But this mode of grouping is on the whole the more effective the less it appeals to the great-man theory. To say, for example, that children can learn from the life of George Washington all that they need to know

¹ Quoted by Bourdeau, *L'Histoire et les Historiens*, 20.

² Bourdeau, *op. cit.*, 14.

about the Revolution, as has been said many times by exponents of the great-man theory, is to impose restrictions on the treatment both of George Washington and of the Revolution. So much in no way directly related to Washington must be told to represent the Revolution, and so much in no way directly related to the Revolution must be told to represent Washington, that the result is usually a forced grouping which leaves Washington and the Revolution alike somewhat obscure. Biography, on the whole, can be made more historical by making it more biographical, by grouping men about events rather than events about men, and by studying men first of all as men. Take the American Revolution. Surely not even George Washington himself is a sufficiently embracing center for making this movement intelligible. Nor is there any other hero of the revolutionary period who sums up in himself the characteristics of his age sufficiently to make his life the life of the times. There were many leaders and many different points of view. What were the determining views? Who were the advocates of them? What were the chief events in the struggle? Who were the men associated with them? There were Otis, John and Samuel Adams, Hancock, Hutchinson, Franklin, Dickinson, Hamilton, Patrick Henry, Jefferson, Washington, Pitt, Grenville, Lord North, and George III. What manner of men were

they? What kind of homes did they come from? What educational advantages had they enjoyed? What was their social position? What were their personal characteristics? What was their occupation? Were they successful in private life? Were they good neighbors? Were they seekers after public office? Did they hold public positions? Who were their friends? Who were their enemies? What were their personal controversies and grievances? Up to this point the aim is merely to know the men as men, to think of them much as we think of our personal acquaintances. When now we turn to the principles and acts of the Revolution, and meet our acquaintances, some on one side and some on the other, the whole movement is humanized for us. We see in the conflict between England and the colonies opposing principles, but we see also opposing personal tastes, interests, hopes, and ambitions. We see the cost to some and the gain to others, among those who espoused, and among those who rejected, the principles.

The principle of grouping men about great movements and events is applicable at any stage of instruction. At the beginning of the school course the teacher who so desires may suppress altogether the events that determined the selection of the men, may confine attention to purely personal characteristics, and yet in a true sense prepare for an understanding of the events them-

selves when later the events are presented. Farther on in the course, and especially in the high school, the study of the personal element in this personal way may with profit immediately precede the more formal study of movements or periods. With a high school class about to take up the Revolution, for example, one pupil may be asked to make the kind of personal study of Otis that is indicated by the questions in the preceding paragraph, another of John Adams, and so on to the end of the list. Two or three lessons would be sufficient to dispose of the entire list. Similar studies may be made of the men who became prominent in public life between 1812 and 1830, and again of the generation that fought out the issues of 1861. The same plan can be applied to great movements in European history. Such studies imply, of course, the use of facts and not of fiction. Characters greatly distorted for moral or patriotic ends can serve no very definite historical purpose.

Again, the grouping of men about events suggests more strongly than the grouping of events about men a sense of proportion and the possibility of so arranging biographical stories as to convey some impression of continuity. The condition of cultivating a sense of proportion is to select conditions and events that were characteristic and important and so to treat the particular men associated with them as to bring out charac-

teristic qualities. The condition of developing an idea of continuity is to make use of stories that have some relation to each other and in each story to make use of incidents that have some relation to each other. These conditions are rarely met by the introductory biographical surveys in school programs. Even where the characters selected are in general significant from the point of view of history the stories have as a rule little or no connection. Usually there is not even a pretense of combining the materials into a continuous story. In the plan of the Committee of Eight, for example, and this is fairly typical of biographical plans in general, children in the first grade catch glimpses of Miles Standish, of Samoset and Squanto, and of George Washington. In the second grade they have a little more of George Washington, something of Richard Henry Lee, and "selected stories of Civil War heroes." In the third grade they meet heroes of other times; Joseph, Moses, David, Ulysses, Alexander, Cincinnatus, Horatius, William Tell, Roland, Canute, Alfred, Robert Bruce, Joan of Arc, Harroun, and Columbus. In the fourth grade they are introduced in a somewhat more regular way to American explorers and colonists, but even here they take the leap from La Salle to Washington and Franklin. In the fifth grade they have selected biographical stories from American history beginning with

Patrick Henry and ending with Lincoln and Robert E. Lee, but again there is little to suggest a continuous story. Such an arrangement leaves much to be desired if biography is to be used as a real preparation for history.

CHAPTER VII

THE STUDY OF SOCIAL GROUPS

THE distinction between biography and history which has grown up since the seventeenth century does not imply that the study of individuals has been completely differentiated from the study of social groups. Practically all works recognized as histories, from Herodotus down to the present, have been in part biographical. Most of them are in a measure subject to the charge of summing up humanity in terms of that relatively small number of individuals to whom the opinion of the world has awarded the crown of greatness, or at least of fame. Kings, generals, popes, bishops, and other officials in church and state, painters, sculptors, builders, and other creators of "great and marvelous works," orators on great public occasions, writers on great public questions, have as a matter of course been described. The difference is in the relative emphasis and general point of view. Biography, in the modern sense, aims primarily to depict the individual as an individual and recounts his service, or disservice, to the social group, to indicate his importance as an individual. History aims primarily

to depict the social group and deals with the acts, opinions, and characteristics of individuals, primarily for the purpose of illustrating or explaining group conditions and activities. There are, however, recent biographies that aim to set forth both the "life" and the "times," and there are recent histories, especially of the class concerned with smaller social groups — histories of towns, of cities, of counties, — that reduce the "times" to a series of biographical sketches.

When history first began to find its way into the school curriculum, it presented itself, in the main, as an account of political and military events. Leaders and heroes figured conspicuously, for politics and war inevitably produce "outstanding characters." But the point of view was not consciously biographical. The life to be portrayed was, so far as it went, group life, the life of nations, of principalities, of empires. This, in addition to being the kind of history that had commonly been written by historians, was a kind of history easy to organize and easy to arrange in the form of a connected narrative. It was, moreover, a kind of history that brought together a great many facts of the highest importance.

Almost from the beginning, however, there was a demand for a larger view of the field for school purposes. The demand was plainly voiced by Comenius. It was repeated again and again by later reformers, and, toward

the close of the eighteenth century, began to make some impression upon school programs. Early nineteenth century conditions were somewhat unfavorable: The Napoleonic wars and the new patriotism tended to establish more firmly political and military history. Later the development of the biographical approach to history, with its insistence upon action and picturesqueness, tended to fix attention upon political and military leaders. But materials for a different kind of school history were, in the meantime, being made more accessible. The way was opened about the middle of the eighteenth century by Voltaire. His *Siècle de Louis XIV* was the first attempt in historical literature to portray the whole life of a period. His *Essai sur les Mœurs*, setting forth the moral, social, economic, artistic, and literary life of Europe, from Charlemagne to Louis XIII, was the first attempt to produce a real history of civilization. In Germany, Winckelmann looked to ancient art for a revelation of the Greek mind; Heeren traced the development of commerce; Möser, in his history of Osnabrück, furnished a model of social history, and, incidentally, discovered the peasant. Herder dealt with the folk soul, and Schlosser, in his *Weltgeschichte*, undertook a broad survey of the world. When Carlyle in 1830 asked "which was the greatest benefactor, he who gained the battles of Cannæ and Trasimene or the

nameless poor who first hammered out for himself an iron spade," the nameless poor already had a considerable place in historical literature. Carlyle wished to enlarge it. "From of old," the historian had, he protested, too often "dwelt with disproportionate fondness in senate houses, in battle fields, nay, even in king's antechambers," forgetful of the rest of the world, "blossoming and fading whether the 'famous victory' were won or lost." A different and higher conception was now expected, and there were signs of a time coming "when he who sees no world but that of courts and camps, and writes only how soldiers were drilled and shot, and how this ministerial conjurer outconjured that other . . . will pass for a more or less instructive gazetteer, but will no longer be called an historian."¹

If these brave words were forgotten in Carlyle's later work, and if he wrote, after 1840, precisely the kind of history which he had condemned in 1830, Macaulay was more consistent. The perfect historian sketched by Macaulay in his essay on *History*, published in 1828, "shows us the court, the camp, and the senate. But he shows us also the nation. He considers no anecdote, no peculiarity of manner, no familiar saying, as too insignificant for his notice which is not too insignificant to illustrate the operation of laws, of religion, and of educa-

¹ Essay on *History*.

tion, and to mark the progress of the human mind. Men will not merely be described, but will be made intimately known to us. The changes of manners will be indicated, not merely by a few general phrases or a few extracts from statistical documents, but by appropriate images presented in every line.”¹ This idea Macaulay sought faithfully to realize in his *History of England*, the first two volumes of which appeared in 1848, and the enormous popularity of the work was due in large part to success in achieving his ideal. The *History* was translated into the language of every civilized country and was read by all classes. Among the numerous testimonials which reached the author was a vote of thanks, carried at a meeting of workmen, “for having written a history which working men can understand.”²

The widening horizon of historians began to be perceptible in school instruction in Germany about 1850. Weber's *Lehrbuch der Weltgeschichte*, published in 1847, was the work of a practical schoolmaster and grew out of his work as a teacher of history. It illustrated the possibility of summing up in a comprehensive survey, without neglecting either politics or war, the history of art, literature, science, religion, philosophy, and general

¹ *Essays*, three-volume edition, I, 306.

² Gooch, *History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century*, 301.

cultural conditions. This work in the course of forty years passed through twenty editions and became the basis of innumerable textbooks for schools. It seems to have been the original model of most American textbooks in the field of general history.

About 1860 *Kulturgeschichte* began to assume the proportions of a general issue. In that year Biedermann published an essay of forty-five pages on *The Teaching of History in School, its Defects, and a Proposal for a Remedy*. The defects which Biedermann saw were that history consisted of a mere succession of events and that its method was mere narration. History of this kind, in his opinion, exercised the memory only and overloaded that, much to the confusion of the understanding. It left the pupil almost entirely passive. "Shall history in school," he asked, "describe merely actions and, as performers of them, great personalities, or shall it concern itself with the general conditions of a time or people, shall it deal exclusively or chiefly with external, so-called political history (war, battles, treaties of peace, conquests, distributions of provinces, regents, generals, diplomats, etc.), or shall it deal also with the inner life of the people, . . . shall it present events in mere succession or according to their organic relations?"¹ The

¹ *Der Geschichtsunterricht in der Schule, seine Mängel und ein Vorschlag zur Abhilfe.*

answer was that history in school should be a study of civilization.

In Germany, for the remainder of the century, the *Kulturgeschichte* issue aroused almost continuous, and at times angry, debate. *Kulturgeschichte* proved a term difficult to define. To the schoolmaster it meant in general concrete illustrations of the non-political aspects of civilization. To the historian it might mean a blending of psychology and sociology, a study of the social consciousness, the social mind, the social soul. Lamprecht, a leading advocate of the latter view, has declared that political history merely inquires with Ranke how it happened — “wie es eigentlich gewesen?” *Kulturgeschichte* asks how it became — “wie es eigentlich geworden?” The one is narrative in method, the other is genetic.¹ The outstanding fact, so far as school instruction is concerned, is that, during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the scope of history programs gradually broadened until, both in Germany and in other countries, the non-political aspects of civilization won recognition as at least an indispensable part of surveys of history for schools. To-day there is in all countries emphasis upon social and economic history, with a tendency, especially marked in the United States, to exalt the common man and the common life.

¹ Gooch, *History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century*, 588.

The changes thus indicated in conceptions of history for schools reflect political, social, and economic changes in the world at large. The growth of democracy with its ideals of equal opportunity for all and the welfare of the whole tended naturally to shift interest from leaders and heroes of the old type to the masses, and to the men and measures that have forwarded the improvement of the masses. The industrial revolution created a new world and brought home to historians, as never before, the significance of past industrial life. One result was the economic interpretation of history, a search for explanations of human development in "the hard daily work on earth" rather than in "the shifting clouds of heaven." A new industrial situation demanded a new industrial education and led to a searching reëxamination of the whole educational system, with demands for readjustment, amounting, in some cases, to revolution. A new social consciousness and new conceptions of social efficiency developed. School instruction in history has, in consequence, been called upon to impress the lesson that progress comes through coöperation, acting together, thinking of the social welfare. It has, in common with other subjects, been called upon to socialize the pupil, to counteract the selfish instincts natural to the young, to show that no one can live for himself alone, that each will live better for himself by living for others. All of

these influences have, as a matter of course, pointed to the study of group conditions and activities. School history has not been called upon so generally as might have been expected to make the social world really intelligible, but the social consciousness of our time seems to be leading us in that direction.

The study of group life as a whole is naturally more difficult than the study of group life as expressed in politics and war. Activities conducted by governmental agencies authorized to command obedience and able to exact it have a unity and continuity relatively easy to discern. They can even be described without taking much account of the characteristics either of the groups that command or of the groups that obey. A view of group life as a whole imposes at the outset the need of some analysis of the group. No human group is entirely homogeneous. It is a familiar fact that even within a small group, within a single family, there may be widely different abilities, tastes, interests, conduct, and character. The larger the group, the greater the variations. "The English nation comprises Welsh, Scotch, and Irish; the Catholic Church is composed of adherents scattered over the whole world, and differing in everything but religion. There is no group whose members have the same habits in every respect. The same man is at the same time a member of several groups, and in

each group he has companions who differ from those he has in the others. A French Canadian belongs to the British Empire, the Catholic Church, the group of French-speaking people."¹

The search for characteristics common to any large social group is a complicated undertaking. The tendency is to assume that habits and usages practiced in a conspicuous manner by a part of the group characterize the group as a whole. This is often strikingly illustrated in the treatment of nations, the groups most frequently in evidence in school instruction in history. We learn that Americans love the almighty dollar, that the Germans love scientific truth, and that the French love humanity; that the English "stick to it," that the Scotch have no sense of humor, and that the Spaniards never do to-day what they can put off until to-morrow. Such dominant national characteristics, it has been urged, should stand out as the dominant facts in the teaching of history and should be vividly impressed upon the minds of the pupils. Picture, for example, a tempestuous night in London and a cabman sitting erect and serene on his box, oblivious of raging wind, rain, lightning, and thunder, as ready for a fare as under the most smiling of skies. That, according to a well-known

¹ Langlois and Seignobos, *Introduction to the Study of History*, 239-240.

American lecturer on education, is England, and there is the secret of England's greatness.

The objection to such sweeping summaries of national traits is not only that they attribute to an entire group the characteristics of a part of the group, but that they imply an absence of those characteristics in other national groups. The love of money did not, of course, begin in America and is not peculiar to American citizens. If with us the chase for the almighty dollar is on the part of those engaged in it more active than in Europe, it may be merely because on this side of the Atlantic there are more dollars to chase. There are, of course, non-Germans who love scientific truth and Germans who do not, non-Frenchmen who love humanity and Frenchmen who do not, non-Englishmen who "stick to it" and Englishmen who do not, non-Scotchmen who are defective in their sense of humor and Scotchmen who are not, non-Spaniards who procrastinate and Spaniards who do not. England personified in a cabman is effective as a mode of presentation. The induction is marred by the possibility of duplicating it on precisely the same grounds for almost any other country. There are cabmen in Paris, in Munich, in Berlin, and even in New York and Chicago, who may be observed sitting equally erect and serene through night and storm.

Schools that now introduce the study of social groups

at the beginning of the course in history usually start with the family, pass on to the school, and then out to the community in which the school is situated. The materials and treatment, as actually managed for young children, are, on the whole, simpler and more intelligible than those afforded by the more common biographical approach. The simplification is at times extreme. Children of six are in some cases formally taught that they eat at tables, sleep in beds, have fathers, mothers, sisters, brothers, friends, and toys. Schoolroom experiences, the school playground, and the concrete facts of school organization offer equally obvious illustrations of group conditions, activities, and relations. The community outside of the school may be introduced either through studies of individuals who perform special social service, or through a study of some special trade, art, or industry, related to the immediate neighborhood. In the first case, the study may begin by following on their rounds the milkman, the grocer's delivery clerk, the street cleaner, the garbage collector, the postman, the policeman, the doctor. Gradually expanding in scope it may in time make the children conscious of classes in the community and give them general views of occupations, industries, commerce, manners and customs, food, dress, amusements, and whatever else may be considered suitable for illustration

of group life. In the second case, the starting point may be a factory near the school, or some industry from which a considerable number of homes in the neighborhood derive their income. In a small community there is often some overshadowing economic interest. The source of wealth may be very largely oil, or coal, or wheat, or potatoes, or broom-corn. The way is then entirely clear. In a large community the problem is complicated by the greater diversity of economic interests, but the principle of selecting what touches the daily life of the homes in the neighborhood can still to some extent be applied.

Materials of this concrete character relating not only to present but to past group conditions and activities in the community can be introduced as early as the first grade. They can be so selected and so treated as to convey even to a first grade rudimentary ideas of change and of continuity, and, incidentally, of the nature of historical evidence. For children living on Manhattan Island, for example, the work may begin with a glance at changes visibly in progress in the neighborhood of the school, old buildings disappearing, new buildings being erected, families moving out of and into the neighborhood, shops going out of business, shops opening for business. These readily suggest questions that carry the children back to a time when there were no buildings

like those we now see, when there were no shops, no street cars, and not even streets; a time when there were no people like ourselves living on the island. Hints of how the island then looked are still conveyed by occasional bits of virgin soil. Other hints can be given through pictures and through the use of the sand table. Two or three lessons will be sufficient to sweep from the island the white man and all his ways and open up the long ago of Indian occupation. Most first-grade children have already heard of Indians. If asked how they know Indians once lived on Manhattan Island, they will sometimes answer that they have heard stories about Indians, and sometimes that they have actually seen bows and arrows and tomahawks, used by Indians. The list of relics can easily be extended. The next step is to form a picture of Indian life: dwellings, food, work, play, weapons, tools, ornaments, clothing, painted faces. There should be a visit to the Museum of Natural History. There should be photographs and models in the classroom. The children can themselves construct an Indian "house" and imitate simple Indian industries. Let them develop from the "house" some of the problems of Indian life in such a "house." How would they sleep? how sit down? how get out and in? how eat their meals? how keep warm in winter? where store food? where do the cooking? Let them consider in a similar

way occupations outside of the "house," hunting, fishing, gardening, always keeping clear what Manhattan Island itself was like, the water surrounding it, vegetation, kinds of game and fish. The picture is completed by the telling of stories which Indians told about themselves.

So far the lessons have dealt almost entirely with conditions. The events celebrated in Indian tradition are obscure and in the main improbable. The conditions of Indian life have, it is assumed, been compared and contrasted with the conditions under which the children themselves live. We now turn to events, the first and greatest of which is the coming of the white man. There is at this stage no occasion for any reference to Europe or to the question of how Europeans discovered America. The white men may be allowed to burst upon the vision of the children as they burst upon the vision of the Indians. The ideal arrangement would be to take the class up Riverside Drive and follow Hudson's progress up the river in Juet's narrative. Juet, the children should be informed, was there.¹ To the story as he told it should be added the story as told by the Indians themselves and written down long afterward by a white man.²

¹ *Original Narratives of Early American History, Narratives of New Netherland*, Scribner's, 16-28.

² Higginson, *American Explorers*, 290-296.

The contact between Indians and white men suggests numerous questions of interest to children. How did they manage to talk with each other? What would white men coming up the river for the first time want to know? What signs would they make? What answering signs would the Indians make? Did the Indians have a real language? What was it like? The information is either directly supplied by early narratives or readily inferred from them.¹ Attention is again called to the appearance and customs of the Indians as set forth in accounts written by white men, and the children are made conscious that it is through these accounts we learn most of what we know about Indian life on Manhattan Island.

With the establishment of the Dutch on the Island another chapter of life opens, to be developed in a manner similar to that suggested for the study of the Indians, with the addition of incidents illustrating the relations between the Dutch and the Indians, and comparisons and contrasts between Dutch and Indian life. The coming of the English can be treated in the manner suggested for the coming of the Dutch and can be followed by an account of life in early New York similar to that proposed for Dutch and Indian life. Under a skillful teacher the three phases can be compassed by a first

¹ See *Narratives of New Netherland*.

grade in a single year and can be so bound together as to make a connected story.

For children who begin in the lower grades with biography and reach in the upper grades the study of social groups, work of a somewhat more ambitious character is possible. The community is, let us say, one in which the chief agricultural product is broom-corn, and the chief local industry, the manufacture of brooms. A considerable proportion of the inhabitants are engaged in raising broom-corn, in buying and selling broom-corn, or in making brooms, and many of the children in the school are already looking forward to one or the other of these occupations. The study may then begin with the broom-corn producing group, the conditions of planting and harvesting, the appearance of the crop, the mode of transporting it to market, and the money it brings. The producers, it is observed, have a considerable amount of leisure. They crowd the public square of the town on a Saturday afternoon for no other purpose apparently than that of indulging their social instincts. On Mondays they come to town again in large numbers to do their trading. The crop seems to be profitable. Bank accounts are so common that interest on deposits ceased long ago. From the producers, the study may pass on to dealers in broom-corn, the conditions of buying, storing, and selling, and then on to the factories in which brooms

are made, the workers, the machinery used, the output. The relations of the groups to each other, to the community, and to the world beyond the community are easily illustrated. One season a few buyers attempt a "corner" in broom-corn. The price advances rapidly from \$90 a ton to \$200 a ton. This is highly gratifying to the farmers. The factories raise the price of brooms. This is not gratifying to consumers of brooms. Some dealers and some owners of factories begin to look to other countries for raw material. One dealer discovers broom-corn in Bohemia and imports a cargo at a cost of less than \$100 a ton, with a prospect of being able to secure more later at a cost of \$60 a ton. Thereupon the member of congress representing an American broom-corn district introduces a bill providing for a duty on broom-corn to protect American industry. A wide range of social, economic, and political conditions can, it is evident, be explained by broom-corn alone.

Having been made duly conscious of group conditions and activities dependent upon broom-corn in the present, the pupil is prepared to understand group conditions and activities dependent upon broom-corn or other products in the past. The step, as already noted, is attended with some danger of confusion to the historical sense. There is an inborn tendency to carry the environment of the present into the past. The deeper the

consciousness of the present, the stronger the inclination to transport it, especially when, as is very often the case, teachers lay great emphasis upon resemblances between past and present. Resemblances should not be overlooked, but the corrective furnished by emphasis upon differences between past and present should also be constantly applied.

The study of social groups on the relatively small scale thus far indicated admits, without great difficulty, of connected views and of a continuous, concrete narrative of development. The study of groups on a larger scale, the life of nations, to say nothing of the life of humanity as a whole, is quite a different matter. The application of the point of view to history in general is limited for some peoples, especially those of the remoter past, by the inadequacy of available sources. The daily life of some countries can scarcely be known at all. For other peoples it is limited by the very abundance of materials. *Kulturgeschichte* dealing with the thoughts and feelings of a generalized social soul is admittedly barred from the elementary and secondary school, and the massing of details for a series of pictures has thus far failed to achieve coherence, sequence, connection, continuity.

Biedermann saw the difficulty and tried to meet it. Beginning with children of ten he proposed to sum up

German history in twelve *Kulturbilder*, as follows: (1) Germans at the beginning of the Christian era; (2) the Frankish kingdom, 500; (3) the Carolingian kingdom, 800; (4) German kingship in the tenth century; (5) the fall of German kingship in the thirteenth century; (6) the triumph of the provincial princes in the fourteenth century; (7) beginnings of reform, 1500; (8) end of religious strife, 1555; (9) Peace of Westphalia, 1648; (10) accession of Frederick II, 1740; (11) end of the Empire, 1806, or the Congress of Vienna, 1815; (12) contemporary conditions. The plan was to make each picture a fairly detailed representation of social conditions and to bridge the intervals by looking back from each picture to the preceding picture, noting the differences, and then seeking, in the intervening period, the causes of any change in conditions suggested by such differences.¹

Biedermann's plan simplifies the problem of selection. It provides the pupil with definite material, and, what is still more important, gives him something, beyond mere memorizing, to do with the material after it has been presented. German critics have, indeed, complained that it gives the pupil too much to do, that it puts an unreasonable strain upon his self-activity. There is

¹ Biedermann, *Der Geschichtsunterricht auf Schulen nach Kulturgeschichtlicher Methode*, 23-45.

the further objection that the manner of connecting the pictures does not achieve real continuity.

Various other plans for organizing the material have been proposed. Cultural conditions have been surveyed in the order suggested by the culture-epoch theory. This brings together peoples in the same stage of development without regard to chronology or geography and is, perhaps, the most confusing, to the historical sense of pupils, of all arrangements. Special forms of social development have been singled out for separate treatment in different years of the school course — the history of the family and the home in one year, the history of mechanical inventions in another year, the history of intellectual life in still another year. This has the merit of securing orderly sequence for each special form of development, but at the expense of those relations to other forms of development so essential to any clear conception of social groups.

For the organization of history as a whole, including the political as well as the non-political factors in civilization, some comprehensive scheme of classifying facts is indispensable. A somewhat rigid view of institutions has been proposed. "An examination of the life of any people," says Professor Mace, "will reveal certain permanent features common to the history of all civilized nations. There will be found five well-marked phases, —

a political, a religious, an educational, an industrial, and a social phase. These are further differentiated by the fact that each has a great organization, called an institution, around which it clusters, and whose purpose, plan of work, and machinery are peculiar to itself. For political ideas the center is the institution called government; for religious ideas, the church; for educational and culture influences, the school; for industrial life, occupation; and for social customs, the family." These "five lines of growth," it is urged, "move on down through the life of a people and give linear continuity to the subject, and, therefore, a clue to the method of its organization."¹

The field is more fully exhibited in a classification "founded on the nature of the conditions and of the manifestation of activity," proposed by Langlois and Seignobos, as follows:

I. Material Conditions. (1) *Study of the body*: A. Anthropology (ethnology), anatomy, and physiology, anomalies and pathological peculiarities. B. Demography (number, sex, age, births, deaths, diseases). (2) *Study of the environment*: A. Natural geographical environment (orographic configuration, climate, water, soil, flora, and fauna). B. Artificial environment, forestry (cultivation, buildings, roads, implements, etc.).

II. Intellectual Habits (not obligatory). (1) *Language* (vocabulary, syntax, phonetics, semasiology). Handwriting.

¹ Mace, *Method in History*, II, 14.

- (2) *Arts*: A. Plastic arts (conditions of production, conceptions, methods, works). B. Arts of expression, music, dance, literature.
- (3) *Sciences* (conditions of production, methods, results). (4) *Philosophy and morals* (conceptions, precepts, actual practice).
- (5) *Religion* (beliefs, practices).

III. Material Customs (not obligatory). (1) *Material life*: A. Food (materials, modes of preparing, stimulants). B. Clothes and personal adornment. C. Dwellings and furniture. (2) *Private life*: A. Employment of time (toilette, care of the person, meals). B. Social ceremonies (funerals and marriages, festivals, etiquette). C. Amusements (modes of exercise and hunting, games and spectacles, social meetings, traveling).

IV. Economic Customs. (1) *Production*: A. Agriculture and stock-breeding. B. Exploitation of minerals. (2) *Transformation, Transport and industries*: technical processes, division of labor, means of communication. (3) *Commerce*: exchange and sale, credit. (4) *Distribution*: system of property, transmission, contracts, profit sharing.

V. Social Institutions. (1) *The family*: A. Constitution, authority, condition of women and children. B. Economic organization. Family property, succession. (2) *Education and instruction* (aim, methods, *personnel*). (3) *Social classes* (principle of division, rules regulating intercourse).

VI. Public Institutions (obligatory). (1) *Political institutions*: A. Sovereign (*personnel*, procedure). B. Administration, services (war, justice, finance, etc.). C. Elected authorities, assemblies, electoral bodies (powers, procedure). (2) *Ecclesiastical institutions* (the same divisions). (3) *International institutions*: A. Diplomacy. B. War (usages of war and military arts). C. Private law and commerce.¹

¹ Langlois and Seignobos, *Introduction to the Study of History*, 234-235.

This classification, while intended primarily for historians, is of use also to teachers. It indicates at a glance the scope of the field. It furnishes hints of procedure in selecting and arranging facts. The treatment of history in American schools must, for the present, follow the lead of the textbooks and find its main thread of continuity in political activities. But, in adding other facts, and in organizing them about that thread, the teacher, at least in the high school, may aim to take a view of what society is and how society works, as comprehensive as that suggested for historians.

CHAPTER VIII

MAKING THE PAST REAL

HOWEVER history may be conceived, and whatever may be the aims set up for historical instruction, the fundamental condition of making history effective in the classroom is to invest the past with an air of reality. The condition is itself fairly obvious and has, since the eighteenth century, been almost continuously impressed upon teachers. It is to-day summed up in countless assertions to the effect that history should be made "vivid" and "alive." The general process involved is clear. To make the past real is to image material conditions and events and to reproduce in ourselves some semblance of the mental states that determined these conditions or events or were determined by them.

The most effective appeal to the sense of reality is, of course, through reality itself. "A walk through Normandy," says John Richard Green, at the opening of his chapter on Normandy and the Normans, "teaches one more of the age of our history which we are about to traverse than all the books in the world."¹ "A walk

¹ *Short History of the English People*, 71.

through Normandy" is a privilege reserved for the few, but a walk through some Normandy is possible for all. Every community offers at least the community itself, a local geographical environment, local remains, and local customs. Everywhere materials are provided for making the local past real. The community may, it is true, be one in which nothing of importance to the world at large ever seems to have happened. The richer the associations, the better. Better the Seven Hills of Rome for an outlook upon world history than any number of hills that may be counted from a cross-roads school in America. But all ground associated with human life is in a true sense historic ground. All products of human art or industry are historic products. All human customs are historic customs. The radius of fame is not the only measure of the significance of a community in the teaching even of world history. Any local past properly realized, not only contributes in a general way to a feeling of reality in dealing with the larger past, but supplies specific elements for reconstructing the larger past. This is not the only reason why teachers and pupils in any community should know the past and present of the community, but it is a sufficient reason.

There is need of emphasis here. Teachers of history in unfavored communities are sufficiently aware that

teachers of history in favored communities should not, and probably do not, neglect local resources. Yet favored communities are no more real than unfavored communities. The need of building historical knowledge upon the direct personal experiences of the pupil is no greater in the one case than in the other. In every community there should be, not merely such casual use of the local past and present as may happen to occur to the teacher, but a systematic search of local resources for points from which the pupil may begin his journeys to the past and to which he may return.¹ The result should be an added sense of the reality both of the past and of the present and the kind of communion between past and present which, in the language of some present-day educators, makes history "function."

In many communities the field open to direct exploration is greatly enlarged by the presence of material consciously collected, consciously preserved, or consciously constructed to represent past realities. There are museums that contain actual relics, and models of relics, of different ages and countries. There are gardens, parks, monuments, homes with their furniture and interior decoration, churches and various other kinds of

¹ A good example of the systematic use of the community is furnished by Edgar Weyrich, *Anschaulicher Geschichtsunterricht*. The community is Vienna.

buildings, that reproduce conceptions developed and applied in other times by other communities. Few teachers are likely to be so blind as the one who is reported to have carried on an elaborate discussion of Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian columns, without discovering, or leading her pupils to discover, that the entrance to their own schoolhouse was flanked by striking, though somewhat crude, examples of the Doric order. Most teachers are likely to make at least casual reference to such materials. But here again the references should be systematic and persistent.

The materials, it must be confessed, are not always readily accessible. Even museums may fail to reflect a distinctly historical motive. They may be designed for the convenience of sight-seers rather than for the convenience of students of history. Many outsiders have looked with envy upon such arrangements as those of the National Museum in Munich, or of the Northern Museum in Stockholm, or, on a smaller scale, of the invaluable Mercer collection in Doylestown, Pennsylvania, arrangements that enable the observer to follow step by step historical development. Stockholm has in addition an outdoor museum, an inclosure of some seventy acres, showing Sweden in miniature, hills and valleys, brooks, ponds, woods, fields and pastures, flora and fauna, and, what is still more interesting, actual

dwellings from different districts and periods, with their actual furnishings and with attendants dressed in the costumes of the districts and periods represented. Some features similar to these are now being added to the grounds set apart for the Doylestown museum. They illustrate possibilities far more inviting than those with which most teachers of history must be content. But directors of museums are now, as a rule, keenly interested in the problems of the schoolroom and willing, to the full limit of their powers, to cooperate with teachers. Often temporary rearrangements of materials, and even the temporary enlargement of special collections through loans, can be secured for the asking. Furthermore, the school can itself be made a repository of local antiquities, or at least of materials that will some day become local antiquities.¹

Appeals to reality within the community can and ought to be supplemented by appeals to reality beyond the community. This suggests, of course, visits to other communities and introduces difficulties which, in the opinion of many American teachers, are insurmountable. The use of purely local resources involves a large expenditure of time. The use of resources beyond the horizon

¹ See Page, *A Working Museum of History*, in *History Teacher's Magazine*, V, 77-80.

of the community involves in addition the expenditure of money. In Europe first-hand studies of the community itself and of neighboring communities have been greatly facilitated by making school excursions a part of the regular curriculum, by utilizing holidays, and by taking advantage of low railway fares. The longer school excursion, as developed by Professor Rein, is prized for the reality which it imparts to geography, nature study, history, and other subjects, It is prized also for the open-air exercise which it affords, for the initiative and freedom which it makes possible for pupils, for the opportunity which it creates for social training; in a word, for advantages which we commonly associate with school athletics. In the United States conditions are less favorable and school excursions of any kind are less common than in Europe. The average school year is shorter than in Europe, the general theory of holidays and vacations does not, as in Europe, and especially in Germany, encourage tours of useful exploration, and travel is more expensive. We attach, moreover, no such value to excursions as is attached to them in Europe. School visits to museums and to places of historic interest within and without the community are, however, increasing, and the custom of allowing school time for shorter excursions is gaining in favor.

Further assistance in reconstructing the material past

2 is supplied by numerous aids to visualization designed specifically for use in school. Here are included casts, models, pictures, maps, charts, and diagrams. The need of such aids was clearly set forth as long ago as the eighteenth century, and has been almost continuously emphasized ever since. In Europe the response has been so generous that there is now scarcely any known phase of past civilization which is not represented. In the United States, until recently, the chief reliance has been on maps and pictures, but other aids are now coming into use. The American Historical Association led the way with an exhibit in New York in 1909. The *History Teacher's Magazine* for February, 1910, carried an account of this exhibit to teachers in every section of the country and thus spread information which up to that time had been mainly confined to observers of history teaching in Europe. Other similar exhibits followed, notably that of the New England History Teachers' Association, now a permanent feature of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. Two important pieces of work remain to be done. The first is to prepare a really exhaustive guide to aids especially adapted to American schools. The second is to provide a series of illustrative exercises showing definitely when and how the aids ought to be used. As matters stand at present many schools seem to be wasting their substance in the acquisition

of unsuitable material and wasting their time in unsuitable use even of suitable material.

For obvious reasons casts and models of actual relics offer a nearer approach to the originals than any other form of representation. By means of them, innumerable smaller objects can be reproduced, substantially in every detail, and may, for all purposes except the purely æsthetic, be as serviceable as the originals. Larger objects can be similarly represented on a reduced scale and may thus in some cases be more manageable than the originals. A battlefield, for example, may in its actuality be so large and so complicated as to be difficult to compass even when one is on the ground. A good model may bring all the essentials within a single sweep of the eye. Usually, however, reduced models are necessarily less serviceable than the originals. Sometimes they are so diminutive that they degenerate into mere toys. A model of the Colosseum covering an area no greater than that covered by a silver dollar is not impressive.

The most effective and the most accessible models thus far produced are of German manufacture. The Hensell models (26 pieces), illustrative of Greek and Roman history, are occasionally found in the classical departments of American colleges, but seem rarely to have been used with classes in history. They are

suitable either for the elementary school or for the high school. Models of special interest in this series are a typical Roman house, and types of wearing apparel used by the Greeks and Romans, with a small lay figure for displaying the apparel. A larger and better model of a Roman house, and a life-size figure for displaying wearing apparel, are included in the Rausch and Blümner series. The Gall and Rebhann models of objects connected with ancient history are also excellent. The field of German history, from prehistoric times to the nineteenth century, is admirably covered by the Rausch models, representing more than two hundred different objects, most of them as suitable for illustrating general European history as for illustrating German history. All of the models to which reference has been made are constructed with scrupulous regard for accuracy. Smaller objects are reproduced in the exact size, shape, and color of the originals, and sometimes in the very kind of material from which the originals were constructed. Models of larger objects are carefully made to scale. It is, unfortunately, impossible to point to any similar series illustrative of American history.

Ordinary pictures are more abstract than models. They cannot, like models, be seen from different standpoints that introduce different backgrounds. A single picture of a person or object is, therefore, necessarily

incomplete. An impressionist painter, we are informed, needs twenty (canvases) numerous changes of position, and all the changes of light from sunrise to sunset to portray adequately a hayrick.¹ The number of canvases that would be needed to portray adequately a human being is not stated, but the principle would seem to require a still greater number. Some painters have met the condition by exhibiting on a single canvas different "poses" of the same person. Some photographers who advertise their ability to make us "see ourselves as others see us" are now willing to take us in triplicate, and even in larger groups of ourselves. Pictures are really less simple and less obvious than they seem, and treatises on how to look at them are by no means superfluous.

Pictorial illustration has long been a familiar feature of American textbooks in history. There has, however, frequently been a lack of connection between the picture and the text and a rather general lack of encouragement to pupils to use the picture. It is still rare to find in textbooks the kind of verbal description of the picture that is needed to make it really intelligible. A much better arrangement is found in historical albums of the kind common in Europe. Lavisse and Parmentier's *Album Historique*, a work in four

¹ Adams, *Exposition and Illustration in Teaching*, 337.

volumes, covering the field of European history, may be cited as an example. The plan here followed is to group subjects for comparison and contrast. The pictures illuminate the text and the text illuminates the pictures.

Europe has passed us also in wall pictures designed, like maps, to be seen by the entire class. Especially noteworthy are Lehmann's *Kulturgeschichtliche Bilder für den Schulunterricht*, and Cybulski's *Tabulæ quibus antiquitates Græcæ et Romanæ illustrantur*. The pictures in both of these series are constructed with minute attention to accuracy of detail, and are reproduced in colors. Inferior to these, but still useful, are Lavisse and Parmentier's *Tableaux d'histoire de la Civilization Française*, and Longman's historical wall pictures illustrating English history.

When we enter the more general field of picture post-cards, photographs, illustrations in newspapers, magazines, and books, lantern slides, and the like, there is for almost every country an embarrassment of riches. The stereoscope, too, once a familiar object on many a parlor table, has won a new and wider recognition, and special efforts are now being made by such extensive producers of stereographs as Underwood and Underwood to serve the interests of the classroom. The stereograph has the merit of giving the effect of three dimensions and an impression of size and distance similar to

that obtained by the natural eye in the position from which the picture was taken. Above all, the moving picture machine has entered the school and now promises to revolutionize the visual aspects of history. A foretaste of what is to come is afforded by the Edison kinetoscope, a combined stereopticon and moving picture machine, now on the market at a moderate price.

Maps, charts, and diagrams do not, like models and pictures, represent reality directly. They show, as a rule, relations rather than actual objects. When we say of a few lines on the blackboard, "That looks like France," we mean usually that the lines resemble other lines which have come to be associated with France. A photograph of France would, of course, look rather different. A diagram may be entirely arbitrary — a blue rectangle to represent a republican administration and a pink rectangle to represent a democratic administration, a dash of orange to indicate the triumph of protection and a dash of green to indicate the demand for free trade. It may, by means of lines, triangles, rectangles, or circles, represent with mathematical accuracy the populations and areas of different states, quantities and values of manufactured products, the strength of armies, the cost of education, the length of reigns, the duration of ideas and the extent of the territory over which they have prevailed. It may be in

part pictorial. The French army may, for example, be represented by a Frenchman in uniform, the Russian army by a Russian in uniform, the latter being as much larger than the Frenchman as the Russian army is larger than the French army. Again, it has been said of one country that each farmer carries two soldiers on his back. The picture diagram maker expresses the idea by drawing a farmer to life and putting two soldiers in uniform on his back.

Maps, charts, and diagrams should, in general, aim at simplicity and should avoid all unnecessary elaboration. Outside of an atlas, in which one naturally expects to find everything, a map, for example, should be so constructed as to focus attention upon the special facts of immediate concern in a particular history lesson. This end is often best attained by suppressing all other details. A few lines on the blackboard are often sufficient, and often make a stronger appeal than a complicated map or diagram. The simplest sort of chalk mark will frequently catch the "wandering eye" after the wandering ear has ceased to respond to anything connected with the lesson. Experienced teachers who understand this often use the blackboard to illuminate situations for which verbal description alone might seem entirely adequate. The statement, for example, that Queen Caroline served as an intermediary

for important communications between Walpole and George II presents a fact presumably intelligible without elaborate explanation. It may, however, fail to interest a class and may pass quite unheeded. A diagram is almost sure to arrest attention. Let A represent Walpole, B, Queen Caroline, and C, George II. "The natural way of communicating with the king would have been for the minister to speak directly to him; but as a matter of fact, important communications usually took the route indicated by the arrows."¹



Many teachers would no doubt consider such an illustration superfluous, but the principle involved is one that deserves to be pondered.

School history, to be made real and kept real, should begin with realities which can either be observed directly or which can be represented directly, and should continue throughout the school course to provide frequent opportunities for appeals to such materials. But when all is said the fact remains that most of the realities with which the teacher has to deal are on exhibition in verbal description only. Children, like the rest of us, must depend mainly upon words for impressions

¹ Adams, *Exposition and Illustration in Teaching*, 389.

even of the externals of life in the past. The teacher is at every stage confronted by the difficulties inherent in passing from words to realities, and it is largely because these difficulties are not generally and clearly recognized that school instruction in history is so often ineffective. The choice of facts is important from the point of view both of educational aims and of the abilities of children. But no facts that have their beginning and end in empty words and phrases can be of much consequence.

Precisely here lies the root of our worst offending in teaching history to children. We begin early in the grades a liberal use of vague adjectives and of broad generalizations. We deal in summary notions, in abstractions, in figures of speech, sometimes unconsciously, more often under the delusion that short headings of short chapters made of short sentences of short words shorten the difficulties of historical instruction. We present to children of ten or eleven "a wicked king, John Lackland," "the most wicked king England ever had," and the barons at Runnymede compelling "the wicked king to promise to give up all his evil practices." We show Lorenzo the Magnificent failing, in spite of his title, to enrich Florence, making it only "grander and more famous by his administration," and completing "that subversion of the Florentine Republic for

which his father and grandfather," neither of whom need be further described, "had so well prepared the way." Thus we establish no doubt the association of kingly wickedness with John; thus we suggest no doubt that Lorenzo had his faults. But what is the wickedness of kings to children of ten or eleven, and what, within their power of realization, were the faults of Lorenzo? The phrases are quoted from recent books designed to make history especially simple for children, and they are typical of much of our recent effort to serve that benevolent purpose.

It is easy to be misled here by the appearance of interest. There may be interest in things seen "through a glass darkly." The degree of interest may even vary inversely with the degree of intelligibility. Many children, and many adults, dwell with special fondness upon words and phrases to which they attach little or no meaning. The very vagueness of kingly wickedness and of subverted republics may stir the interest of children. Some obscurities are necessary and even desirable. There are realities that children ought not to realize. There are others that may be left obscure for the mere joy of discovering in later years what some teacher or textbook really meant by certain queer medleys of words that lodged in our memories because they were queer. But, with all allowance for exceptions,

the area of unreality traversed by children in their history lessons is altogether too large. Their conception of the past too often is that of the pupil who was asked if she could tell what sort of looking man Alexander the Great was. "Why, no," was the answer, "I thought he was just one of those historical characters." There are too many of "those historical characters" in history even in the high school.

To point out the defect is to suggest the remedy. History throughout the elementary course should abound in concrete details for visualizing persons, situations, events. In meeting this condition even trivialities are permissible. Facts spurned by the standard historians may furnish the very touch needed to make the misty immortals of history really human. There is a place for the hat that Napoleon wore at Leipsic, the color of the waistcoat that graced the person of Daniel Webster when he replied to Hayne, and, in spite of a recent intimation that such a fact has no place in history at all, even the color of the horse that bore Washington at the Battle of Monmouth. The point is not that details of this character are important as history. No sensible teacher would think of having them memorized by pupils. They are details to be used for the moment to stimulate the sense of reality and then to be laid aside. The picture fades; the sense of reality

remains. On the same principle there is a place for even trivial details relating to what "those historical characters" thought and felt.

The remedy is simple, but where shall details be found? There are books for younger children constructed on the correct principle. They abound in facts sufficiently concrete and sufficiently spurned by standard historians. Unfortunately they are, very often, facts that ought also to be spurned by teachers on grounds of historical conscience. The ordinary textbooks for older children make little pretense of offering particulars. For really suitable material the teacher must usually turn to contemporary literature, especially letters, diaries, and personal reminiscences, to a field, that is, which the average teacher, under present conditions, has little opportunity or inducement to cultivate, and one that demands some critical ability to cultivate with profit. Many useful extracts, and many clues to additional material, may, however, be found in the ordinary *source books*.

There is another difficulty. Assuming that the teacher has mastered the art of accumulating details, how shall time be found for introducing them? The course in history is usually fixed. There are certain designated topics to cover and a limited number of hours in which to cover them. In many cases the work

mapped out for a given month or a given year can be completed only by reducing it to a bare outline. Such conditions are discouraging, but not altogether hopeless. It is not essential that even all elementary history be reduced to particular individual facts. There must be summaries, there must be generalizations. But these have many elements in common and may be so ordered that when one summary or one generalization has been properly based upon its supporting particulars there will be other summaries and other generalizations for which the process need not be repeated. They will have a meaning sufficiently definite and real without it. Something can, therefore, be done to vitalize the most crowded outline. More ought to be possible. At a moderate estimate half of the topics included in an average course in the United States might with profit be excluded. The remaining half could then be treated with some degree of fullness. This principle has already been applied in France and is one of the secrets of the present effective teaching of history in France. We cling to our conventionalized collections of generalities, and when some pioneer gives us a different treatment in the form of a relatively big book about a few matters of importance and interest to the children of to-day, we miss the familiar generalities, and, for the rest, declare that so big a book cannot be completed in a single year.

Special devices for utilizing details are, of course, not entirely strange to American practice. In the elementary school much is made of dramatizing history. In the best form of this kind of exercise the children themselves compose the drama and afterward act it. When this is done with proper material it is a valuable exercise, well worth the time which it takes. It compels, through the demands of stage setting and costumes, attention to the very materials that are needed for visualization. One class in preparing a drama on Alfred the Great found at once difficulties in the way of having the traditional prince wear every day "his crimson velvet suit." That led to a new sense of reality. All of us know how boys delight to play Indians, and many of us have witnessed plays on Indian life that were really illuminating. But the general tendency is to base such plays upon imaginative rather than upon historical material. Often the plays are ready-made and these are less effective for the purpose.

Another common device for "living the past" is to have children write letters. Let them imagine themselves in Tarrytown, for example, at the time of the capture of Major André, and let them write to some imaginary friend in New York an account of the incident and of how it might have affected them. One teacher, some years ago, found this plan so effective

that she proposed to keep a seventh grade in history occupied wholly with letter writing.

Still another device is to have the children keep diaries. Let them imagine themselves in Boston in April, 1775, and let them record what they might have seen or heard during that month. Such an exercise will often make even dry official records absorbingly interesting to a seventh or eighth grade.

An exercise formerly more in vogue than at present, and somewhat influenced by the old-fashioned school reader, consisted in learning and reciting famous speeches. It was an event to be remembered, when, with a proper historical setting given by the teacher, one eighth-grade boy came forth as Hayne and another as Webster in selections from the great debate.

These are but illustrations of possible ways of making the past real through details of a kind that would ordinarily have no place in the history lesson. Many, perhaps most teachers, would here lay the chief stress on imaginative material, on what we call historical novels and historical poems. A distinction should be made between novels and poems that are contemporary with the conditions and events described and those that represent later attempts at reconstruction. The former have often a high value as illustrations of the spirit or atmosphere of their times. The value of the latter for

history may easily be exaggerated. Some novelists have more genius than some historians, but historical novels as a class are scarcely such miracles of reconstruction as the claims often made in book reviews, and in papers read at teachers' gatherings, might lead one to infer. Their rather general use in school history has been due in part to the tradition which so long made history a mere branch of literature, and in part to more general acquaintance with this kind of material than with material more distinctly historical.

If, during the elementary period, the sense of reality has been stimulated as it may and ought to be stimulated, history in the high school can be essentially generalized history. There will still be need of descending to particulars, and on occasion, even to trivialities. Whatever the nature of the training, there is danger at every stage of school instruction of leaving the impression that history deals with a mere succession of disembodied acts and sentiments. But, in the high school, particulars included for the purpose of lending reality can, in the main, be particulars more in keeping with the dignity of standard historical treatises.

The first step toward the realization of any aspect of the past is to realize the difficulty. With all the advantages of local environment, of special aids to visualization, and of full and accurate verbal descrip-

tion, the reality even of the material past will continue in large measure to elude both pupil and teacher. "Nothing," says Professor Morse Stephens, "is more difficult than to realize existence in a bygone era. The perspective which years, as they roll by, give to past ages emphasizes certain salient points and leaves the background vague, and it is only by saturating the mind in contemporary literature, diaries, and letters, that an idea can be formed of the ordinary life during a past period. But even then it is difficult to convey to a reader an impression of a time in which one has not lived; it is more — it is almost impossible."¹ The teacher must none the less, like the historian, attempt the "almost impossible."

¹ Stephens, *French Revolution*, II, 361.

CHAPTER IX

THE USE OF MODELS AND PICTURES

THE primary purpose of models and pictures in the teaching of history is to give definiteness to visual imagery. This purpose may on first thought seem to be sufficiently accomplished by the simple process of exhibiting models and pictures, with appropriate labels or appropriate oral description. The teacher has then but to follow the methods of the museum, of the motion picture theater, or of the popular illustrated lecture. The pupil has but to lend his presence. Very often nothing more is attempted. Very often teachers do not appear to have discovered that any other procedure is either necessary or desirable. Models and pictures, they seem to reason, are direct representations of reality and make their own appeal to the eye.

The exhibition idea is applied in a variety of ways. Sometimes the pupil is merely told to notice pictures in the textbook, or on the walls of the classroom, or in books to which references are made for collateral reading. Sometimes he is urged to visit museums. Sometimes class periods are set apart at convenient intervals

for stereopticon views or for the passing of pictures. Sometimes models or pictures are shown in every recitation on the principle that the pupil should constantly see what he is talking about.

Faith in the efficacy of mere exhibition assumes at times large proportions. In one prominent American school, a Mecca, twenty years ago, for numerous educational pilgrimages, it was almost a ruling idea. Visitors were directed with special pride to the catalogue of "illustrative materials." There were post-cards, posters, photographs, chromos, pictures clipped from newspapers, from magazines, and from books, in endless profusion. Two complete sets of *Harper's Weekly*, covering the period from 1861-1865, had, for example, been purchased and cut up for the illustrations. The collection was so comprehensive and was so carefully classified that materials for almost any conceivable topic could be brought together at a moment's notice. One of the chief duties of the teacher in dealing with any subject that admitted of this kind of illustration seemed to be to pass at the right moment the right picture. A single lesson might bring into circulation the collections on subjects as heterogeneous as spiders, elephants, threshing machines, and women's hats. Here and there the teacher interjected comments, and occasionally pupils asked questions. But in the main

the pictures appeared to be their own excuse for being. They were merely looked at and then passed on. This may be accepted as an extreme example of converting the class recitation in large part into a picture show, but it represents an ideal approximated in many of our most progressive schools.

We live in a picture age. Few popular lecturers on any subject that lends itself to the treatment now venture before the public without at least a stereopticon. Many subjects require the more lifelike motion picture. The multitudinous processes of nature and the multitudinous activities of humanity daily and nightly move across the screen in theaters, in churches, in club rooms, and even in private homes.

The exhibition method has the merit of simplicity. It can be applied by any teacher. It furnishes under average conditions a certain amount of entertainment. It evokes for the moment a certain kind of definite imagery. But its value as a means of recalling reality is easily overestimated. What is the nature of the imagery? Given a model of a Roman house, does the pupil see the model or a Roman house? Given a picture of Washington crossing the Delaware, does the pupil see the picture, or men in boats afloat on a river? If the images evoked are merely images of models and pictures, is the process of visualization complete?

Granting that models and pictures are direct representations of reality, are they substitutes for reality?

These questions suggest their own answer. Models and pictures are not entirely concrete exhibits. Most of them are in fact in a sense abstractions. They are representations and not reproductions. They embody selected qualities, ranging from those of a particular object, place, or person, to those of a composite original. The Rausch model of the Gutenberg printing press looks like the actual Gutenberg press except in bulk. Abstraction, that is, is confined to size. The Hensell model of a Roman house represents, on the scale of one to fifty, a generalized Roman house, and is itself a generalization. Degrees of abstraction similar in kind are presented by pictures. Models and pictures must, therefore, be consciously treated as *aids* to visualization and not as objects to be themselves visualized. They are materials to be developed. The direct appeal to the eye is in most cases only a beginning. Except in those instances in which they reproduce not only the form and color, but the actual dimensions of the original, even models leave constructive work for the imagination. Imagination that reaches the realities which models and pictures are designed to represent involves mental processes higher than those of receiving messages from the retina.

The first step should usually be to form a conception of size. Good models either smaller or larger than the objects which they represent are constructed to scale and supply, therefore, direct data. Knowing the scale, pupils may be asked to measure first the model and then the space to be embraced by the image. The result should, so far as conditions admit, be expressed in familiar terms — about the size of a penny, a lead pencil, a schoolroom chair; as large as the teacher's desk, the schoolroom, the school building, the school yard. With models representing objects of such magnitude as to render the actual marking out of dimensions for the image impracticable, there should be, in similar familiar terms, after measuring the model, at least a conscious attempt at rough approximation — a dozen times the size of the school building or the school yard, twice the height of the highest church steeple in the town, half the length of the longest street in town, as big as all the buildings in a city block put together. Ordinary pictures require a different treatment. A human figure in the foreground may look taller than a five-story building in the background. Foot-rule measure, it is evident, is here inapplicable. The pupil must begin at the other end of the problem. He must start with images of a human figure and of a five-story building and adjust to these images the elements furnished by the picture.

The process of arriving at a conception of size, however transparent, needs the careful attention of teachers. The child in a Chicago school who expressed the opinion that a cow was "an animal about the size of a mouse" had reached an entirely reasonable conclusion. She had observed in her school reader a picture of a cow and a picture of a mouse, and the one was in fact about the size of the other. Having seen a mouse, but never a cow, she naturally adjusted the pictures to her image of a mouse. Many children, and some adults, habitually read into pictures magnitudes far more innocent of reality than the cow and mouse example. Even with such precautions as are suggested by conscious and intelligent attempts to realize actual proportions the results are often crude. An image can with a fair degree of exactness be magnified to the bulk of some object in the schoolroom or to the bulk of the schoolroom itself. An image of a building twelve times the size of the school building is necessarily far less exact. Even in dealing with the simplest of units numerical comparisons may convey very indefinite impressions. Merely to draw offhand on the blackboard a chalk line about twelve times the length of a given chalk line is an exercise of some difficulty for the average pupil. Fortunately, mathematical exactness in imagery is, for most purposes, unnecessary. It can be approximated, in

cases that require it, only by actually measuring off the space to be embraced by the image.

Having formed a general impression of size, the pupil is prepared for an examination of details. With a model or picture before him he may be told merely that he is to endeavor to see all the time, not the model or picture, but the "real thing," and that he is to report what he sees. He is not likely the first time such a task is imposed upon him, whether in the grades or in the high school, to see very much. The first time, and the hundredth time, he is likely to need the stimulus of guiding questions asked by the teacher. But the aim should be so to develop the resourcefulness of the pupil that he may in time himself ask the questions that may profitably be asked of models and pictures.

With clear visualization the primary purpose of models and pictures in the history class is fulfilled. But there are other purposes that may and ought to be served. The sense of reality is important, but reality itself must, after all, be interpreted. It must, to be really useful, leave behind, not only images, but ideas. Models and pictures are aids to visualization; they may also be aids to interpretation. They stimulate imagery; they may also stimulate thought. Observation, analysis, comparison, classification of data, and generalization should and may go hand in hand.

We have before us, let us say, the Hensell model of a Roman house. We note that the scale of construction is one to fifty. We measure the model and express in terms of the school building the dimensions of the magnified image to be formed. We endeavor to hold the magnified image throughout the exercise, and, as we go on, to adjust the various parts of the model to that image. We examine the model as a whole. Does it represent a town or a country house? Probably a town house. What leads us to think so? The projection in front shows a sidewalk and a street paved with stones. The projection on one side shows another street. It seems to be a corner house. We observe the walls. What kind of building material do they represent? There are no windows in the first story. How does the light get in? We look in through the front door. Is the interior well lighted? We observe the roof. What are the materials and how does the roof slope? There are two rectangular openings. We look through one and see a sort of basin set in a mosaic floor. We look through the other and see a garden surrounded by a portico of Doric columns. We take off the roof. What is the general arrangement of the rooms? The interior seems to be divided into two parts. How are they connected?

We continue our examination, with measurements

when necessary, until we have a fairly complete image. We then turn to a comparison with the house in which we ourselves live. Is the Roman house larger or smaller than the house in which we live? Which has the greater number of rooms? How do the rooms in the Roman house compare in size with our own rooms? Which of the two houses has the greater amount of space for rooms? Which of the two is the more suitable for a small city lot? for a large city lot? Why? Which of the two is the more easily heated? the more easily ventilated? Which has the better light? Which is the more attractive to look at on the outside? on the inside? Which seems to offer the greater amount of comfort? The Roman house appears to look in. Does the house in which we live look in or out? The questions are still based on observation. Assuming some knowledge of general conditions, we now pass to questions of another kind. What conditions in Roman life favored the Roman arrangement? Would the kind of house in which we live have been adapted to Roman conditions? Why? Would a house of the Roman type be adapted to conditions in our own community to-day? Why? Do the Romans of to-day build houses of the ancient Roman type? Are there in America such houses?

Exercises of this general character can be made a

feature of history teaching at any stage of the elementary or secondary school. In the lower grades some of the questions would need to be made more concrete and more hints of what to look for would need to be given. But from the beginning ideas can be induced to flow and to find expression. In the high school, instead of starting with the model itself, we may start with the textbook lesson and collateral reading. A chapter like that on the Roman house in Johnston's *Private Life of the Romans* may be assigned. The different parts of the house may then be given their Roman names. The uses to which the different parts were put can be discussed. The range of comparison, judgment, and generalization can be extended. High school pupils can be led to see quite definitely how Roman needs, habits, and ways of looking at the world determined the Roman house, and how the Roman house determined some Roman customs.

The most desirable pictures are, for younger pupils, those that tell a story. The Lehmann wall pictures are preëminently of this type. One of them, for example, represents the interior of a mediæval town. Before us lies a part of the market. We see at once that it is paved. We see also that it is located in an important quarter of the town, for the town hall looks out upon it and it is surrounded by imposing buildings. Near the

town hall is a drinking fountain surmounted by a statue of Roland. In the background rises a cathedral and in the distance a castle. Hints of mediæval life abound — merchants and traders, wagons loaded with goods, armed men on horseback in attendance; citizens of the town jostling strangers; pigs, cows, ducks, geese, and chickens, at large in the narrow, unpaved streets that radiate from the market place. The picture is in a measure self-explanatory and, apart from measurement, can be treated in the manner suggested for the Roman house.

While models and pictures, properly questioned, furnish to a certain extent materials for their own interpretation, most of them require for really effective presentation a considerable range of outside information. For teachers who can read French and German there is an abundance of convenient material. Descriptive pamphlets accompany the Hensell models. A complete and very illuminating guide to the Lehmann pictures is furnished by the commentary prepared by Heymann and Uebel. Standard French and German historical albums are as valuable for their descriptive text as for their pictures. But materials similar in scope and purpose are not as yet available in English. The nearest approach to a substitute is, perhaps, to be found in the Baedeker guidebooks. These, for all the countries

for which they have been issued, contain brief but definite descriptions of the most important places and remains likely to suggest themselves for representation in models and pictures. For additional information the various special treatises devoted to life in the different countries must be consulted.

Often models and pictures, especially the latter, are designed to convey æsthetic impressions as well as information. They are representations of beautiful realities, or beautiful dreams of reality, or at least beautiful dreams. The emphasis is upon the adjective. The great artistic creations of the world, whatever their form, are themselves among the realities which history is called upon to describe. In such cases a feeling for beauty becomes a necessary part of the interpretative process, and the cultivation of a feeling for beauty an end to be striven for. At first this must be largely a matter of letting the feeling grow by what it feeds upon. Children are made acquainted with the appearance of some of the "best things" in art. Forms, proportions, harmony of colors, and composition are left to make such appeal as they can. Experiment has shown that children frequently learn to like the best merely by becoming accustomed to seeing the best. Without conscious analysis they begin early to recognize some of the most striking qualities of artistic expression and to associate

particular qualities with particular artists. They will say of one picture, "That looks like a Raphael," and of another, "That looks like a Botticelli." To have advanced even to this point and to like a picture because it looks like a Raphael or a Botticelli is no small gain. It is, perhaps, as far as the appreciation of artistic achievement need go in the history lesson in the grades, and is, it may be added, farther than it now goes in many high schools. But there may be in the upper grades, and should be in the high school, some conscious analysis, some attempt to advance beyond the pupil's "I like it," or "I don't like it," towards standards of appreciation set up by the cultivated world, some suggestion of the experiences, aspirations, and special modes of expression, of creators of work of supreme excellence.¹

Some persons, places, and objects, associated with world-significant events, some buildings, statues, and paintings, crowned by humanity as highest and best, should be so definitely impressed that subsequent representations of them in models or in pictures may be recognized at once and without labels. Pupils learn readily to know pictures of George Washington, of the Athenian Acropolis, of Westminster Abbey, of the Capitol at Washington, and find pleasure in the knowing.

¹ For illustrations of how this may be done see Caffin, *How to Study Pictures*.

They should be encouraged to extend the list by exercises in identifying pictures without labels. Knowing one view of a building, or one portrait of a person, they may be tested on a different view or a different portrait. Knowing the portrait of a person at the age of sixty, they may be tested on a portrait of the same person at the age of twenty or of ten. A single exercise of the latter kind often changes materially the conception of portraits in general. The tendency, even on the part of some adults, is to see a given historical character at any stage of his development through some one familiar picture. Extending the range of the test, pupils may be asked to find in a collection of unlabeled pictures certain specified persons, or objects, or artistic creations. Going still further, they may be asked without any hints to identify all the pictures in such a collection.

The study of models and pictures should not be confined to isolated examples. The subjects represented are presumably related to other subjects in the lesson. They should also, so far as possible, be related to each other. Models and pictures should, therefore, so far as possible, be grouped for comparative study. They should be used, not merely to convey impressions of individual objects, but to illustrate development.

Models and pictures impose upon their makers severer tests of knowledge than are imposed by verbal description

and, if properly used, leave more definite impressions. The artist who paints royal purple must show what he really conceives royal purple to be. He must commit himself definitely. If his conception is wrong, his error will be at once apparent to those who know royal purple. The writer can describe royal purple as warm or cold, subdued or dazzling, without revealing the fullness either of his knowledge or of his ignorance. It follows, so far as accuracy of representation is an aim in the teaching of history, that models and pictures should be subjected to criticism even more exacting than that applied to the text itself. This condition is frequently not observed. Where the text is itself uncritical, little can be expected of the illustrations. But there are numerous examples of critical texts accompanied by fanciful and wholly incorrect illustrations. Many wall pictures and many collections of lantern slides depict scenes quite out of harmony with facts. Long trains of erroneous associations are thus started, from which escape later is often difficult, and sometimes impossible. Illustrations should be chosen with due regard to this danger. Purely imaginative representations, significant for other reasons than their alléged portrayal of past realities, must frequently be admitted. They are themselves a part of the world's stock of realities. But they should be treated as imaginative representations.

Any step beyond bare exhibition in the use of models and pictures tends at once to limit the number that can be used. The ideal of illustrating everything that admits of illustration is objectionable even as an ideal. In the first place, not everything that admits of illustration needs to be illustrated. In the second place, a constant and indiscriminate procession of models and pictures soon ceases to illustrate. "So many things strike that nothing strikes." For its own sake illustration should be confined within bounds that not only permit, but encourage, the leap to reality.

CHAPTER X

THE USE OF MAPS

MAPS are representations of the whole or of parts of the earth's surface. They indicate location, direction, distance, extent, area, land and water forms. They may indicate innumerable other conditions: elevation, air or ocean currents, routes of travel, areas of political or other control, the quantity and distribution of rainfall, of agricultural and mineral productions and of manufactures, the volume and movement of trade, the number and distribution of communicants of churches, of members of political parties, of votes in an election, of native and foreign-born persons, of illiterates, of schools and colleges, of readers of good books, of frequenters of art museums, of the number or quantity, and distribution, of phenomena of any kind that can be counted or measured, and located.

Historical facts are, as we have seen, localized facts. They belong to particular times and particular places. If these relations are suppressed, the facts simply cease to be historical. The primary purpose of maps is to assist the pupil in grasping the place relation, or, to put

the matter more generally, to assist the pupil in keeping history on the earth. For some purposes mere localization, or localization and some impression of distance, extent, or area, may be sufficient. That Jefferson was in France and not in Philadelphia in 1787 is a fact sufficiently suggestive in its relation to the framing of the Constitution of the United States without visualizing France. That a small island south of the equator would eliminate Napoleon from European politics more effectually than a small island in the Mediterranean can be understood without visualizing either of the islands. Very often, however, the facts demand definite conceptions of actual geographic conditions. The physical background is needed to make the facts real; it is needed also, in many cases, to explain the facts.

The general use to be made of maps in the history lesson may seem too obvious for discussion. For a typical class exercise with a wall map, have, first of all, a pointer with a rubber tip. Place the rubber tip on or near a small black circle and pronounce the word "Paris." Move the rubber tip to and fro over a mass of pale green and pronounce the word "France." Follow an irregular black line and pronounce the word "Seine." Could anything be simpler? Probably not, nor, in many cases, more useless. The pupil very often locates in this way, not Paris, but only a small black circle on the map.

Talk about Paris and he sees the circle. Talk about France and he sees a dash of pale green. Talk about the Seine and he sees an irregular black line. How often does he, assuming that he has not actually been in France, see anything else? One exceptionally intelligent teacher to whom this question was put, after searching his own mind and the minds of his pupils for impressions left by maps, and finding chiefly maps, became so dissatisfied that he proceeded forthwith to banish maps altogether from his classroom and thereafter kept his geographical forms and relations wholly in the air. He was an extremist, but his heart was right. He wanted his pupils to locate and image realities, and he recognized that to keep history on a map may be keeping it on the earth only in the sense that the map itself is necessarily on the earth.

Exercises of the pointing type seem to be based upon one of two general assumptions. Either the map is taken to be a picture, that is, a direct representation of reality, or else the habit of interpreting maps is assumed to have been so firmly established in the geography class that pupils naturally carry it over into the history class. Both of these assumptions are at least debatable. Maps have pictorial features. They do convey direct impressions of some geographical forms. Old-fashioned maps frequently sketch actual objects, trees and animals on the land, and fish in the sea. But even pictures, as we have

seen, require interpretation, and a map is ordinarily in most respects not a picture. It is rather a more or less conventionalized diagram, and its value for historical instruction depends upon the manner in which it is interpreted. That children in this enlightened day learn to read maps in the geography class may be readily granted, but evidence of their ability or inclination to read maps in the history class is often wanting. In the elementary school, with the same teacher commonly in charge both of geography and history, the geography in the history class ought to be at least as good as in the geography class. But this is by no means necessarily the case. An excellent sixth-grade teacher, after discussing the mountains of France in a geography lesson, with the same pupils and with the same physical map of France, discovered in the history lesson that France is a level country and that this condition made the establishment of a centralized monarchy easy and natural.

The simplest questions, and those most frequently asked of maps, relate to mere location. Where in the world is France and where in France are Paris and the Seine? We point to Paris on a map. Does that locate Paris for us? Undoubtedly, provided we have a sense of direction and some conception of the distance of Paris from our own position, provided, that is, we can supplement our pointing at Paris on the map by pointing at

actual Paris and can realize the miles that separate us therefrom. But how many of us are accustomed to meet the conditions of the proviso? For answer let the average reader apply a few simple tests to himself.

Direction and distance from the pupil's own position are both plainly involved in any definite idea of location. It is not enough that he should think the points of the compass in terms of the map, calling the top north and the right east. It is essential that he should feel actual direction. Moreover, the top of the map may or may not be north, the right of the map may or may not be east. Direction is, of course, indicated by parallels and meridians, and when these are represented as curved lines, the top and side idea of direction may easily prove misleading. Pupils should be trained to follow parallels and meridians for direction, but even then, in dealing with large areas, curved lines are often confusing. Direction is grasped most easily when parallels and meridians are shown as straight lines. It is a good plan, therefore, with younger pupils, to have constantly at hand, for use in connection with more special maps, both a Mercator projection of the world and a globe. The procedure is simple. Let the pupil first note on the Mercator his own position. With one pointer placed flat against the map let him connect this position with the place to be located. With another pointer similarly placed let him indicate

the parallel passing through his own position. Thus: A being the pupil's own position and C the place to be located, AC will be the position of the first pointer and AB of the second. Keeping the angle and removing the pointers from the Mercator, it only remains to point AB

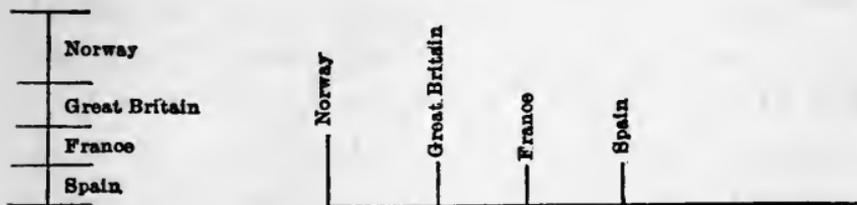
toward the west or toward the east, as the special case may require, with the angle

in a plane parallel to the surface of the earth, to have AC indicate roughly the actual direction of AC . If the distance represented by AC is so great as to require allowance for the curvature of the earth, it may be desirable to lay off AB and AC on a globe. In any event, before proceeding to the details of a special map, the pupil should have a feeling of the direction and some realization of the distance of C from his own position. Places near C can then be located by reference to their direction and distance from C .

The aim of exercises of this kind, it is perhaps needless to state, is not to fix in memory the directions and distances from the pupil's own position of all places and countries mentioned in the history lesson. A few of those to which reference is most frequently made should be thus fixed, but the chief aim is to give the pupil a sense of where he is in history while he is there. Nor should

such exercises be repeated every time a place or country is mentioned. What should be done is to establish the habit of associating real direction and real distance with location.

Other familiar questions asked of maps relate to extent and area. Estimates of these as represented on maps are usually vague. Where the differences are very perceptible pupils recognize, of course, that one coast line is longer or shorter than another coast line, and that the area of one country is greater or less than the area of another country. But relatively few pupils are able to recognize ratios as simple as 1 to 2 or 3 to 4. Still fewer can approximate a 1 to 4, a 5 to 6, or a 7 to 8 ratio. The teacher who doubts this can easily test the matter. The relative extent north and south of Norway, Great Britain, France, and Spain can, for example, be represented by lines in either of the following ways :



Let the line representing the extent of Great Britain be taken as 1. How many will see without actual measurement that Norway will then be approximately $1\frac{1}{2}$, France $\frac{2}{3}$, and Spain $\frac{5}{8}$?

Again the areas of continents can be represented in either of the following ways :



Let Europe be taken as 1. How many will see without actual measurement that Asia will then be approximately $4\frac{1}{2}$, Africa 3, North America 2, South America $1\frac{5}{6}$, and Australia $\frac{5}{6}$?

Where exact comparisons are desired extent should be stated in miles and areas in square miles. Where only rough approximations are desired there should at least be conscious appeals to the scale of miles in estimating extent and to some standard unit of surface in estimating areas. For the American pupil the most obvious unit of surface is the state in which the pupil lives. But if this happens to be Texas, the unit will be too large; if it happens to be Rhode Island, the unit will be too small. In such cases some other state must be chosen. In any event it is necessary to have some unit and to realize the area of the unit. For pupils who have traveled even a little this is not difficult. For others such distances as have been actually experienced must be taken

as the basis. At the very least the area of the community can be grasped. This can be compared with the area of the county, and the latter with the area of the state. The ideal arrangement would then be to have the state represented in every map used, and on the same scale as the rest of the map. Such an arrangement has been adopted, with France as the unit, in a number of the Vidal-Lablache maps. In America, with a state as a unit, there would need to be a set of maps for each state, which is, of course, scarcely practicable. Some of the atlases take one state as a unit and some another; some of them have different states for different maps. The pupil is, therefore, called upon to form conceptions of the areas of such states as happen to be used in the maps placed before him.

At best the relative areas of countries are realized vaguely in looking at ordinary maps in the ordinary way. One ingenious teacher, conscious of this condition and desirous of improving it for the countries of Europe, "made a tracing of the whole continent from the wall map, then he colored each of the countries with a flat wash, next he cut out all the countries and mounted Russia on a sheet of paper that just comfortably received it. After this he got a series of sheets of paper of the exact size used to mount Russia, and pasted on each of them one of the other countries of Europe. The amount of

white margin in the case of small countries like Denmark and Belgium certainly emphasized their relative poverty of area.”¹ A map of the United States cut up in the same way would yield new and interesting impressions of individual states.

A standing source of confusion in comparing maps of different parts of the earth's surface is the use of different scales. The new Century Atlas, for example, allots a double page to Connecticut and Rhode Island, another double page to Switzerland, and another double page to Russia. Wall maps have one scale for Europe and another scale for North America. A uniform map of the world would greatly simplify the entire problem of map interpretation, and such a map is now, by international agreement, actually in course of construction.

Another source of confusion is the use of different map projections. In the familiar Mercator projection, for example, the meridians are represented as parallel straight lines. There is thus a distortion of longitudes away from the equator. At latitude 60 a degree of longitude on the globe is only half the length of a degree of longitude at the equator. On a Mercator projection the mathematical proportions are, however, preserved by distortions of latitude corresponding to distortions of longitude, that is, by representing parallels as farther

¹ Adams, *Exposition and Illustration*, 362.

and farther apart away from the equator. Greenland, measured in degrees on a Mercator, while thus mathematically correct, looks as big as Africa, the actual size of which is equivalent to about twenty Greenlands. The pupil should at least be made conscious that there are different kinds of map projections and that when any considerable part of the earth's surface is represented the relative areas of the same countries, and even their shapes, as seen by the eye, vary somewhat with the kind of projection.¹

Ideas of mere location, of distance, of extent, or of area may be formed without seeing actual rivers, lakes, oceans, cities, or countries, and may, as already suggested, for some purposes be sufficient. Frequently, however, visualization is essential. The material background is needed either to make history real or to explain it.

Children usually learn in the earlier stages of instruction to think of maps in terms of their own actual geographical environment. They are given every opportunity and inducement to apply such experience as they may have acquired through travel. They work at the sand table. They mold geographical forms in clay. They have placed before them models and pictures. Their

¹ For a discussion of map projection see Johnson, *Mathematical Geography*, 190-225.

earlier excursions on a map are likely, therefore, to be sufficiently realistic. But the problem of making maps real seems, in many cases, to drop out of the teacher's consciousness before the habit of reading maps as they are supposed to be read has been firmly established. In the upper grades, so far at least as the history lesson is concerned, the average pupil confronted by a map sees very often a map and nothing more. In the high school there is, as a rule, little or no instruction in geography and the average pupil in dealing with history continues very often to see in a map a map and nothing more. The remedy, where this condition exists, is to appeal anew to the pupil's own geographical environment, to his experience in travel, to models and pictures. Teachers should appreciate that pupils, whether in the grades or in the high school, who have never seen the ocean or a mountain, may wander in outer darkness through accounts of matters as self-explanatory to more favored readers as the search for a harbor or for a mountain pass. Similarly dwellers by the sea or in the mountains may need special assistance in realizing even simple geographical conditions different from those presented by their own environment.

The relation of geographical conditions to human development has in recent times attracted very general attention and is sometimes claimed as a strictly modern

discovery. "Thirty or forty years ago," said Lord Bryce in 1908, "it was practically an untrodden field."¹ Forty years earlier a writer in the *Contemporary Review*, in an account setting forth the relation, looked back another forty years to find the "untrodden" period.² Yet even then the idea was not entirely new. The physical factors in civilization, with special reference to the influence of climate, had been discussed by Montesquieu in his *Spirit of the Laws*, published in 1748. The general field of "geographic influence" had, indeed, with much learning and insight, been covered in the sixteenth century by Bodin. It was even recognized, though only incidentally, by some ancient thinkers, and the father of history was himself not unmindful of it. Its general recognition as a factor to be invoked in the teaching of history is, however, quite modern, and the treatment of it is still far from satisfactory. The usual plan is to describe the physical features of a country and to state in general terms their historical significance by way of introduction to the history of a country, and then to develop the history without any further reference to them. This falls far short of meeting the needs of the situation. The physical features should be brought in

¹ *Report*, Association of History Teachers of the Middle States and Maryland, 1908, p. 7.

² *Contemporary Review*, V, 29-49.

specifically to explain specific conditions and events. They should be woven into the body of the narrative wherever they are needed and not relegated to a bare introduction. There should be, not merely one general physical map, but special detailed physical maps setting forth the special features to be realized in dealing with particular situations as they arise in the course of the narrative.

There are other complications. Maps vary of necessity with the state of geographical knowledge. The ancient Greeks and Romans knew but a small part of the world and could, therefore, represent but a small part of it. The revelation of other parts to their successors came slowly. Great advances were made in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but, even as late as the middle of the nineteenth century, multitudes of facts recorded on maps of to-day were still unknown. Again, many geographical facts are themselves subject to change. Names attached by one people to mountains, rivers, lakes, towns, and countries yield to other names attached by other peoples. Old names migrate to new localities. Boundaries shift with shifting political power. A wilderness becomes inhabited, new towns and new states with new names grow up. Old towns and old states decay and disappear, regions once cultivated and inhabited revert to jungle or to desert. It is, then, a changing

map that is to be interpreted in the history class. The pupil is called upon to realize the physical world, not only as we now suppose it to be, but as men of other generations supposed it to be, to identify in varying kinds of representation and under a variety of names this or that portion of the earth, to associate with this or that name shifting forms and areas, in a word, to view the map itself historically, to take account, that is, not only of geography, but of historical geography.

Past geographical conditions can be represented either as contemporaries supposed them to be or as we now know them to have been. The world of Ptolemy's day, for example, may be set forth either on a Ptolemaic map or on a modern map. Contemporary maps are sometimes important. The plans and hopes of Columbus need for their elucidation map representations of the kind used by Columbus. The grants of territory in America secured from the Crown by English subjects in the seventeenth century need for their elucidation seventeenth century maps. History has been made by maps as well as recorded in maps. In the main, however, the purpose of maps is to represent actual geographic conditions. The route of Columbus, however influenced by fifteenth century maps, lay across an actual ocean and can obviously be traced only on maps that represent the ocean as it is. The sea to sea boundaries of

Virginia, "west and northwest," however influenced by seventeenth century maps, can, as actually applied by Virginians, obviously be traced only on maps that represent physical North America as it really is. Historical geography in school is, for the most part, concerned with changes in actual areas of political or other control and with changes in nomenclature relating thereto. For the most part, therefore, past geographic conditions are represented on modern maps. The outline of physical Europe, for example, wears the same aspect for studies of ancient as for studies of modern Europeans. The differences are in the subdivisions of the map and in the names associated with them. The pupil is made aware that Austria and France were not always on the map of Europe and did not always present the map forms which they present to-day. The actual earth forms thus apportioned and reapportioned remain relatively constant and are represented as constant on the map. The same condition applies to the actual spatial relations of any other historical data included in map representation. The trade routes of antiquity, of the Middle Ages, and of to-day are alike represented on modern maps. For the most part, therefore, the general problems of map interpretation are the same for past as for present geographic conditions.

Thus far in the discussion it has been tacitly assumed

that the maps to be interpreted are ordinary wall maps and maps of the kind found in textbooks and atlases. For most of the geographical questions that arise in the history lesson reference to such ready-made maps, accompanied by proper interpretation, will be sufficient. But there should also be some map construction by the pupil. The mere copying of ready-made maps, accompanied by proper interpretation, deepens impressions of geographic conditions. The reproduction of maps from memory adds still greater definiteness to map interpretation. In either case the pupil may sketch the map in its entirety or may merely fill in details on printed or blackboard outlines.

Reproductions of maps from memory, common under an older régime but rather uncommon now, are not difficult to manage. All of the work can be done during the class period. As a first step the entire class may be sent to the blackboard and told to sketch from the textbook the outline, let us say, of Greece. After ten or fifteen minutes of this kind of work at the beginning of each of two or three recitations a time limit may be set. The class may be told to sketch the outline in five minutes, then in two minutes, then in one minute. As a second step the class may be told to draw as much of the outline as possible from memory and to refer to the textbook only so far as may be necessary. This prac-

tice may be continued until every member of the class can sketch the outline entirely from memory in two minutes or less. As further steps the various details desired may, in the same way, be progressively introduced until every member of the class can sketch the outline and fill in quickly and almost mechanically any details that may be required. Exercises of this kind admit of extension to any country and assure, at an average cost of four or five minutes per day, the kind of knowledge of geographical conditions which all teachers of history believe essential. Incidentally such exercises at the beginning of the recitation prepare for other matters by fixing attention upon the lesson. The monotony which they may at first suggest is relieved by varying from day to day the details to be represented and by the pleasure that comes from a sense of mastery. Similar exercises are of course possible with prepared outline maps.

Some constructive work beyond mere copying or mere reproduction from memory is also desirable. Historical maps should not be left altogether in a realm of mystery and blind faith. Those red or blue or black lines that show so clearly and definitely the wanderings of barbarian tribes in the fifth century, or of European explorers in America in the sixteenth century, should not be taken too seriously. The pupil should have some conscious-

ness of the data from which historical maps are constructed.

A class in the high school may be asked to prepare a map not found in textbooks nor in the ordinary atlases, a map, for example, of the territory set apart for his younger sons by Louis the Pious, in 817. The official declaration was as follows:

“1. We will that Pippin shall have Aquitania and Gascony, and all the March of Toulouse, and moreover four counties; namely, in Septimania Carcassone, and in Burgundy Autun, l’Avalonnais and Nevers.

“2. Likewise we will that Louis shall have Bavaria and Carinthia, and the Bohemians, Avars, and Slavs, who are on the eastern side of Bavaria; and furthermore, two demesne towns to do service to him, in the county of Nortgau, Lauterburg and Ingolstadt.”¹

The problem here is merely to locate the areas designated by the names and mark them off in an appropriate manner on an outline map or on a sketch made by the pupil. The larger divisions are easily found in an atlas like Shepherd’s. The search for the counties and towns will raise questions that illustrate in a simple way one kind of difficulty encountered by map makers.

A sixth or seventh grade working with the teacher, or a

¹ Henderson, *Historical Documents of the Middle Ages*, 203.

senior class in the high school working independently, may be asked to trace the route of Columbus across the Atlantic in 1492, as recorded in his *Journal*.¹ In the following summary of the data thus supplied the numbers after the dates indicate the distance in leagues and the letters the points of the compass. c 3 Miles?

August 3.—15. S.; “afterwards S.W. and W.S.W., which was the course for the Canaries.”

4.— “They steered S.W. $\frac{1}{4}$ S.” (Distance not recorded.)

5.—40. (Direction not recorded.)

6.—29. (Direction not recorded.)

7.—25. “On a course for the island of Lanzarote, one of the Canaries.”

8 to September 2.—(Direction and distance not recorded. *Pinta* repaired at Canaries.)
“The Admiral reached Gomera on Sunday the 2nd of September, with the *Pinta* repaired.”

September 6.—“He departed on that day from the port of Gomera in the morning, and shaped a course to go on his voyage. . . . There was a calm all that day and night, and in the morning he found himself between Gomera and Tenerif^o.”

7.— “The calm continued. . . .”

8.—9. W.

¹ The text and a map of the “four voyages of Columbus” may be found in *The Northmen, Columbus, and Cabot, Original Narratives of Early American History*, Scribner’s.

- 9.—49. "The sailors steered badly, letting the ship fall off to N.E."
- 10.—60. (Direction not recorded.)
- 11.—40. W.
- 12.—33. "Steering their course."
- 13.—33. W.
- 14.—20. W.
- 15.—27. W.
- 16.—39. W.
- 17.—50. W.
- 18.—55. (Direction not recorded.)
- 19.—25. "The Admiral continued on his course. . . ."
- 20.—7 or 8. "He sailed this day toward the West a quarter northwest . . . because of the veering winds and calm that prevailed."
- 21.—13. (Direction not recorded.)
- 22.—30. W.N.W.
- 23.—22. N.W.
- 24.—14. W.
- 25.—4. W., then 17. S.W.
- 26.—31. W., "until afternoon"; then S.W., "until he made out that what had been said to be land was only clouds."
- 27.—24. W.
- 28.—14. W.
- 29.—24. W.
- 30.—14. W.
- October 1.—25. W.
- 2.—39. W.
- 3.—47. W.
- 4.—63. W.
- 5.—57. "The Admiral steered his course."

6. — 40. W.
7. — 23. W., then 5. W.S.W.
8. — 12. W.S.W.
9. — 5. S.W., then 4. W. by N. "Altogether in day and night, they made 11 leagues by day and 20½ leagues by night."
10. — 59. W.S.W.
11. — 27. W.S.W., then 22. "At two hours after midnight the land was sighted at a distance of two leagues."¹

The problem here is to note the distance and direction of each day's sailing and lay off to scale the entire course from August 3 to the morning of October 12. For effective blackboard work there should be about 8 feet of space. One inch may then be taken to represent 12 leagues. The pupils should have their textbook maps of the voyage before them, and also a ready-made wall map or chart of the voyage. Where the text of the *Journal* is accessible, the chief incidents of the voyage may be located and added to the blackboard sketch at the points at which they are recorded.

Such an exercise will illustrate another kind of difficulty in the making of historical maps. The pupil will see that the usual map representation of the route does not follow exactly the record in the *Journal* and that the gaps in the record seem to have been bridged

¹ *The Northmen, Columbus, and Cabot, Original Narratives*, 91-110.

by inference. Both conditions will suggest questions and comments, and the result of the exercise should be a more intelligent view of the map of the great voyage.

Again, a seventh grade working with the teacher, or a senior class in the high school working independently, may be asked to prepare a map of the territory granted to the London and Plymouth Companies by the charter of 1606. For a seventh grade the essential portions of the charter should be read to the class very slowly and discussed step by step.

JAMES, by the grace of God, King of *England, Scotland, France and Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, etc. WHEREAS our loving and well disposed Subjects [eight mentioned by name], and divers others of our loving Subjects, have been humble Suitors unto us, that We would vouchsafe unto them our Licence, to make Habitation, Plantation, and to deduce a colony of sundry of our People into that part of *America* commonly called VIRGINIA, and other parts and Territories in *America*, either appertaining unto us, or which are not now actually possessed by any *Christian* Prince or People, situate, lying, and being all along the Sea Coasts, between four and thirty Degrees of *Northerly* Latitude from the Equinoctial Line; and five and forty Degrees of the same Latitude, and in the main Land between the same four and thirty and five and forty Degrees, and the Islands thereunto adjacent, or within one hundred Miles of the Coast thereof;

What was "that part of America commonly called Virginia"? Recall the origin of the name. What was

the grant to Raleigh? His charter, granted by Elizabeth in 1584, gave him "free libertie and licence from time to time, and at all times forever hereafter; to discover, search, finde out, and view such remote, heathen, and barbarous lands, countries, and territories, not actually possessed by any Christian Prince, nor inhabited by Christian People, as to him . . . shall seem good, and the same to have, holde, occupie and enjoy. . . ." How did Raleigh know that this meant America? What lands were "viewed" for him or by him? What lands were occupied? These questions will bring out the vagueness from which Virginia is now about to emerge. Returning to the extract from the charter of 1606, what lands were at that time possessed by Christian princes or peoples? What is meant by "Equinoctial Line"? Find "four and thirty Degrees of Northerly latitude" on the sea coast; "five and forty degrees." Draw lines on the blackboard to represent the parallels of 34° and 45° . Mark the points where the sea coast would be. Sketch the general trend of the coast line between these parallels. Draw a line at sea one hundred miles from the coast.¹ How much of the land can thus far be definitely located? The preamble continues:

¹Time is saved when the teacher makes the blackboard sketch. But, the exercise is more effective when the drawing is done by the class.

And to that End, and for the more speedy Accomplishment of their said intended Plantation and Habitation there, are desirous to divide themselves into two several Colonies and Companies, the one consisting of certain Knights, Gentlemen, Merchants, and other Adventurers, of our City of *London* and elsewhere, which are, and from time to time shall be, joined unto them. . . . And the other consisting of sundry Knights, Gentlemen, Merchants, and other Adventurers, of our Cities of *Bristol* and *Exeter*, and of our town of *Plimouth*, and of other places, which do join themselves unto that Colony. . . .

Ask some pupil to describe in his own words the arrangement here proposed. Why were two "Colonies and Companies" desired? The word "Adventurers" is used in a sense unlikely to be familiar to children. Have a member of the class find it in the dictionary and explain it. A few other words may need similar treatment. Before passing to the next paragraph go back to "James, by the Grace of God, King," and read the entire preamble as cited. Ask the class for a summary. Then read:

"We greatly commending, and graciously accepting of, their Desires . . . do, therefore. . . . GRANT and agree, that the said . . . Adventurers of and for our City of *London*, and all such others, as are, or shall be, joined unto them of that Colony, shall be called the *first Colony*; And they shall and may begin their said first Plantation and Habitation, at any Place upon the said Coast of *Virginia* or *America*, where they shall think fit and convenient, between the said four and thirty and one and forty Degrees of the said Latitude. . . ."

Has any land thus far been granted? What is granted? Be sure that this is clear. Add to the blackboard sketch a line to represent the parallel of 41° .

And we do likewise . . . GRANT and agree, that . . . [the others] of the town of *Plimouth* . . . or elsewhere . . . shall be called the *second Colony*; And that they shall, and may begin their said Plantation and Habitation, at any Place upon the said coast of *Virginia* and *America*, where they shall think fit and convenient, between eight and thirty Degrees of the said Latitude, and five and forty Degrees of the same Latitude. . . .

Is any land here granted to the "second Colony?" What is granted? Be sure that this is clear. Add to the blackboard sketch a line to represent the parallel of 38° . The class will now be prepared to understand the further specifications of the charter. The provision for each of the two colonies was:

. . . They shall have all the Lands, Woods, Soil, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Mines, Minerals, Marshes, Waters, Fishings, Commodities, and Hereditaments, whatsoever, from the said first Seat of their Plantation and Habitation by the Space of fifty Miles of *English* Statute Measure, all along the said Coast of *Virginia* and *America*, towards the *West* and *Southwest*, as the Coast lyeth, with all the Islands within one hundred Miles directly over against the same Sea Coast; And also all the Lands, Soil, [etc.] . . . from the said Place of their first Plantation and Habitation for the space of fifty like *English* Miles, all alongst the said Coasts of *Virginia* and *America*, towards the *East* and *Northeast*, or towards the *North*, as the Coast lyeth, together with all the Islands within

one hundred Miles, directly over against the said Sea Coast; And also all the Lands, Woods, [etc.] . . . from the same fifty Miles every way on the Sea Coast, directly into the main Land by the Space of one hundred like *English* Miles.¹

Provided always, and our Will and Pleasure herein is, that the Plantation and Habitation of such of the said Colonies, as shall last plant themselves, as aforesaid, shall not be made within one hundred like *English* Miles of the other of them, that first began to make their Plantation, as aforesaid.²

Where was the first "Plantation" of the first colony? Block out on the blackboard its land grant. Where was the first "Plantation" of the second colony? Block out its land grant. Suppose the first colony had first settled in latitude 39° , could the second colony have settled in latitude 40° ? in latitude 38° ? Why? What does the textbook mean by the London and Plymouth Companies? The study may conclude with a comparison between the blackboard sketch and the map in the textbook or with the wall map. In either case glaring discrepancies are likely to appear, for there are few topics in colonial history that have been treated more carelessly than the boundary provisions of the charter of 1606.

With a senior class in the high school the material

¹ This is the description of the grant to the first colony. It is repeated with slight changes in phraseology for the second colony.

² Poore, *Charters and Constitutions*, Part II, 1888-1890.

may be placed in the hands of the pupils to be worked out without the guiding questions of the teacher.¹

¹The materials for studies of this type in American history are abundant and easily secured. See *American History Leaflets*, Nos. 6, 16, 22, and 32. See also Gannett, *Boundaries of the United States*, Bulletin No. 226, United States Geological Survey. Gannett supplies materials for studies relating to the boundaries of the United States as a whole and also to the boundaries of each of the states. The bulletin can be purchased for thirty cents from the Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D.C.

CHAPTER XI

TEXTBOOKS IN HISTORY

FROM the point of view of American conditions the most important aid in the teaching of history is the textbook. It is, indeed, more than an aid. In the majority of American schools it determines the facts to be taught and the manner of teaching them. A teacher called upon to instruct any grade above the third is almost certain to demand a textbook for use by the children. From this point on to the end of the high school course the study of history, in most of our schools, means at bottom the preparation of textbook lessons, and the teaching of history means at bottom the discussion of textbook lessons. In Europe the textbook is less important. Historical instruction in the elementary school is almost entirely oral, and even in the secondary school formal textbook lessons are comparatively rare.

Textbooks have sometimes shaped and sometimes followed the ideas of makers of history programs. In either aspect their history is so closely related to programs in history that the general character of the facts provided by textbooks can be read in the general char-

acter of the programs. All of the theories of history examined in earlier chapters of the present work have produced their crops of textbooks. Facts and arrangements of facts have, therefore, varied widely. The teacher in search of a textbook will naturally be guided, in the first instance, by the theory that seems to him most conclusive. Beyond this there is, however, a useful classification based upon the degree of fulness with which facts are treated. Three general types are distinguishable:

1. Books that aim to present a bare skeleton or framework of facts, sometimes little more than an outline or syllabus. They are called in Germany *Leitfaden* and in France *précis*.

2. Books that develop the outline into a fuller reading story, and yet frankly leave room for further development. They may conveniently be designated by the French term *manuels*.

3. Books that aim to be self-sufficient, to treat each topic so fully as to make it intelligible without further development. They may conveniently be designated by the French term *cours*.¹

Each type of textbook is to be judged by the purpose for which it is intended. It is scarcely fair to complain of a book frankly designed to be a *manuel*, that it is too condensed and too dry and that teachers who use it must supplement the material either by oral instruction or by collateral reading. Nor is it fair to complain of a

¹ For the use of these terms in France, see *L'Enseignement Secondaire*, February 15, 1909, p. 63.

book frankly designed to be a *cours*, that it is too full of details, that it leaves little for the teacher to do except to hear lessons, and that it weakens the incentive to collateral reading. These are considerations to be decided before the textbook is selected. In the United States, however, relatively few writers appear to have been definitely conscious of such differences in treatment. Most of our books are of the *manuel* type. Writers of some of them have consciously aimed to leave something for the teacher to do in the way of expounding the book and of adding outside readings. But so many have been guided by the belief that brevity is synonymous with simplicity, and so many teachers share this belief, that our textbooks must in general be viewed primarily as instruments for lesson-getting and lesson-reciting.

Textbooks for the intermediate grades often do achieve both brevity and simplicity. But in such cases the writer usually feels relieved of any responsibility for a complete story, or even for a continuous story. Simplicity is secured by the elimination of topics that cannot in brief space be treated concretely. The stories actually included are, for the most part, stories that cannot be told at all without being told concretely. Such classics as the story of Captain John Smith and Pocahontas and the story of George Washington and his hatchet are reasonably safe in the hands of any

writer likely to obtain a hearing from publishers of books for children or in the hands of any teacher likely to be tolerated in the schoolroom.

The teaching of history in the upper grades presents conditions much more difficult to meet. Here the subject is usually American history, and tradition demands of the textbook writer the whole story. Furthermore, tradition limits the size of the textbook. Not only must the whole story be told; it must be told in some four hundred odd pages. The usual mode of meeting the condition is to enlarge on topics that are inherently simple and interesting, and to simplify others by not saying much about them. A story like that of the Pilgrims and the settlement of Plymouth may thus occupy three or four pages, and may even descend to details. A story like that of the founding of the Massachusetts Bay Colony may be reduced to a short paragraph of generalities. The net result for the average book is that it is only in part intelligible.

In a grammar school book by a competent and distinguished historian New England is introduced as follows :

The Puritans. — The New England colonies were founded by English Puritans who left England because they could not do as they wished in the home land. All Puritans were agreed in wishing for a freer government than they had in England under the Stuart kings and in state matters were really the Liberals of their

time. In religious matters, however, they were not all of one mind. Some of them wished to make only a few changes in the Church. These were called Non-Conformists. Others wished to make so many changes in religion that they could not stay in the English State Church. These were called Separatists. The settlers of Plymouth were Separatists; the settlers of Boston and neighboring towns were Non-Conformists.

The pupils are thus prepared for the story of the Pilgrims to which the author devotes about three and one-half pages. His next topic is "The Founding of Massachusetts, 1629-1630." Of this he writes:

Unlike the poor and humble Pilgrims were the founders of Massachusetts. They were men of wealth and social position, as, for instance, John Winthrop and Sir Richard Saltonstall. They left comfortable homes in England to found a Puritan state in America. They got a great tract of land extending from the Merrimac to the Charles, and westward across the continent. Hundreds of colonists came over in the years 1629-1630. They settled Boston, Salem, and neighboring towns. In the next ten years thousands more joined them. From the beginning Massachusetts was strong and prosperous. Among so many people there were some who did not get on happily with the rulers of the colony.

The words are simple. Children even in a sixth grade can read them and give them back in the class recitation. The routine teacher, content to rest the matter there, will get the impression that the book is admirable, and perhaps write a testimonial for the publishers. The teacher accustomed "thoroughly to ex-

pound the text" may find it a convenient summary. Teachers of the latter type are, however, in the minority. Routine results will be those most in evidence. Thoughtful observers, perceiving these, will ask if the children see or feel anything except words. Do they see any Puritans? Do they see anything that the Puritans might change or any reason for changing it? Do they see anything that happened in America? What are Stuart kings and liberals in state matters to those who never heard of either before? What are comfortable homes, wealth, and social position? One thing to children in the crowded tenements of lower New York, another thing to children in the mansions on Fifth Avenue, and still another to children at the cross-roads where "comfortable board and lodging" may be had for eight dollars per month. But what do the words actually tell about the circumstances of the Puritans? What is gained in the narrative by naming John Winthrop and Sir Richard Saltonstall, when nothing further is said about either of them? Is it a distinguishing characteristic of Puritans that they "left England because they could not do as they wished in the home land?" or that "in religious matters they were not all of one mind?" or that "among so many people there were some who did not get on happily with the rulers of the colony?" Do these statements, individually or collec-

tively, differentiate the Puritans from people who are leaving even the United States to-day because they cannot do as they wish, who in religious matters are not all of the same mind, and who do not get on with the rulers, here or elsewhere?

In a grammar school book by a well-known "popularizer" of American history we read:

✓ The Puritans. — Bitter religious persecution prevailed in England at that time. Many thought the Church of England so corrupt that they withdrew from it. They were called Separatists or Independents, while those who aimed at reform within the church were called Puritans.

The story of the Pilgrims is then told in about four pages. This brings the author to the Massachusetts Bay Colony.

The Massachusetts Bay Colony was formed of Puritans, some of them wealthy, and all of high character. They made a settlement in 1628 near Salem. Boston was founded two years later by Governor Winthrop, and between the years 1630 and 1640 twenty thousand people settled in Massachusetts. The various colonies scattered throughout the province all seemed to be on the road to prosperity.

Even professional educators have been known to attack the situation without improving it. A superintendent of city schools, who evidently felt the need of a little more background in the treatment of Puritans and Separatists, has inserted between a six-line para-

graph, headed, "The Plymouth Company," and a fifteen-line paragraph, headed, "What is a Puritan? a Separatist? a Pilgrim?" — the following:

Religious Awakening of the Sixteenth Century. — If the times are propitious, any reform, as it proceeds, gathers strength from causes without, as well as within, itself. Luther's protest in 1517 became a great religious awakening, and in time changed the established lines of religious thought. Its success was enhanced by the fact that an awakening was also in progress in educational, scientific, and all other lines of thought. In England the movement resulted in the establishment of the Church of England, whose ritual retained much of the formal method of worship used by the Catholic Church.

The old-fashioned general history for the high school was constructed under similar limitations. An author was allowed one hundred fifty or two hundred more pages, but this expansion was scarcely proportionate to the expansion of the subject. With the same dread of leaving something out, there would of necessity be less chance in a general history than in a history of the United States of finding space for something to be put in. The introduction of the "block" system of the Committee of Seven relieved the condition in part and made a fuller treatment possible. Paragraphs were extended to pages, pages were extended to chapters. There are now in each of the four fields marked out by the Committee of Seven books that approach the *cours* type. The (X)

feeling of responsibility for all the facts consecrated by school tradition is, however, still in evidence. Much has been added, but comparatively little has been eliminated. Some books on ancient history and some on mediæval and modern history are almost as summary in treatment as the older books on general history. There are still both writers and teachers who seem to estimate the difficulty of a topic by the amount of reading matter apportioned to it, and who would, therefore, favor a summary treatment even if other conditions did not make it appear inevitable.

A textbook, whatever its scope and whatever the stage of instruction for which it is intended, should at least aim at definiteness and some degree of concreteness. Because a book is brief it does not follow that it must be vague. Definiteness and concreteness are attainable without adding greatly to the number of words. It is possible in any case to mix a few particulars with the necessary generalities, to seek specific rather than resounding adjectives, to add to superlatives and figures of speech some measurable data for comparison.

Under the topic, "Periods of Egyptian History," in a book intended for the first year of the high school, and highly commended for the purpose by many teachers, we read:

During the time of the old empire the most important dynasty was the fourth, when the great pyramids and the sphinx were built at Gizeh, and the vast necropolis, or rock cemetery, was laid out at Sakkarah, near Memphis.

Five pages farther on we meet the topic, "Egyptian Architecture and Monuments."

The religious spirit of the Egyptians was strongly impressed upon their architecture, which consisted mainly of tombs and temples. The buildings for the dead are seen in the rock-sepulchers cut in the sides of the hills which flanked the Nile — for example, the extensive necropolis at Sakkarah (near Memphis). Separate monumental tombs took the form of pyramids, and reached the most gigantic proportions at Gizeh. In these artificial mountains of stone rested the remains of kings.

"Vast necropolis," "gigantic proportions," and "artificial mountains of stone" — these are good phrases, but do they achieve definiteness? For answer let us turn to a treatment of the same subject in a book for beginners in the study of ancient history in the French *lycée*.

The Egyptian kings took pride in building enormous monuments, especially temples for the gods and tombs for themselves. For three thousand years men went on building in Egypt tombs and temples. Many are still standing and excite the wonder of travelers.

The oldest and most celebrated of these monuments are three famous pyramids which are the tombs of three kings.

They stand in lower Egypt (some leagues from Cairo), upon a plateau which served as a cemetery, for it is everywhere strewn with monuments and little pyramids, each of which is a tomb.

These pyramids seem at first to be only enormous masses of stone, no opening is visible. They were once encased in blocks of polished stone, so smooth that they could not be scaled, and so well fitted together that a hair could not have been inserted between any two blocks. But when this covering was pierced a series of small chambers, united by narrow galleries, was disclosed. It was in one of these chambers that the king was buried. The coffin of one of the kings was found; the coffins of two other kings had disappeared, — the tombs had been violated. It was to avoid profanations of this kind that the builders had so carefully concealed the entrance to the vaults.

The fine polished stones which formed the covering of the pyramids have been torn away and the masonry has been exposed to view. The great pyramid has thus been reduced in height more than seven meters. It now measures not more than 137 meters instead of its former 144; it is still one of the highest monuments in the world.

Not far from the pyramids, an enormous head of stone lifts its form from the sand. It is the Sphinx, image of the god Harmakhis, who represented the rising sun. The rest of the body is to-day buried in the sand, but excavation has revealed its form. It is the body of a crouching lion cut in the rock. The monument is 19 meters high, that is, the height of a five-story building; the ear measures a meter.¹

The test of definiteness and concreteness is, under American conditions, the first step to be taken in the examination of a textbook, and the most important, for it determines in general the answer to the ever present question, "Does the book lend itself to lesson-

¹ Seignobos, *L'Antiquité*, 16-17.

getting?" There are, however, other important questions to be asked. Is the book accurate? What is its special point of view? What is the character of the pictures, maps, and other aids to visualization? Are the references for collateral reading suitable? Are the questions, outlines, digests, and other pedagogical aids, if it contains any, helpful? Is there a good table of contents? Is there a full index? Does it offer a good model of English? Is it interesting?

The initial test of accuracy is the author. Who is he and what has he done? Under an earlier régime almost anybody who could write at all could write a textbook on almost any subject. A single author might, without apology to the proprietors, place to his credit textbooks in half a dozen different fields and then, perhaps, round out his career by compiling a dictionary. So far as history is concerned, authors without historical training may still venture to make contributions, but among their competitors are now to be found professional students of history, and amateur effort is now largely confined to the elementary field. Most of the recent high school books in history have come from the hands of experts. This raises a presumption of accuracy. It should be remembered, however, that the professional student is usually a specialist. He has his period or his subject. When he assumes responsibility for the

✓ larger field of a textbook, he is forced to become, in part, a compiler and must be judged, to some extent, as a compiler. It was a distinguished historian out of his field who, in the first edition of a well-known textbook in American history, transposed the political platforms of the Davis and Douglas democrats of 1860. It was another distinguished historian out of his field who, in another well-known textbook in American history, confused the Reconstruction Act of 1867 with quite a different measure. Fortunately for the teacher, textbooks by experts are usually reviewed by experts, and palpable errors are likely to be pointed out. But there should be some independent tests by the teacher.

An author's point of view is sometimes set forth clearly in his preface or introduction and sometimes left to be inferred from the kinds of facts selected, from the manner in which they are interpreted, and the distribution of emphasis. Books produced in different countries differ widely in point of view. A national bias is often boldly proclaimed. Indeed, comparisons between textbooks of different countries yield at times

δ almost startling illustrations of the subjectivity of history. There is apparently one Europe for the Austrian textbook, one for the Prussian, one for the French, and one for the American, each with its own peculiar hues. Taking the United States alone, we get per-

ceptibly different pictures of certain conditions and events in passing from a book by a New Englander to a book by a Pennsylvanian and then on to a book by a Virginian. A teacher should at least notice differences in point of view as expressed in the general proportions of a book. Is it an ancient history? How much space is devoted to the Peloponnesian War? to the post-Alexandrian period? to social conditions? to art questions? Does the author enlarge on the period of the Roman Republic or on the period of the Empire? Pages alone, of course, do not necessarily indicate the relative importance attached to topics. From a recent study of the fame of Euripides as compared with the fame of Sophocles, it appears that Euripides gets the greater space in the histories, but Sophocles gets the adjectives and is therefore judged the more famous. A textbook writer may show his emphasis by his adjectives. Pages are none the less a rough test. A teacher desiring to enlarge on the nineteenth century will scarcely select a textbook on mediæval and modern European history which devotes five-sixths of its space to the period before the French Revolution. A teacher who thinks the thousand years before the nineteenth century important will scarcely select a textbook half of which is devoted to the nineteenth century. Of two books equal in other respects teachers will, in view of present

emphasis, naturally give preference to the book which offers the more adequate treatment of industrial and social conditions.

Pictures, maps, and other visual aids suggest their own special questions. What is the principle of selection? Is there a definite relation between the text and the illustrations? Are the latter clear and well printed? Does the author indicate the sources of his maps and pictures? Are the maps accurate? Do the pictures represent realities or fanciful conceptions of reality? Purely imaginative illustration is still common in elementary books and is not wholly absent from high school books. Maps are still often bad. Some of them contain too much detail, some of them are not clear, some of them are quite inaccurate. It would be a decided gain if all authors could be prevailed upon to indicate the sources of their pictures and maps. This would in itself be likely to invite more careful selection and greater attention to details. In the absence of such information it is often difficult for a teacher to estimate the historical value of the illustrative materials in a book.

American textbooks, almost without exception, now contain references for collateral reading. The teacher will naturally examine their general character and arrangement. Are the references general or specific? Do they indicate titles only or chapters and pages?

Are they classified? Is the pupil made conscious of the kind of material to which he is referred? Are there references to other textbooks? to historical novels and poems? Are the works mentioned likely to be in an average library? A textbook is not always the safe guide to collateral reading that it ought to be. Often the only test applied seems to be that of relevance to the subject under discussion.

The average table of contents contains merely titles of chapters. Some authors, however, include a complete analysis of the book. Some indexes are perfunctory, indefinite, and incomplete. Others are full and specific. To teachers who make no use of either tables of contents or indexes, these are considerations of no special significance. To others they suggest pertinent tests.

The pedagogical aids, when present, are sometimes helpful and sometimes a sheer waste of space. They are sometimes so bad that pupils must be warned not to use them. The tests to be applied will depend upon the type of lesson which the teacher proposes to assign and the type of recitation to be followed.

Textbooks, as a rule, lack literary distinction. They cannot seriously claim to be works of literature. We have a right to demand grammatical English, clearness and definiteness of statement, and a connected story. We have also a right to demand that a book shall be

interesting. It is well, however, to analyze the nature of the interest. One way to make a book interesting is to parade the personal opinions of the author. If he praises and blames somewhat extravagantly, if he speculates somewhat daringly on what might have happened if something else had not happened, if he adopts now and then a flippant tone, if he makes of historical characters his personal friends and enemies, he is almost certain to be entertaining to young readers. Another way to make a book interesting is to enlarge on sensational episodes, to introduce backstairs gossip, to quote from speeches and state papers what is spicy rather than what is important. Interest may be attained at too great a cost. A book to be eminently respectable need not be eminently dull, but no eminently respectable work of textbook scope can at all points be interesting to all readers.

CHAPTER XII

THE USE OF TEXTBOOKS

HISTORICAL instruction in the lowest grades of the elementary school is necessarily oral. The teacher either reads or tells the story or develops it by a combination of reading or telling and questioning. As soon, however, as children are themselves able to read, the tendency in the United States is to pass from oral to book instruction. In schools that have history throughout the eight years of the elementary course there is usually a transition period during which history stories are treated simply as reading material. This period varies in length. The assignment of lessons for formal study and recitation may begin as early as the fourth grade. It may be deferred until the sixth or seventh grade. In schools that defer historical instruction of any kind until the sixth or seventh grade the instruction is commonly from the very beginning textbook instruction. Throughout the high school, textbook lessons are almost everywhere the rule. How to use a textbook is, therefore, to most teachers, the fundamental problem of historical instruction, and, to many of them, there is reason to fear, the whole problem.

The learning and reciting of textbook lessons is often called in Europe the American method of teaching history. Textbooks are as common and of as many varieties in Europe as in the United States, and have from the beginning had a place in school instruction in history. The facts which they contain are more thoroughly learned in Europe than in the United States. But formal textbook lessons are usually neither assigned nor recited. The instruction, regardless of the nature of the textbook, is in general oral. In the lower classes the teacher talks and questions. The pupils, as soon as they are able, take notes. The general method employed is sometimes the developmental and sometimes the purely inforatory. In the first case the teacher supplies fundamental data and then, by a course of questioning, leads the pupils to make comparisons with other known data, to draw inferences, and to build up such new facts as the data may warrant. The lesson is coöperative. This method has been applied most conspicuously in Germany. In the second case the teacher does practically all of the building and the aim of the questioning is, in the main, to make sure that the pupils are following and understanding the facts. This method has been applied most conspicuously in France. In either case pupils understand in a general way that the textbook is useful as an aid in keeping

their bearings, and that their textbook readings are to follow class discussions. Here and there the textbook plays a more prominent part. Here and there lessons are definitely assigned and recited. But the practice is viewed with disfavor by the majority of European teachers. In Belgium it has been pronounced the worst of pedagogical heresies.¹ Even the French, who have carried the principle of making the textbook self-explanatory farther than any other people, maintain in general the tradition of oral instruction.

3 In the upper classes the teacher talks more and questions less. Sometimes he talks and does not question at all. This is true at times even in the lower classes. Oral instruction thus reverts to its ancestral type, the lecture system, at one time widely prevalent in all grades of historical instruction. In France, for example, before the adoption of the program of 1902, it was rare, above the lowest lycée classes, to hear a pupil's voice in the classroom. The teacher talked during the entire class period; the pupils took notes and afterward read the textbook. While the present regulations forbid formal lecturing and direct the teacher to question his classes, there are still those long in the service who find it difficult to change established habits, and who go on lecturing in the old way. The younger teachers

¹ *Ministère de l'Intérieur et de l'Instruction publique, 1905, p. 16.*

are, however, thoroughly imbued with the new spirit and yield to the lecture temptation no oftener than teachers in other countries. 5

The European method of oral instruction, with whatever may be left of the lecture system, makes the place of the textbook entirely clear. The textbook is not the starting point. If of the *précis* type, it is merely a summary of facts after they have been more fully presented or developed by the teacher. If of the *cours* type, it may be an elaboration of facts already presented or developed by the teacher. When later the pupil is questioned in class, he is questioned, as a rule, on the facts and not on the textbook. The teacher teaches; the textbook summarizes or elaborates, refreshes the memory, fixes names and dates, and in general helps the pupil to keep his bearings. 4

To the old-fashioned teacher of American tradition the place of the textbook was equally clear. His duty as a teacher began with the assignment of a certain number of paragraphs or pages and ended with the "hearing" of the lesson. "After the battle the king went — John, you may go on." After John had gone on for some minutes he was relieved by "next," who in his turn was relieved by "next," and so on to the end of the lesson. The ideal was to reproduce the exact words of the textbook, and it was at first mainly as a concession 5

to weaklings that the pupil was allowed to sum up in his own words the substance. The concession was, however, made and in time proved fatal to the system. First came the discovery that the pupil who could gather up the facts of the textbook and set them forth in his own words deserved more credit than his competitor of facile verbal memory, and then the discovery that questions, at first also regarded in part as a concession to weaklings, might stimulate useful comparisons and inferences. The memoriter system did not entirely pass away. It is even yet neither wholly extinct nor wholly without respectable defenders. Among its beneficiaries are some now in the evening of life and some just out of college who are ready to testify that the history which has remained with them, the history which they have drawn upon when they have thought of history at all, has been the history in the textbook committed to memory in some fitting school and not the history which they afterward studied in college. Such results are not altogether bad and, to the extent that they have ceased to be attained under other systems, one can sympathize with those sturdy opponents of change who saw in each new step a lowering of the standards of instruction. The worst that can be said of the memoriter system is in some respects not worse than the worst that can be said of some other systems. If in the one

case the pupil learns "nothing but facts," except that incidentally he learns also very often to hate history, in other cases he may learn not even "facts" and still learn incidentally to hate history. But changes were inevitable, partly because with the spread of historical instruction the number of weaklings unable to memorize increased alarmingly, and partly because the judicious, as soon as they began to ask the meaning of study, saw in the operation of the old system no necessary analysis of the textbook, no opportunity for exercises in the selection and organization of material, and, often, no need of even understanding the book.

The textbook viewed as material for something more than memorizing presents a more complicated problem. The use to be made of it depends first of all upon the kind of textbook. Is it of the *précis* type? Then surely no teacher ought to think of assigning lessons in advance and of spending the time in class having the lesson recited. If such a book is to be studied at all, each new lesson should either be worked over by the teacher at the time of making the assignment or be filled out by required readings in other books. Below the seventh grade the ability of the average pupil to comprehend is so far in advance of his ability to read that the necessary details are most economically and most effectively supplied by the teacher. The text-

book may be read with the class and treated as a guiding thread in the unfolding of a fuller story, or it may be brought in only at the close of the story, and treated as a summary. In either case the pupil's own study of the textbook should follow, and not precede, the fuller story. After the story has been developed, after the children have repeated it, after they know what it is all about, they may be sent to the textbook, as in Europe, to find out where they are in the general scheme of things, to fix names and dates, to see how one topic is related to another, and to obtain further hints of what they ought to remember. Beginning with the seventh grade required readings outside of the text may to an ever increasing extent be substituted for contributions by the teacher, and the pupil may be left, more and more, to his own devices in passing from the textbook outline to the fuller account and back again to the textbook. "The Puritans left England because they could not do as they wished in the home land." This tells the pupil practically nothing. It does perhaps suggest that he ought to know what it was the Puritans wished to do in the home land and could not do. In any event, after he has found out what they wished to do, the statement tells him so much that it may be worth remembering. The textbook as a whole may on this principle be worth remembering. But the textbook is not the lesson.

It is only a guide to a larger fund of knowledge and a summary of such knowledge after it has been acquired.

The bare summary type of textbook, taken for what it is, has certain advantages. In the lower grades the supplementary oral instruction needed to make the book intelligible may raise the level of the history course. One reason why American estimates of the ability of children to cope with history are lower than similar European estimates is the American habit of translating history so largely into the reading vocabulary of children. In the upper grades, and in the high school, the summary leaves more time for collateral reading than a fuller textbook. There are teachers who turn these advantages to excellent account and who would feel themselves hampered by a fuller textbook treatment. But there are others to whom a textbook is a textbook and a class recitation a recitation of the textbook. The pupil who remembers that "the Puritans left England because they could not do as they wished in the home land," is, in many a schoolroom, commended and pressed no further. The history lesson thus degenerates into an exercise in mere words. Teachers in the lower grades of the elementary school, without training in the art of oral instruction and without some special knowledge of history, and teachers in the upper grades or in the high school, without a good school library, will be on

safer ground if they avoid the bare summary type and seek on principle a fuller treatment.

With a book of the *cours* type, a book, that is, which is definite in statement and reasonably complete in necessary details, a book which pupils can really understand, there is at least a partial justification for assigning mere textbook lessons and for spending the time in class having them recited and applied. Much depends upon the manner of learning the lessons and the manner of reciting them. In some schools lessons in history are taken as seriously and studied as intelligently before coming to class as lessons in Latin or in mathematics. In other schools the assignment is little more than a fiction. The pupils have trained the teacher to do most of the reciting. In still other schools the schedule allows little or no time for outside preparation. The teacher has the class for the class period to do what can be done. Some teachers approve of this plan, either because their experience in trying to persuade pupils to study a history lesson has been unhappy, or because they believe that better results can be secured under the teacher's immediate direction than through independent study. The character of the class recitation must, it is clear, vary with the character of the preparation.

The chief difficulty with mere textbook lessons of the modern type is that the pupils, very often, have not been

taught how to study. The teacher assigns as of old pages 88-95 or paragraphs 65-74. The pupils read the lesson five or six times, ten times, even twenty times, if their own reports are to be credited, without learning what the lesson is really about. This condition, where it exists, is so sadly apparent that any teacher might be expected to discover it and to realize the plain duty which it suggests. The fact remains that many teachers do not discover it. It is a good rule, therefore, for all teachers to begin the year's work or the term's work with some preliminary tests of the ability of pupils to find their way in the textbook. Let one pupil read aloud a paragraph from the textbook, the others following with books open. Ask the reader to tell in his own words what he has read. Ask others to criticise and to fill out. Have the paragraph read a second time and ask again to have its substance reproduced. Continue the process until some definite results are secured and note carefully the changing character of the summaries made by the pupils. A single class period spent in this way may revolutionize a teacher's ideas of lesson-getting. One senior class in a high school after three readings, with books open, found some difficulty in reproducing the substance of the following paragraph :

Early Geographical Ideas. — The idea that the earth was spherical in shape, and not flat, as had been taught in the Homeric

poems, was held by many learned men among the ancients. For instance, Aristotle, a Greek philosopher who lived in the fourth century before the birth of Christ, had proved to his own satisfaction, by observations made during eclipses and in other ways, that the earth was round. This theory had been held by men who lived before Aristotle; but the idea seems to have been regarded as novel when he wrote. A most remarkable statement was made on the subject by another Greek writer, Eratosthenes, who lived in the third century before Christ. His works are lost, but according to Strabo, a Roman geographer (B.C. 40-A.D. 60), he wrote: "If the extent of the Atlantic Ocean were not an obstacle, we might easily pass by sea from Iberia to India, still keeping the same parallel, the remaining portion of which occupies more than a third of the whole circle. But it is quite possible that in the temperate zone there may be two or even more habitable earths."

When, after the first reading, the teacher asked for a summary the class did not understand what was required. "We don't do our history that way," complained one. "Ask us some question," demanded another. In the end the teacher had to ask questions, had, that is, to assist the class in analyzing the paragraph. Would any teacher, after such an experience, be likely to go on with page assignments in the textbook, or in other books, and leave the pupils, without further instruction, to do the rest?

The condition may be met in one of two ways: (1) by indicating definitely what the pupil is to look for, or (2) by teaching him to read the textbook so intelli-

gently that he may himself find what he ought to look for. The former is by far the simpler procedure and is the one commonly followed by teachers alive to the needs of pupils.

Textbooks themselves often provide guidance questions. A book for the elementary school, for example, introduces a chapter on "French Pioneers" as follows:

The Fisheries and the French. The first sailors to come from France to the New World were Breton and Norman fishermen. The abundance of codfish on the banks of Newfoundland had been noticed and reported by John Cabot in 1497, and fishing vessels from various countries soon found their way thither. The oldest French name in America, that of Cape Breton, is probably as old as 1504; and ships from Normandy and Brittany have kept up their fishing in those waters from that day to this. Ships from Portugal and Biscay came also, but at first not many from England, for the English were used to catching their codfish in the waters about Iceland. Gradually, however, the English came more and more to Newfoundland, and by the end of the sixteenth century the fisheries were practically monopolized by French and English.

During that century the fisheries were almost the only link between France and the coast of North America. In 1518, Baron de Lery tried to found a colony on Sable Island, but was glad to get away before starving to death. Francis I., who became king of France in 1515, laughed at the kings of Spain and Portugal for presuming to monopolize between themselves all new discoveries east and west. Had Father Adam made them his sole heirs? If so, they had better publish the will! . . .

At the end of the chapter are "topics and questions." Those relating to the matter just quoted are:

The Fisheries and the French.

1. What brought French sailors to the New World?
2. Why were there so few Englishmen at first on the Newfoundland banks?
3. What did the king of France think of Spanish and Portuguese claims to all new lands?

In addition to such questions, textbooks often contain "suggestive questions and directions." The book quoted above has the following on the Newfoundland fisheries:

Where are the banks of Newfoundland? What fish are caught there? Why should fish be so abundant there? How extensive are the banks? From what countries do fishermen go there? Who own these banks? Do fish in the ocean belong to any person or country in particular? Do fish in harbors, rivers, brooks, and inland waters belong to people in such a way as to make it wrong for other people to catch them? Have the banks of Newfoundland had anything to do with history? If so, tell in what way. Find on some map the places from which the fishermen mentioned in the text used to come to the banks.

With aids of this character and the further aids supplied by paragraph headings and marginal topics a pupil may reasonably be expected to make some progress, if his attention is called to such aids and if he is definitely instructed to use them in preparing his lesson. If the questions are not considered suitable, others may

be substituted by the teacher. In either case the questions may constitute the substance of the lesson assignment.

An aid of a somewhat different character is supplied by the ready-made outline, which, like questions, may be provided either by the textbook or by the teacher. Outlines are of two general kinds: (1) those that convey information, and (2) those that merely suggest what the pupil is to look for. Both are analytical, both are designed to show what is most significant and to furnish a convenient exhibit of relations. An information outline may introduce the American Revolution as follows:

I. Conflicting views of the British Constitution.

A. The colonial view.

1. Union through the crown.
2. Representation in colonial legislatures.

B. The British view.

1. Union through parliament.
2. Parliament supreme throughout the British Empire.

A guidance outline may introduce the same subject as follows:

I. Nature of the British Constitution.

1. The colonial view.
2. The British view.

II. Changes in British policy.

1. The British debt.
2. The trade acts.
3. The army.

A ready-made outline of the information type that sums up clearly the essentials of a history course may with profit be thoroughly memorized. According to a committee of the New England History Teachers' Association such an outline not only may but must be memorized. It "must be the Alpha and Omega of every new topic; it must be indelibly engraved upon the mind of the student, must be written and rewritten, said backwards and forwards. . . . Around this core is built up the student's knowledge. About it he groups what he remembers of books, sources, and classroom talk."¹ A guidance outline scarcely invites this kind of memorizing.

Lessons based upon a ready-made outline are naturally assigned in terms of the outline. The topics are named, or their numbers, and the pupils understand that they are to fill in from their textbook. In this way provision is easily made for the omission of any topics in the textbook not considered essential, and for collateral reading. The pupil knows what to look for, knows where he is while he is looking for it, and knows its relation to the general scheme. The class recitation is also in terms of the outline. It can be carried on either by announcing topics from the outline or by asking questions based upon the outline.

Some critics of textbook lessons seem inclined to

¹ *Publication No. 1*, New England History Teachers' Association, 14.

exclude any formal analysis and recitation of the text, or even of collateral reading, and to confine attention to the solution of problems. "Read the next ten pages in the text; also one of the following references. . . . Bring in a map, drawn by yourself, showing the location of the two armies at this time." To this form of lesson assignment there are, it has been urged, three very serious objections. In the first place, the textbook is not "suitable to all without an analysis of individual cases. It has been used to a very large extent just in this way. But it consists of a logical arrangement of subject matter, excellent for reading reference, but not necessarily suited either to individual students or to individual lesson units." In the second place, the effect upon the teacher is demoralizing. "Real teaching rapidly deteriorates under such conditions. If there is one influence tending to make teaching mechanical and empty, it is found in the assignment given as a mere task rather than for the purpose of working out an important problem." In the third place, the influence upon the attitude of the pupil is unwholesome. The pupil "too frequently feels that such an assignment is only an arbitrary task in the daily grind of school work. Why should the facts related in these ten pages be learned? . . . With such questions in mind, how small the inspiration to study vigorously!"

How, then, should a lesson be assigned? According to the critic who has just been quoted, the ground should first be broken by "real class study." This accomplished, the pupil should be sent away to solve some definite problem and not to cover a certain number of pages. Taking the Albany Congress as an example, the following is, after preliminary class study of the topic, suggested as a proper assignment:

1. Find further evidence that the colonists were in need of a closer union.
2. Arrange this evidence in the form of a convincing argument.
3. Support the text by at least one good illustration of efforts to secure a closer union in some phase of present life.
4. Read pages 112-116 and 120-126 in the text for information as to the attitude of the colonists immediately following the Albany Congress. (This is in anticipation of "class study" at the next meeting of the class.)¹

What is here proposed is still at bottom to assist the pupil in finding his way through the textbook. The "logical arrangement of subject matter" found in the textbook is "not necessarily suited either to individual students or to individual lesson units." This is the underlying assumption. The position taken is, however, supported by two other assumptions: (1) that "a mere task" in school is reprehensible, and (2) that "an arbitrary task in the daily grind" is converted into

¹ *School Review*, Vol. 18, pp. 627-633.

something to which that stigma does not attach by the simple expedient of telling the pupil somewhat definitely what he is to look for and to think about.

Whether a textbook is "excellent for reference reading," or for anything else, depends, as has already been pointed out, upon the kind of textbook. Textbooks themselves cannot be put into one generic class and judged "without an analysis of individual cases." It is at best somewhat hazardous to place a form of assignment under the ban because it seems to impose a task. Even granting, for the moment, that a "mere task" is indefensible, has the task idea been altogether eliminated by the problems suggested? May not the pupil, with reason, still ask to have the ways of the teacher justified? Why should further evidence be found that "the colonists were in need of a closer union?" Of what consequence to the pupil is it to "arrange this evidence in the form of a convincing argument?" Why should he "read pages 112-116 and 120-126 in the text for information as to the attitude of the colonists immediately following the Albany Congress?" Are not pupils sensitive to "tasks" likely to detect them even in such problems?

Questions, outlines, and problems have in common the merit of giving the pupil something definite to look for and to think about in the preparation of the history lesson. They do beyond doubt simplify the learning

of lessons. But if this is an end necessary and desirable in itself, there is perhaps justification for thinking that more can be accomplished by giving still more assistance. For those who entertain such an opinion there is a plan widely followed in the French lycées that is worthy of attention.

The professor introduces a new topic by dictating a brief summary which the pupils enter verbatim in their notebooks. The summary indicates clearly and definitely the high points of the topic. As soon as it has been copied the notebooks are laid aside and the professor, rising from his chair, proceeds to *expliquer* the summary. He puts in the details, he elaborates the ideas, he illustrates, he explains, he makes the whole situation real. He is always clear, often entertaining, and sometimes eloquent. Having completed his *explication*, he sits down again. The pupils return to their notebooks and take another summary, which is followed by another *explication*. Two or three summaries and two or three *explications* are ordinarily given during an average class period. The first part of the next period is taken up with questioning. Each pupil as he is called upon steps up to the side of the professor's desk, hands in his notebook, and then faces the class. The professor asks questions, and, while the pupil is answering, examines the notebook. The design is to test first the memory and

then the understanding. The latter receives special emphasis. The professor spends most of the time trying to find out if the pupil really knows what he is talking about. The pupil is not allowed to escape with vague statements. He too must be clear and definite, he too must *expliquer*. A French professor is constantly saying to his class by his manner, by his questions, and by his criticism: "Messieurs, il faut préciser vos idées." Not more than two or three pupils are likely to be called forward during a class period, but the recitation at its best keeps the whole class alert and often calls forth brief discussion from the floor.

Whatever the plan evolved for assisting the pupil, the general American theory of personal initiative and personal independence would seem to suggest as one test of effectiveness the ability of the pupil eventually to find his way alone. The textbook is, after all, a book, and the ability to read a book is of greater importance than a predigested knowledge of its contents or the solution of predetermined problems. Whether any one of the plans thus far examined for piloting the pupil through his textbook trains him to be his own pilot later may well be doubted. The tendency, once the habit is established of assisting the pupil step by step to analyze, to select, and to organize the material in a textbook, is to go on giving the same kind of assistance

to the end of the school course. What may then be expected is illustrated by the experience of the senior class mentioned above. This class may have been exceptionally stupid, but behind the apparent inefficiency lay six or seven years of successful historical study based upon ready-made outlines and guiding questions. Moreover, experiments with other classes accustomed to such outlines and questions have, at stages ranging from the sixth grade up through the high school, revealed a similar state of inefficiency. Nor is it wholly without significance that even in college the all-directing outline is rather generally regarded by students as an inalienable right and by instructors as an indispensable condition of making a course intelligible.

In any event training for independent study through practice in studying independently may, with textbooks in themselves intelligible, begin when the use of a textbook begins and continue throughout the course. There are in general three modes of procedure.

1. The pupil is sent to the textbook without preliminary directions or suggestions. He reads the lesson. On coming to class he is questioned on his reading. "What brought French sailors to the New World? Why were there so few Englishmen at first on the Newfoundland banks? What did the king of France think of Spanish and Portuguese claims to all new

lands?" The question-and-answer method, that is, does for the pupil, after he has read the lesson, what guiding questions, ready-made outlines, or problems do for him while he is reading the lesson. The results are in appearance often good. The pupil is able to answer the questions. The plan does afford opportunity for independent study. It can, however, scarcely be said to encourage independent study. With guiding questions to lean upon in class, few pupils are likely to be stimulated to do more than to read the lesson, and often the first lesson is read as intelligently as the hundredth lesson.

2. The pupil is required to analyze the lesson and to bring to class a written outline. In the recitation one pupil is asked to copy his outline on the board. Other pupils criticise step by step, ask questions, and make suggestions. The teacher asks other questions and adds criticism and suggestions. The aim is to discover the best selection of particulars, the best words or phrases for indicating their nature, the best grouping of particulars, the best names for the groups, the best combinations of smaller into larger groups, the best names for the larger groups, and so on to a complete exhibit in outline of the lesson. The outline built up on this coöperative plan and agreed upon as best is entered by all pupils in their notebooks and made the basis of later

consideration of the lesson. The results are often admirable so far as the analysis of the lesson is concerned. The pupil learns how to discover on his own initiative what is really significant and why. The difficulty is to find time in class for discussions of anything except outlines. Some teachers meet the difficulty by omitting discussions of outlines as outlines and by requiring pupils to make them merely for their own guidance in reciting.

3. The pupil is taught in preliminary practice lessons, worked out in class under the immediate guidance of the teacher, how to study and how to learn a lesson. With books open at a passage like that on the fisheries and the French, quoted above, a practice exercise for a seventh grade may assume the form indicated by such directions and questions as the following:

Notice the heading of the paragraph. Read to yourselves the paragraph. Does the heading really tell you what the paragraph is about? Read the paragraph again and find all the different things that are mentioned. Name in three or four words each of these things and enter in your notebooks. How many of them would you expect to find mentioned under the heading, "The Fisheries and the French?" Pick out all the things that you would not expect to find mentioned under this heading. Put them together and think of the kind of

heading under which you would expect to find them mentioned. What is the subject of the chapter? What things in the paragraph are directly connected with this subject? What have the other things to do with this subject? Are they necessary to give an idea of this subject? What things are necessary? What things, then, are most important for this subject? least important? The pupil, that is, analyzes the paragraph, names its separate parts, looks for relations, considers what is important from the point of view of these relations, selects and classifies the material. When his work is complete, he has before him an outline of the paragraph. From this outline he sums up in his own words the paragraph, and then, laying aside the outline, sums up again the paragraph. Analyzing in the same way the next paragraph, he relates the material to what has gone before and again summarizes, first with the outline before him, and then with the outline laid aside, and so on to the end of the lesson. With the outline of the lesson as a whole before him he sums up in his own words the whole lesson and then, laying aside the outline, sums up again the whole lesson. In this way emphasis is laid, not upon the outline itself, but upon the use to which it is put. The test of value is the connected account which the pupil is able to give of the paragraph or the lesson.

An average class will in the course of eight or ten practice lessons of this type learn how to apply the plan without directions and without questions, and the recitation may then resolve itself in part into a mere "hearing" of the lesson. The teacher announces a topic and, after a brief pause to give the class a start in thinking about it, calls upon A. The floor now belongs wholly to A. All the time there is is his, and he is free to develop the topic in his own way without interruptions of any kind. After A has made his contribution other members of the class offer criticism or ask questions. If the ground has not been satisfactorily covered, it is covered a second time by B, and then perhaps a third time by C. Then comes the teacher's turn. The pupils are questioned to make sure that they understand what they have been discussing. If they do not, the teacher guides them in further consideration of the topic and, when necessary, adds explanations. All this is for the purpose of bringing the data clearly before the class. The next step is to lead the pupils to make comparisons with other known data, to recognize differences and resemblances, to draw inferences, and to trace relations.

The ideal of this type of lesson is to make the pupil so intelligent in his use of a textbook that he may, by a single reading, and without the formality of writing

out an outline, learn what he ought to learn. The ideal recitation for such a lesson is one in which the data furnished by the textbook are disposed of in fifteen or twenty minutes, so that the remainder of the period can be devoted to elaboration and to applications of the data, with the emphasis upon the applications.

There are other ways of dealing with the textbook. The pupil may, with or without specific guidance, prepare lessons and not recite them. The class period may in such cases be devoted wholly to discussions that either supplement the information provided by the text or turn that information to account in making comparisons, in reasoning from cause to effect, in building up generalizations. Or no outside preparation may be required. The time in class may be spent in reading the textbook, in making outlines or digests, or in summarizing in some other way essentials. The teacher may make running comments and ask questions designed to make the pupil think about his reading, with or without imposing upon him the burden of remembering anything. Or, with books open and the class merely skimming the pages, the teacher may talk about the "big things," with here and there a question to stimulate thought.

Some teachers believe that more than one textbook should be used. This was proposed by the Madison

Conference. "We recommend," said the Conference, "that a practice be established in the schools of using two, three, or four parallel textbooks at a time. By preparing in different books, or by using more than one book on a lesson, pupils will acquire the habit of comparison and the no less important habit of doubting whether any one book covers the ground."¹ The custom of using more than one book can be dated far back of the Madison Conference. It had, however, been associated with communities in which pupils were in the habit of bringing such textbooks as the family happened to possess, and teachers had singularly overlooked such advantages as were suggested by the Conference. "If," wrote Horace Mann in 1837, "eight or ten scholars . . . have eight or ten different books, as has sometimes happened, instead of one recitation for all, there must be eight or ten recitations. Thus the teacher's time is crumbled into dust and dissipated. Put a question to a class of ten scholars, and wait a moment for each one to prepare an answer in his own mind, and then name the one to give the answer, and there are ten mental operations going on simultaneously; and each one of the ten scholars will profit more by this social recitation than he would by a solitary one of the same length. But if there must be ten recitations instead of

¹ *Report, Committee of Ten, 189.*

one, the teacher is, as it were, divided by ten, and reduced to the tenth part of a teacher. Nine-tenths of his usefulness is destroyed.”¹ There are still teachers in backward communities who are struggling with the difficulty described by Horace Mann and who see the difficulty much as he saw it. That some teachers deliberately create the condition and reap advantages from it is not to be denied. But in general the time required for the learning of more than one textbook would bring more valuable results if devoted to collateral reading in works other than textbooks.

In any form of lesson-reciting an important place must be assigned to questioning. Questions should, first of all, be clear, definite, and concise. They should be so phrased as to be intelligible without repetition or reconstruction. Classes learn in time to know what a teacher means by awkwardly framed or ambiguous questions, but often the answers returned ought not logically to be forthcoming. Pupils answer because they guess, in spite of the question, what the teacher wants. This is bad both for the teacher and for the pupil. It would be better for both if there were more pupils like the boy in the story from Ohio. Said the teacher, “You know what I want you to say, Johnnie; why don’t you say it?” “I know what you want all right,”

¹ Report to Massachusetts Board of Education, 1837, p. 34.

responded Johnnie, "but you ain't asked the question what fetches it."¹

Questions are of two general kinds: those that call for facts, and those that call for the use of facts. Under the former are included all questions answered directly in the textbook. Under the latter are included all questions that require independent selection, grouping, comparison, inference, and application. Questions of the first kind are memory questions. Questions of the second kind are thought questions. Questions of either kind may assume a variety of general forms. They may be questions that can be answered by yes or no. Did Pitt sympathize with the colonies in 1774? Did Pitt have anything to do with bringing on the American Revolution? They may be alternative questions. Did Franklin look with favor or disfavor upon the Stamp Act? Was Franklin's attitude toward the Stamp Act wise or unwise? They may be leading questions. To stop smuggling in the colonies the English government resorted to what kinds of writs? What reasons had Hancock as a prominent Boston merchant for his opposition to English policy? They may name a subject or indicate a line of thought and leave the pupil to develop it. What were the causes of the American Revolution? Why was George Washington chosen commander-in-

¹ Stevens, *The Question as a Measure of Efficiency in Instruction*, 4.

chief? They may, as in the examples cited earlier in this chapter, analyze a topic.

Questions that can be answered by yes or no and alternative questions should not be too sweepingly condemned. They can be so phrased as to exercise both memory and the powers of reflection. Their chief use is, however, to place the pupil on record, to establish a point of departure for criticism of some previous statement or for further development. Leading questions are most frequently employed in the developmental type of lesson, and here often convey the impression that the pupil is building up knowledge which is really being built up for him by the teacher. Such a procedure is scarcely to be justified. But the leading question has its uses. It may, like yes or no questions, serve the purpose of getting the pupil on record for further discussion. It may occasionally lead in the wrong direction for the purpose of testing the intellectual wariness of a pupil. In the main, however, teachers should ask questions that name subjects or indicate lines of thought and, when necessary, questions that guide analysis.

Questions that name subjects frequently involve a waste of words. Discuss Pericles, tell what you know about Pericles, what can you say of Pericles? what do you know about Pericles? — these are awkward, and in some respects objectionable, ways of announcing the

topic Pericles. A high school boy was asked what he knew about Alexander the Great. "Alexander," he answered, "rode a fast horse in his youth and died drunk." "You get a zero for that," remarked the teacher grimly. "But I did what you asked me," insisted the boy, "I told you what I know." The simple topic, Alexander the Great, might have elicited the same answer, but the teacher would have had better ground for the zero.

Questions, whatever their form, should deal with manageable units. A teacher in a recent lesson asked a pupil in the first year of the high school, "What influence have the literature and philosophy of ancient Athens had on our own literature?" Another teacher asked a pupil in the third year of the high school to "compare the labor laws of Elizabeth with the labor laws of our own country or state." The climax was, perhaps, attained by still another teacher who asked a pupil in a sixth grade to "compare the civilization of Athens with the civilization of the United States!" Such questions, unless specifically raised and discussed in the textbook or previously summarized in class, are, of course, impossible. Comparison should begin with specific acts or specific beliefs of particular men, or with specific conditions or specific events. Later on, one historical character may be compared with another historical character,

one war with another war, one political campaign with another political campaign, one industry with another industry.

“Teachers,” says Miss Stevens, “are rarely at a loss for questions—in fact it seems that the first consideration with many is ability to ask them rapidly. The situation as I have found it since I have been making a study of the subject makes me appreciate the attitude of the youthful teacher of history, who said with assurance upon accepting her first position, ‘Oh, I’m going to ask questions so fast that the pupils will have no chance to think of anything.’”¹ This ideal seems often to be actually realized in practice. In the recitations in history observed by Miss Stevens, the number of questions asked during a forty-five minute period ranged from 41 to 142; that is, from about one per minute to about three per minute.² Such a pace is obviously fatal to any real thinking and can mean little more than the testing of the memory.

There is a place for rapid-fire memory questions. They are useful for purposes of drill and review. They are fair and proper tests of the reaction time of the pupil. But most teachers agree, in theory at least, that the emphasis should be laid upon questions that stimulate thought.

¹ Stevens, *The Question as a Measure of Efficiency in Instruction*, 2.

² *Ibid.*, 11-15.

Recitations of any type may be either oral or written. Most American schools have too little rather than too much written work. But for the difficulty of finding time to read papers it would be a wise rule to have some written work in every recitation. That difficulty cannot be wholly overcome. Yet most of the papers can be made brief. There can be a daily exercise of not more than five minutes on some question announced at the opening of the recitation, a weekly exercise of fifteen minutes on a single question, or on a series of questions requiring brief answers, and occasional exercises occupying the entire class period. Many of these papers can be exchanged and marked in class, the teacher giving the answers and the pupils giving the marks. Pupils, moreover, receive training in writing, whether all of the papers are read or not. A teacher responsible for one hundred pupils in the high school cannot be expected to read one hundred papers a day. He can read ten of the hundred. He can select parts of the ten for discussion in class and thus reach most of the conditions that call for criticism or commendation.

It would be idle to propose any one solution of the textbook problem as the best for all possible cases. That may be left to enthusiasts who believe in panaceas. But the self-activity of the pupil holds so large a place in American discussions of education that the plan of

teaching the pupil to study the textbook independently and to sum up in class, without the assistance of guiding questions, what he has learned, merits some special consideration.

It may be objected that the plan is impossible, that it puts too great a strain upon the pupil, or that it destroys interest. To this there is the general answer that the plan can at the cost of a little time be tested in any school. Teachers who fear loss of interest do not take sufficient account of the pleasure that comes with a sense of mastery. To give the pupil a sense of mastery is, indeed, one of the secrets of making history interesting. No one can feel much enthusiasm in discussing what he does not know or even in applying what he does not know to the solution of problems. The analysis of a lesson, it may be added, offers in itself a very respectable problem.

It may be objected that the learning and reciting feature of the plan is simply a return to the dark ages of history teaching. But this is to ignore fundamental distinctions in the manner of preparing lessons, in the purpose of testing for results, and in the place assigned to such results in the general scheme of recitation. The learning and reciting constitute only a part of the lesson. The other and more important part consists of turning what has been learned from the textbook to use.

It may be objected that the very responsibility placed upon the pupil in giving him free rein to develop in his own way a topic is a standing invitation to inattention on the part of the class. The possibility of inattention must be admitted, but it is not peculiar to this type of recitation. Some of the least attentive of all classes are those constantly under the fire of "short, sharp questions." The evil is in many cases aggravated by the habit of making the recitation an affair between the teacher and the individual pupil who happens to be reciting. "Tell me," says the teacher, "about Alexander the Great." "Tell me what the Spartans did after the battle of Thermopylæ." "Tell me where was opposition to Julius Cæsar." Some teachers of exceptionally strong and attractive personality may find this introduction of a "pleasing personal element" effective. The majority will do well to encourage an entirely different attitude toward the lesson. Say to the pupil: "You are not telling this to me. You are telling it to the class. Think of it as something which no one here has ever heard of before. Tell it in such a way that a person who had actually never heard of it before would understand all about it. Tell it so well that we shall all be interested. It is quite possible in this way to give the pupil a different conception of his own contribution, to make him feel that if he does not hold the

attention of the class the fault is his and not the teacher's, to place him consciously in the position of the sensitive preacher or lecturer who finds his audience going to sleep. Experiment has shown that attention often follows if only as a matter of courtesy and reciprocity. John listens to Charles and James, knowing that when his turn comes, Charles and James will listen to him.

The real difficulty is not so much lack of attention on the part of the class as lack of self-restraint and patience on the part of the teacher. There are those to whom the mere thought of thirty seconds of silence in the classroom is intolerable. If the pupil hesitates an instant he is lost. There are others to whom a mispronounced word, a slip in grammar, a wrong name, or a wrong date is the signal for immediate interference. The reaction time of the slow pupil should of course be quickened. Errors should of course be corrected. Every pupil has a right to know whether he has done well or ill. It is tenderness altogether misplaced to let any pupil off with half statements or with statements only half true. The habit of some teachers of pronouncing everything "very good," or of correcting a pupil so gently that he does not know that he has been corrected, is to be deplored. It may not be altogether wise to indicate to a pupil his exact rank in the class. A French teacher one day said to a pupil, "You are the grandson of our premier

but you are the last in your class," and the pupil readily admitted the fact. Another French teacher openly remarked to a visitor, "Our best pupil is absent to-day," and the class all nodded approvingly. This is the other extreme, but it is on the whole preferable to leaving a pupil entirely comfortable when, for his intellectual salvation, he ought to be uncomfortable. Criticism is to be encouraged and not discouraged. Contributions by the teacher are to be encouraged and not discouraged. But the slow and the quick, the erring and the letter perfect, are alike entitled to their day in court before sentence is passed or the recitation taken out of their hands. If the pupil is to do his part, he must have a fair chance, and if he is to have a fair chance, the teacher must cultivate the golden but neglected art of knowing when to keep still.

CHAPTER XIII

THE SELECTION AND MANAGEMENT OF COLLATERAL READING

WHILE the textbook is in the United States the chief instrument of school instruction in history, a conviction has developed, especially during the last twenty years, that the textbook should be supplemented by collateral reading. The need of reference books was strongly emphasized by the Madison Conference. "Recitations alone," it was declared, "cannot possibly make up proper teaching of history. It is absolutely necessary, from the earliest to the last grades, that there should be parallel reading of some kind."¹ Some progress in meeting this condition had been made before 1892. Information collected by the Conference seemed to indicate that about one-fifth of the grammar schools reporting, and about one-half of the high schools and academies, required some work outside of the textbook. But this work seems to have been viewed, even by some teachers who required it, as desirable rather

¹ *Report, Committee of Ten, 192.*

than as "absolutely necessary." "The main necessity," urged the conference, "is that teachers should have it firmly fixed in their minds that it is as impossible to teach history without reference books, as it is to teach chemistry without glass and rubber tubing."¹

"The main necessity," so far as the high schools were concerned, appears to have been met with promptness and energy. The Committee of Seven in 1899 found little difference of opinion "on the question of supplementing the textbooks with additional reading of some sort." "Only one principal known to the Committee" advocated "the extensive use of the textbook with little or no additional work." Between theory and practice there was, however, a considerable gulf. "It is surprising," observed the Committee, "to find how few schools really seem fitted out with good collections of standard secondary writers, suitable either for reading or for written work." In view of the lack of material it was less surprising to find that three-fourths of the schools reporting had no specified requirement of collateral reading, and that pupils were apparently left to browse without any system of enforcing readings. From the replies received the Committee drew the conservative inference that the schools had not as yet "fully introduced the system of collateral reading,"

¹ *Report, Committee of Ten, 193.*

and that many of them did not have the necessary library.¹

The last fifteen years have brought material gains. Many schools now have good libraries and make good use of them. But the comments of the Committee of Seven on the situation in 1899 are still to a large extent applicable. Much of the work assigned is still wholly optional. There is still a conspicuous absence of any general system of specified requirements. There is still, in many cases, a lack of the necessary library.

The difficulty has been in part one of finding time for work outside of the textbook, and in part one of securing funds for the purchase of books. It has, perhaps, in larger part been a lack of definiteness in principles of grading, in the statement of aims, and in methods of selecting and managing library material. Numerous lists of very definite references have been compiled. Examples may be found in books on the teaching of history, in courses of study, in special guides to historical material, and in ordinary textbooks. There are lists that modestly confine work outside of the textbook mainly to readings in other textbooks, lists that refer almost exclusively to material prepared expressly for supplementary reading, lists that place the chief emphasis upon historical fiction and poetry, lists that refer

¹ *Report, Committee of Seven, 144, 145.*

for the most part to standard secondary works and standard primary sources, and lists that include, without fear or favor, references to textbooks, to simplified supplementary material, to fiction and poetry, and to standard secondary works and standard sources. Apparently no taste nor interest nor stage of intelligence nor financial condition has been neglected. But relatively few of these lists suggest on analysis any high degree of discrimination in the selection of materials or make clear the special ends to be served and how to serve them.

What, for example, is to be expected from readings in other textbooks? The materials have the merit of being inexpensive and easy to obtain. They may to a slight extent impress upon pupils the fact that not all of history is in any one book. They may to a slight extent illustrate differences in point of view, and occasionally call attention to discrepancies in fact. But as a plan for supplementing in any real sense the class textbook they approach the climax of futility. What is to be expected of simplified supplementary material? Here again the material is inexpensive and easy to obtain. Some of it is excellent, both as reading and as history. Much of it is, however, like the ordinary textbook, put together on the familiar principle of making a long chapter simple by reducing it to a short

paragraph. Much of it suffers from the further disadvantage of being quite unhistorical.

References to other textbooks and to simplified supplementary material recognize at least that there is a problem of grading history. What is to be expected of lists in which no conception of grading is discoverable? There are lists for the elementary school which are in large part duplicated for the high school, and even for college courses in history. In some cases, indeed, the chief difference is in the amount of reading suggested, and this difference is not always in favor of the elementary school. One of the simplest and most successful of grammar school histories has in its list of references on the American Revolution: Hart, *Formation of the Union*, chapters 3-4; Howard, *Preliminaries of the Revolution*, chapters 3-13; Van Tyne, *American Revolution*, chapters 1-17; Hart, *American History told by Contemporaries*, II, chapters 21-35; and half a dozen other works of similar grade. One of the most advanced textbooks for the senior year of the high school has in its list of references on the American Revolution precisely the same works, but the readings are less extended. The reading in Howard is, for example, chapters 1-5, and 15-17, and in Van Tyne, chapters 4-6, and 7-17. The works here enumerated are at least fairly accessible. There are lists that show, not only a singular lack of

discrimination in the matter of grading, but a curious disregard of ordinary library resources. A high school textbook in United States history, issued by one of the best known publishing houses in the country; refers to such works as Kingsford's ten-volume *History of Canada*, the collected writings of Adams, Jefferson, Franklin, and Dickinson, Force's *American Archives*, the New York State *Documents*, and the *Annual Register* for 1765, as familiarly as if these were an indispensable part of every school library!

Before accepting any ready-made list, or attempting to draw up an independent list, the teacher should raise very definitely and answer very definitely certain fundamental questions. Why is collateral reading essential? What are the main purposes to be served? What kinds of readings are suitable? What kinds of readings shall be required, and what kinds shall be optional? Shall the readings be the same for all members of the class, or shall they be differentiated? Shall they be confined to a few books, or shall the pupil be introduced to as many different books as possible? How much reading may reasonably be expected? How shall readings be assigned? How reported? On what principle, or principles, shall materials be collected for a small library? for a large library? What constitutes a good working library?

The claims for collateral reading have, perhaps, at times been exaggerated. It may not be altogether impossible to teach some chemistry "without glass and rubber tubing." It may not be altogether impossible to teach some history "without reference books." It may be that a good textbook, intelligently studied and intelligently discussed in class, can be made to yield results that are at least respectable. This possibility should not be overlooked. Indeed, if the choice, as some teachers think, is between knowing one book thoroughly and knowing a number of books superficially, there is something to be said in favor of the one book. At the same time textbooks as a class are not entirely self-explanatory to all pupils. Most of them require frequent elaboration. The one book cannot be known thoroughly without knowing more than the one book reveals. The choice, then, is not between one book and more than one; it is between elaboration by the teacher and elaboration by means of collateral reading. European conditions in general favor the former; American conditions in general favor the latter. This does not mean that the whole burden of elaboration is or can be shifted to collateral reading. In any proper teaching of history there must be contributions by the teacher. But American theories and American conditions are alike unfavorable to any large amount of oral

instruction, and alike force upon most teachers the alternative of shifting to collateral reading the main burden.

Collateral reading is needed to make the textbook itself intelligible. This suggests: (1) materials to add elements of reality, and (2) materials to add information important as information. There are other needs quite as apparent. American conditions demand of history teaching something more than atmosphere and facts. There are tastes to be cultivated, interests to be stimulated, kinds of insight to be developed, and habits to be formed, that open of necessity a field beyond the textbook. Such further needs suggest: (3) materials to make history interesting or inspiring; (4) materials to give acquaintance with historical literature; and (5) materials to illustrate the historical method of study. All of these are needs to be recognized in any scheme of collateral reading that professes to be adequate. They do not, in all cases, imply different kinds of material. The same material may at times serve more than one purpose, and should, so far as possible, be adapted to more than one purpose. Often, however, conditions will require a differentiation of material. In any case the purposes themselves should be differentiated, for each implies a treatment of material somewhat peculiar to itself.

The significance and general conditions of making the past real, the materials available for the purpose, and their limitations, have been considered in earlier chapters. Collateral reading assigned primarily, or chiefly, for this purpose should not be treated as material to be learned and recited. As already pointed out, details in a high degree useful in stimulating the sense of reality are often details of a kind that no historian would dignify as history, and no teacher ought to dignify them as material to be remembered, or even as material to be entered in the notebook. They may be used as material for dramas, for imaginary letters and diaries, and for other exercises that invite in a special way conscious effort to turn back the clock of time. They may simply be read for impressions, for atmosphere. The essential condition is that they should leave behind feelings for and about the past.

Collateral reading assigned primarily, or chiefly, for the purpose of adding information important as information presents quite a different problem. Such reading includes presumably facts that are to be both learned and recited. It is, therefore, in all essentials to be treated in the same manner as the textbook itself. The pupil may be assisted by ready-made outlines, by questions, by problems, or by other guiding devices. He may be left to find on his own initiative what he

ought to find, and to report in class his own independent summary. He may in all cases be required to enter in his notebook the main facts. The reading must, then, be of such a character as to lend itself to analysis and summary. It is not enough that an account is authoritative and not too long. It is not enough that it is easy to read. Many accounts that meet these conditions defy analysis and leave only the vague impression that something tremendously important or surpassingly beautiful or hopelessly ugly "passed that way." Such dissolving panoramas of adjectives have their place in a scheme of collateral reading, but that place is not to supply information. If there is to be analysis, there must be something in the form of definite, perceptible conditions or events to analyze.

Collateral reading assigned primarily, or chiefly, to make history interesting or inspiring should be treated merely as good reading. The pupil should feel under no compulsion to analyze or to summarize. There should be no set questions to answer, no problems to solve, no necessary looking forward to any formal report, but complete freedom to read because he likes it, or to stop reading because he dislikes it. The pupil should, however, be encouraged to express his honest opinions of the readings as readings. If, as will often be the case, he forgets to stop at the end of the assign-

ment, if he reads a whole chapter where only one page was suggested, or if he reads a whole book where only one chapter was suggested, he will want to talk about his experience and should have the opportunity. He should also be encouraged to copy in his notebook passages which, for any reason, arouse his special enthusiasm, and to commit some of them to memory. If, on the other hand, as will also often be the case, he stops before the end of the assignment, if his sole impression is one of "I don't like it," or "I hope never to see that book again," he should still have an opportunity to express his opinion, if only as partial compensation for weariness occasioned by an unwise assignment. The test of success is the pleasure derived from the reading, the desire created for more reading, and the indefinable stirrings and strivings promoted by any good reading.

Collateral reading assigned primarily, or chiefly, to give acquaintance with historical literature should be so treated as to emphasize the record and the recorder rather than what is recorded. The works of historians are themselves achievements, in some cases worthy to rank with the most notable of the achievements which they record, and the historians are themselves in consequence important historical characters. In any case the record is itself the achievement to be considered,

and as such cannot be considered entirely apart from the recorder. The reading should, therefore, include, in addition to passages from the record, some account of the recorder, his training for historical investigation, his purpose in writing, the kinds of materials which he used, his care or lack of care in sifting them, his personal bias, the time devoted to his task. Passages in the record itself should be selected with a view to indicating its scope and general characteristics. What period does it embrace? what peoples or countries? Is it in general of the story-telling, the didactic, or the scientific type? Is its main theme governmental affairs, or some other theme? Does it merely relate and explain facts, or does it pass ethical and other judgments upon them? Is it glaringly partial to one country or race or religion or political system? Is it easy or hard to read? Is it interesting or dull? Questions such as these should be brought up for brief discussion in class. In conclusion there should be some indication of what, in the opinion of to-day, is the value of the record as historical literature.

Collateral reading assigned primarily, or chiefly, to illustrate the historical method of study may be treated either as material for oral discussion in class or for written work to be handed in. The general problem is, of course, to convey some impression of how histories are

made. This is in part accomplished by such consideration of the record and the recorder as was suggested in the last paragraph. It can be more definitely accomplished by actual exercises in historical criticism and construction. These require careful adjustment. The pupil should at the beginning go to the materials with some simple and specific question or problem, so framed as to make him conscious of some specific aspect of historical study. One exercise may consist merely of classifying a source as primary or secondary. Another may raise the question, "What does it mean?" Another may raise the question, "Is it true?" In the end the pupil should recognize with some degree of clearness at least that there are different kinds of sources, that there are definite processes of criticism, that the facts established vary in degree of probability, that there are different ways of selecting and combining facts, and that there is a special apparatus in the form of tables of contents, indexes, footnotes, and systematic bibliographical guides to aid him in finding out quickly what a book is about, what it has to say on this or that topic, what its chief authorities are, and what books or articles have been written on any historical subject which he may be directed to look up or in which he may be interested.

The material that can be read by children in the first

five or six grades of the elementary school is necessarily limited. Most of the reading should, therefore, be to the class rather than by the class. Emphasis in the lower grades will naturally fall upon readings designed chiefly to make the past real and interesting. But, beginning as early as the fifth or sixth grade, something can be done through readings by the teacher for the promotion of all the purposes that have been indicated. The range of possible selection is wider than some teachers seem to suspect. "Our learned and more exhaustive historical works," says a writer who has himself rendered valuable service in providing interesting material to supplement textbooks, "are beyond the reach of most busy people, nor are they adapted to use in the schools. Between these two extremes, the condensed textbook and the ponderous volumes of the historian, we find many books of great value — biographies, memoirs, histories of limited periods or of particular localities — but none of these, as far as the author knows, is fitted for the use of schools or was prepared with that end in view."¹ Here are enumerated precisely the types of works which, when accessible, contribute most richly the sort of material needed to make history real, intelligible, and interesting. Many of them are in places quite as concrete, and therefore

¹ Elson, *Side Lights on American History*, I, p. vii.

quite as simple, as the best of accounts made over especially for school use. Many of them are in places more concrete, and therefore simpler, than the average simplified account. If concreteness is a test of what is suitable, it is a mistake to hold, as many teachers do, that the availability of historical material for school purposes varies inversely with its bulk and historical importance. It is, however, at any stage of school instruction, a greater mistake to refer indiscriminately to "the ponderous volumes of the historian" and to "biographies, memoirs, histories of limited periods or of particular localities." The passages selected must meet the necessary conditions of grading, and the works themselves must be reasonably accessible.

There are some books that should not be made over. A protest, voiced, some years ago, against this tendency in dealing with literature, applies also to history. "The noble heritage of great books that awaits every cultivated person is dealt out ahead of time in shreds and patches, in ineffective lumps, in diluted extracts. The publishers' catalogues are filled with the titles: tales from this master, a child's version of that, vignettes from the other. . . . All that has made the book delightful has been left out, the personal equation, the living presence of the writer as perceived in his immortal words, for these have been displaced by two

syllabled imitations. The spark of the divine has been quenched. And there is really no stopping place. As writers multiply, new incursions will be made. We may have *The Child's Own Faust*, *Machiavelli for Little Tots*, *Rabelais in Simple Words*, *The Westminster Confession in Easy Rhymes*, *Little Dramas from Æschylus*." ¹ History, like literature, may be spoiled by bringing it "down to the child's effortless understanding." More history can be read to children before they are able to read anything themselves and more can be done in shaping their tastes for historical reading than is commonly supposed. It would be an abnormal fourth grade that could read with ease and certainty the works of Francis Parkman, but any one who has tried it knows that a fourth grade by no means abnormal will listen with pleasure to a teacher's readings from Parkman. Where such a course is not possible, it is better to defer to a later stage the introduction of the material than to give it over to the dull hand of pedagogy for adaptation.

Readings to the class have a place in history teaching throughout the entire school course. This is especially true of readings designed to kindle interest and enthusiasm. The teacher who reads well can make many a passage effective which even seniors in the high

¹ *Educational Bi-Monthly*, February, 1908, p. 225.

school might on their own account read listlessly or entirely neglect. Many such readings will be suggested by the discussions which spring up during the class period, and these are often more impressive than readings carefully planned in advance. — On one occasion, in a class not given to much enthusiasm, a mild curiosity concerning Napoleon's speech before the Battle of the Pyramids led the teacher to pick up a book from the desk and read the speech. The words caught the fancy of the class and, for perhaps the first time, lifted every member out of boredom. "Say," exclaimed one of the boys, "that's pretty good, isn't it?" The teacher wisely took advantage of the discovery and by the end of the year had a class responsive beyond all expectation.

Collateral reading by the class should, however, begin not later than the sixth grade, and above the seventh grade may with profit be made a part of the daily preparation. Here again some of the most effective assignments will, throughout the course, be those suggested directly by class discussions. Again and again the wise teacher will interrupt discussion and suggest some reading as a basis for continuing the discussion at the next meeting of the class. But there should also be regular readings carefully planned in advance. Some of these will be for information to be reported in class

by designated individuals. Others will be readings for groups of pupils, or for the entire class. Readings for elaboration of the textbook and readings to illustrate the historical method should, as a rule, be the same for all and required of all. Readings for inspiration may at first be required, but, if at all successful, may later be left largely optional. Readings to give acquaintance with historical literature may be required the first time a work is introduced. Later readings in the same work may be made optional.

The extent to which the various purposes of collateral reading can be served will depend somewhat upon the nature of the textbook. With some textbooks the need of elaboration to make the book intelligible will be suggested by almost every page. The other kinds of readings will then be somewhat limited. Every effort should, however, be made to convey to pupils some impression of each of the fields. With some textbooks the need of elaboration will be felt only in the treatment of certain special topics. The readings can then be devoted largely to inspiration and to illustrations of historical literature and of the historical method. The system of readings should in any case provide for alternations of what is required and what is optional, so as to include in turn different types of readings under each.

In the assignment of collateral reading the first rule is to avoid waste of time in making the assignment. The lists of readings for a week, or for two weeks, should either be mimeographed and distributed in class or posted in some convenient place. The second rule is to avoid waste of time in finding the books. Each class should, so far as possible, have a reserve shelf, open without any preliminaries and within easy reach. There should also be designated reading periods so arranged as to prevent conflicts in the use of books. The smaller the library, the greater the need of such adjustment. A class may, for example, be divided into two sections, A and B. Each section may then be subdivided into smaller groups, 1, 2, 3, 4. The groups should represent at least a rough grading of abilities, group 1 consisting of the best readers, and group 4 of those to whom the wind must be somewhat carefully tempered. Section A may have as special reading days Mondays and Wednesdays, section B, Tuesdays and Thursdays, Fridays being set aside as general clearance days for both sections. With the readings arranged in groups, each pupil will look for his group number, and, knowing his section, A or B, will know when he is to do his reading. Where there are regular study hours during the school day, these should, so far as possible, be used for the reading. Where there are no such study

hours, provision must be made for taking books home on reading days, and this, with a small library, may necessitate further divisions of the class. A good test of the degree of interest aroused will often be furnished by the calls for material on clearance days.

References thus assigned in any field should, while the field is new, designate definite pages and often specified passages definitely marked in the books, but some independent searching for material should from the outset be encouraged. Where the library equipment is sufficient, there should usually be for each group three or four different references illustrative of different kinds of material, with instructions to the pupil to read the first and one or more of the others. The independent search for material should at first be confined to the books included in the regular list of readings. The simplest arrangement is to set for the entire class some one question the answer to which is to be found somewhere in the books of each group. After the pupils have acquired some facility in the use of indexes and tables of contents the references may omit pages and simply suggest topics to be found in one or more of the assigned books. Still later, topics may be included without reference to any specified material, the pupils being left to find both the book and the place in the book.

Beginning with the seventh grade each pupil should be required to keep a record of his reading. He should note at least:

1. Full name of the author.
2. Full title of the work.
3. Number of volumes, publisher, place and date of publication.
4. Number of pages read.
5. Personal impression.

Under personal impression the pupil should enter passages that make a special appeal, statements that differ from those of the text or from statements made in class, questions raised by the reading which he would like to know more about, and any other matter of direct personal interest. Often the only entry to be expected will be "interesting," or "dry," "I don't like this book," or "I like it very much." The important point is to get an honest entry. Such a record is of value both to the pupil and the teacher. It furnishes a fairly clear indication of what is suitable at different stages, of the steps in the development of the ability to read, and of taste for reading.

What pupils can read, what they will read, and how much, are questions to be answered by experiment. A teacher feeling his way may begin with selections suggested by the textbook. If these are of different types

— standard historical works, sources, and books prepared especially for children — he may include in each group one example of each and require the class to read something from each. A seventh grade may, for example, be given the following assignments on the Pilgrims :

1. Eggleston, *Beginners of a Nation*, 159-181.
Higginson, *American Explorers*, 311-337.
Gordy, *Leaders and Heroes*, 64-79.
2. Scribner's *Popular History*, I, 385-399.
Higginson, *American Explorers*, 311-337.
Wright, *Stories of American History*, 300-315.
3. Fiske, *Beginnings of New England*, 73-86.
Higginson, *American Explorers*, 311-337.
Coffin, *Old Times in the Colonies*, 111-126.
4. Higginson, *Larger History*, 153-158.
Higginson, *American Explorers*, 311-337.
Dodge, *Stories of American History*, 18-25.

Special question for all: Why did the Pilgrims leave Holland?

The first discussion of such readings should deal with the personal impressions of pupils. If the teacher learns, as is likely to be the case, that a seventh grade cannot understand Eggleston, and that this reference is reported by all of the first group as "very hard," he will find it illuminating to analyze the work with a view to discovering why it is hard. If he learns that Higgin-

son's *American Explorers* is the most popular book on the list and that one of the children's books is condemned because "it is so preachy," he will again find it illuminating to examine with special care the material. In this way any teacher of ordinary industry will in time learn definitely what is most suitable and least suitable.

Beyond the pupil's personal impression little should at first be reported in class, except in the case of readings assigned specifically for information. One cardinal mistake of many teachers is practically to limit readings to information, or at least to treat all readings as if information concerning the subject matter constituted the one important consideration. There must be readings for information. The emphasis laid upon facts is entirely deserved. But the greater part of the reading ought to be for inspiration, for the cultivation of tastes, for insight, and for the formation of habits. Facts, after all, come and go. Tastes, insight, and habits remain.

Having determined as definitely as possible the uses to be made of a library, the teacher is prepared to inquire what kind of library is necessary. Where the money allowance is small, an initial error is often committed in the selection of material. With only \$5 or \$10 available, the common procedure is to buy textbooks,

or other brief general treatises, and inexpensive source books. In this way the entire field is covered, but the outside reading made possible on any particular topic is necessarily meager. The principle in such cases is first to buy a library and then to see what can be done with it. A better principle for teachers with slender resources would be to determine first what topics are in special need of elaboration, what kinds of inspiration, what kinds of historical literature, and what kinds of illustration of the historical method are most desirable, and then fit the library to meet the conditions. The teacher is justified in beginning with topics about which he happens to know something, or, if he is equally informed on all topics, in beginning with a few of special current interest. One of these is, let us say, the Monroe Doctrine. With an appropriation of five cents the teacher can secure *Old South Leaflet No. 56*, containing Monroe's message and comments by historians. For ten cents more, *American History Leaflet No. 4* can be added. This contains extracts from documents embodying the doctrine, 1789-1901. For \$1.25 more, Gilman's *Monroe* can be added. With a total appropriation of \$10 or \$12, the teacher can, on this principle, collect materials on half a dozen special topics in American history, superior to the materials furnished even by detailed histories, or, with the same appropriation, can

collect really illuminating materials on special topics ranging over the entire field of the history course.

Where the resources are less limited, the teacher may begin with a consideration of the elements that should be present in a general historical collection. He wishes, let us say, to have typical examples of the different kinds of historical material. Still selecting to some extent with reference to special topics, he decides that there should be: 1. Bibliography; 2. Historical geography; 3. Local history; 4. Standard comprehensive histories; 5. Some special treatises on special topics or on limited periods; 6. Biography; 7. Sources, including collections of extracts and some fuller works, especially diaries, reminiscences, autobiographies, and letters. For the selection of materials of all the kinds here indicated, and for others, there is a serviceable annotated guide which can be purchased for sixty cents: Andrews, Gambrill, and Tall, *A Bibliography of History for Schools and Libraries*. Twenty-five dollars, it may be added, is sufficient to secure some representation of all the kinds of material named, including both European and American history.

The principle of building up a library in strict accordance with predetermined needs, whether applied in either of the ways suggested, or in some other way, emphasizes early in the course of selection the need of duplicating materials. The common plan of buying as

many different works as possible is of doubtful value to any average school. It is better, in making additions to a small library, to buy six copies of one really serviceable work than to buy six different works. In a library of any considerable size, 500 volumes or more, there should be several duplicate sets even of the more comprehensive histories, in the field of American history, for example, at least three or four sets of Schouler, Henry Adams, McMaster, and Rhodes. Only the largest libraries can afford the indulgence of extending their lists of different titles as far as possible.

A small library selected for definite use and used definitely is the best argument for securing from school boards additional funds. Teachers of history have in the past been too modest. They have accepted too philosophically a condition which stocks the departments of biology, chemistry, and physics with expensive apparatus and leaves the history shelves absurdly inadequate. They have been reconciled too easily to textbook instruction. The fault is in large part their own. They have failed to realize the needs and possibilities of collateral reading, and have, in consequence, allowed a tradition to develop which is now often a serious obstacle even to the most competent teachers. But it is never too late to struggle against a bad tradition. Most teachers of history now look upon a library

as indispensable. It remains to convince many school administrators that a library is indispensable. The general mode of attack is clear. It is to use the little material that may be available so effectively that appeals for more can be based upon concrete results.

CHAPTER XIV

SCHOOL HISTORY AND THE HISTORICAL METHOD

To most teachers, most of the time, history for school purposes presents itself as a body of assured knowledge, selected portions of which are to be interpreted, learned, and, so far as possible, applied to life in the present. Some teachers seem to believe that history may literally set forth the truth and nothing but the truth. For this there is distinguished precedent. Eighteenth century Johnson, according to Macaulay, with a touch of the literary critic's contempt for historians, put the case very simply. "The historian tells either what is false or what is true: in the former case he is no historian: in the latter he has no opportunity for displaying his abilities: for truth is one: and all who tell the truth must tell it alike."¹ In a vein not altogether different it is related of Fustel de Coulanges, nineteenth century critical historian, that one day when he was lecturing and his students broke into applause, he stopped them with the remark, "Do not applaud me, it is

¹ Macaulay, *Essays*, three-volume edition, I, 276.

not I who address you; it is history which speaks through me." ¹

That there is a residuum of assured historical knowledge is not to be denied. Without it history could have little claim to differentiation from fiction. The residuum is in fact so large that the idea of drawing exclusively upon it for school purposes may seem entirely feasible. In practice that idea has, however, not been realized. If many of the textbooks and some of the popular histories used in school convey a different impression, if they are in general pervaded by an atmosphere of undisputed verity, the effect is, in large part, achieved by the arbitrary device of elevating opinions based upon incomplete evidence to the rank of clearly established truth. It is by means of this device that some of the most familiar personages, conditions, and events have, for school purposes, been withdrawn from the realm of controversy. Take the case of Columbus. In a well-known and deservedly popular textbook we read:

Christopher Columbus, the great discoverer, was born in Genoa, Italy, about 1436. He spent most of his early life at sea, and became an experienced navigator. He was a man who read widely, and intelligently. When on shore, his trade was the designing and making of maps. This occupation led him to think much about the shape of the earth, and he came to agree

¹ *Congress of Arts and Sciences, St. Louis, 1904, II, 158.*

with those men who held that the earth is round like a globe. This belief led him to conclude that Asia could be reached by sailing westward and that a new route to India could be opened.

The account is accompanied by a portrait, labeled "Christopher Columbus."

The facts sum up in a typical manner the Columbus of our elementary schools, and, as here presented, make a very simple and reasonable kind of history. It is interesting to know how Columbus looked, where he came from, and how he made up his mind that India could be reached by sailing westward. But is the assurance warranted? A larger and more critical history informs us that while a number of portraits exist with claims to the honor of representing Columbus, "there is no likeness whose claim is indisputable."¹ Concerning the date of birth and the genesis of the ideas that led to the discovery of America another critical historian writes:

Christopher Columbus was born at some time between 1430 and 1456, the precise date of this event being of slight importance nowadays, save to him who seeks to conjure up a picture of the great seaman as he paced the deck of his flagship off San Salvador on that pregnant October night in 1492. Henry Harisse and Justin Winsor unite in giving the date as 1446-47, and when these two agree one may as well follow them without more ado. Eighteen places claim Columbus as a native, but scholars unite in giving that honor to Genoa or its immediate vicinity. At an early age

¹ Winsor, *America*, II, 69.

he shipped on his first voyage, and kept on sailing the seas until, some years later, he found himself in Portugal, the fifteenth century meeting place of adventurous and scientific seamen.

Exactly how or when Columbus made up his mind as to the shape of the earth, the feasibility of sailing westward to India, and determined to do it, is not clear. Ferdinand Columbus, for instance, tells us that the admiral was influenced by the works of Arab astronomers and by Ptolemy and the ancients. But whether this should be taken in more than a general sense may be doubted. Another theory is that Columbus, studying the *Imago Mundi* of Pierre D'Ailly, Bishop of Cambray, came across the old ideas which that compiler had borrowed from Roger Bacon. The first printed copy of the *Imago Mundi* was made at Louvain not before 1480; but Columbus thought that the earth was round before that time and there is no evidence that he ever read the Bishop of Cambray's work in manuscript. It is true that in the report of his third voyage (1498) he quoted a sentence from this book, and there still exists a copy of it with marginal notes in his handwriting, or in that of his brother, Bartholomew, for the writing of the two was much alike. But none of these things proves that he had read the work in manuscript, nor is there reason to suppose that the theories of the ancients had much, if any, direct influence upon him. If he had known of the Bishop of Cambray's book before 1492, it is most probable that he would have used it as an authority to reinforce his ideas; but there is no evidence that he did this. Another way to account for Columbus's opinions is to attribute great influence to the letters of Paolo dal Pozzo Toscanelli of Florence. Sir Clements R. Markham even goes so far as to print them as the "sailing directions of Columbus." A more recent writer, Henry Vignaud, has gone to the other extreme and has denied that such letters ever existed.¹

¹ Channing, *History of the United States*, I, 14-15.

Many teachers who habitually treat history in school as assured knowledge are, of course, aware of doubts lurking behind, not only individual facts, but behind the selection and organization of facts. They know that individual facts, even when true, may yet in combination fail to convey the truth. They agree with Macaulay that one writer may even tell less truth than another by telling more truths. But school conditions seem to them to render dogmatism both necessary and desirable. There is, in the first place, the question of what is possible. History of the kind in which an author writes as if he really knows presents difficulties. History of the kind in which an author writes as if nobody really knows introduces complications which many teachers consider unsuitable for children, beyond their range of interests, and confusing, even to the average adult. To be told in substance, that there was once a man by the name of Christopher Columbus who made up his mind that India could be reached by sailing westward, and that considerable energy, most of it vain, has been expended in trying to find out when and where he was born and how he reached his epoch-making conclusion may be satisfying to historical experts; it neither can nor ought to be satisfying to others. Both for children and for the general reading public, history, to be read at all, must be something definite to believe about

the past and not something to be doubted or argued about. If there are controversies, they must, therefore, be forcibly suppressed.

There are, in the second place, uses of history to which, it is often urged, the subject must at any cost be subordinated. Balanced opinions, and arguments that lead chiefly to doubt, are, even if manageable, at best uninspiring and at worst positively harmful to childhood and youth. They are, therefore, to be avoided, and even resented. "There is a certain meddling spirit," says Washington Irving, at the end of his account of the early years of Columbus and of the origin of the idea of a western voyage, "which, in the garb of learned research, goes prying about the traces of history, casting down its monuments, and marring and mutilating its fairest trophies. Care should be taken to vindicate great names from such pernicious erudition. It defeats one of the most salutary purposes of history, that of furnishing examples of what human genius and laudable enterprise may accomplish."¹ Many teachers find in the "salutary purposes of history" a justification for eliminating controversy.

There is, in the third place, a feeling that such exaggeration of historical probability as may result from a dogmatic treatment need excite no special concern.

¹ *Columbus*, Book I, end of Chapter V.

School history, it is argued, is in most cases destined to an early oblivion, and if, in some cases, remnants do survive, it is at worst better to go through life with a few definite errors than to think of history as something that might have been either this or that, and was probably neither. "It's all in confidence," says a delightful essayist, protesting, on behalf of the "Gentle Reader," against the ways of the critical historian, "speak out as one gentleman to another under a friendly roof! What do you think about it? No matter if you make a mistake or two, I'll forget most that you say anyway."¹

Shall doubts, then, be suppressed? Shall mere personal opinions, mere guesses, and sometimes mere fancies be combined on terms of complete equality with indisputable facts? Shall the study of history concern itself only with the meaning of an author? Shall there be no distinction between *his story*, with the emphasis upon the *his*, and *history*? In the opinion of a growing minority of history teachers, both in Europe and in America, to ask such questions is in effect to ask whether the school view of history shall be intelligent or unintelligent.

The history learned in school unquestionably makes its heaviest contribution to oblivion. But there are some results which endure. The treatment of history as assured knowledge prepares for the treatment of his-

¹ Crothers, *Gentle Reader*, 173.

tory as assured knowledge. The tendency of pupils accustomed in school to accept facts as facts without discrimination is to continue in after life to accept and to use facts without discrimination. The tendency of pupils accustomed in school to look upon the printed page itself as evidence of the truth of what is printed is to continue in after life in subjection to the tyranny of the printed page. So natural and so strong are these tendencies that they sometimes persist even after university courses in history. It was a graduate student who, some years ago, asked a professor of history whether, if Lincoln had lived, there would have been any conflict between the President and Congress, and who, on receiving in answer a qualified affirmative, asked to have authorities cited in exactly the same spirit as if the question had been, "When did Lincoln die?" All efforts to show the difference between finding out what actually was and finding out what might have been if something that was had been different proved unavailing. The student returned the next day with a look of triumph. "I thought," said he, "that you must be wrong about Lincoln," and read from a popular history an extract to the effect that Lincoln would have had no trouble in carrying through Congress the reconstruction policy which in the hands of Andrew Johnson met with disastrous defeat.

There are degrees of probability even in the history that might have been. The case for Lincoln is no doubt better than many other similar cases. Between information supplied by schoolboys gravely debating what would have happened if George Washington had never been born and information supplied by statesmen gravely debating what George Washington would have done with the Philippines there is no doubt a reasonable choice. But speculations on what might have been are in all cases speculation. They are so common and so easy to detect that the most casual reader might be expected to place them in a class apart at least from the history alleged to have actually happened. Children in the grades can grasp the distinction when attention is called to it. The fact, established by repeated tests, that neither children in the grades nor casual readers, to go no farther, ordinarily think even of this simple distinction renders unnecessary any illustration of their general attitude toward more subtle distinctions.

The desirability of discrimination in dealing with historical data is too apparent for argument. Not all of us read histories, but all of us begin with the first dawning of intelligence to use facts known to us historically and not directly. It is a commonplace that most of our conversation is narrative and historical,

whether the subject be what we, our friends, or some other person, said or did this morning, or what was said or done a hundred or a thousand years ago. It is a commonplace that data historical in character enter into most of the thinking and planning of life from childhood to the grave. It ought to be a commonplace that schoolroom history should give the pupil some consciousness of what historical knowledge is and some training in the method by which historical knowledge is established. It ought to be a commonplace that there are "salutary purposes" to be served by history as a process of determining, selecting, and arranging facts, not less important than those to be served by history as the organized result.

Training in the historical method of study is a somewhat formidable expression difficult to dissociate from university work. But the teacher must not be frightened by what may appear to be pretentious terminology. We speak of history in the elementary school and history in the university, without prejudice to either. It is convenient, and it ought to be possible, to speak of the historical method in both, without prejudice to either. Certainly the processes thus described—the search for material, the classification and criticism of material, the determination of particular facts, the selection and arrangement of facts—pre-

sent elementary aspects. A first grade can be led to see that something is learned about the Indians from things dug up out of the ground, something from writings of white men who reported what they saw, and something from stories told by Indians about themselves and later reported by white men. First-grade children will themselves often suggest that the Indians did not write books. A fourth grade can be led to think of different ways of knowing about people, and of the relative merits of the different ways of knowing about them. A sixth grade can be taught the use of indexes and tables of contents and something of the significance of references to authorities. A seventh grade can be led to solve some simple problems in criticism. From the first, there can be exercises in putting facts together, and, above the seventh grade, exercises involving essential aspects of the historical method of study from the search for material to the organization and exposition of results.

Those who are aware of the possibilities have sometimes gone the length of declaring that history, as early at least as the high school, should be habitually, and almost exclusively, presented as a process of establishing, selecting, and organizing facts. This is the "source method" in its extreme form. The more conservative view, and the one here adopted, is that the greater part

of school history must be presented as ready-made information, but that there should be illustrations of the historical method sufficient to indicate the general nature of the problems behind organized history, and sufficient to give some definite training in the solution of such problems. How shall this be accomplished?

Here, let us say, is a teacher of a fourth or a fifth grade who is called upon by the course of study to discuss with her class some of the peoples of antiquity. She has discovered that for certain subjects Herodotus seems to be a mine of information, and that somehow he has mastered the art of telling a story so as to be interesting even in a translation. He is to be used mainly for information, but the teacher believes that the children's interest will not be lessened by raising here and there the question of how Herodotus gathered his information. The rôle of father of history, which he has played so long, lends, it may be, a peculiar sense of fitness to the idea of raising the question first with him. She begins with a few preliminary questions: What people are there in the world besides Americans? How do you know? Who are the oldest people in the world?

On one occasion a girl knew that there were Germans in the world because she had heard her mother speak of a German woman. The teacher wrote on the blackboard: "We may know of people by hearing about

them." A boy knew that there were Indians in the world because he had read about them in a book. The teacher wrote: "We may know of people by reading about them." Another boy knew that there were Chinamen in the world because he had seen a Chinaman. He spoke with an air of conviction that seemed to express disapproval of hearsay or books as evidence, and a new look of intelligence swept over the class. They had all seen a Chinaman. The teacher wrote: "We may know of people by seeing them." Before this last statement had been put on the board the children were discussing the relative merits of the three ways that had been suggested of knowing about people. It was unanimously agreed that the Indians were the oldest people in the world, on the ground, as one member of the class put it, that "they are the first people we read about in school." This was the crudest piece of reasoning developed during the lesson. The children were told that the question was one which appeared to have been raised a long time ago in Egypt, for a traveler who went there has told us a story about it. A line was drawn on the blackboard to represent ten years, the average age of the pupils. With this as a unit the line was continued to represent a century. It was then extended century by century across the blackboard of three sides of the room until the twenty-five centuries

back to Herodotus had been measured. In this way the children were at least made conscious that Herodotus lived a very long time ago. They had already heard of Egypt and had formed some impression of where Egypt is. The story as told by Herodotus was then read.

The Egyptians before the reign of their king Psammetichus believed themselves to be the oldest of mankind. Psammetichus, however, wished to find out if this was true. So he took two children of the common sort and gave them over to a herdsman to bring up, charging him to let no one speak a word in their presence, but to keep them in a cottage by themselves, and take to them food and look after them in other respects. His object herein was to know, after the first babblings of infancy were over, what word they would speak first. The herdsman did as he was told for two years, and at the end of that time on his opening the door of their room and going in, the children both ran up to him with outstretched arms and called, "Becos." When this first happened, the herdsman took no notice; but afterwards when he observed on coming often to see them that the word was constantly in their mouths, he told the King and by his command brought the children into the King's presence. Psammetichus himself then heard them say the word, upon which he proceeded to ask what people there were who had anything they called "Becos." Hereupon he learned that Becos was the Phrygian word for bread. The Egyptians then gave up claiming that they were the oldest people in the world and agreed that the Phrygians were older than they.

Children, even in a fourth grade, will readily anticipate the later steps in this story, if given the opportunity.

In a fifth or sixth grade they are almost sure to raise on their own motion objections to the conclusion which the Egyptians are alleged to have drawn from the experiment. Discussion is almost sure to lead some one to suggest that the story is probably not true, and to ask if Herodotus really thought it was true, or expected anybody else to think so. This raises naturally the question of where Herodotus got the story anyway. The reading is resumed :

That these were the real facts, I learned at Memphis from the priests of Vulcan. The Greeks told other stories of how the children were brought up, but the priests said that the bringing up was as I have stated it. I got much other information from conversation with these priests while I was at Memphis and I even went to Heliopolis and to Thebes expressly to try whether the priests of those places would agree in their accounts with the priests at Memphis.¹

The children thus see at once that Herodotus knew of the experiment credited to Psammetichus only through "hearing about it." With this introduction children so fortunate as to be allowed to travel for some weeks afterward with Herodotus are found to be more or less on the alert to discover when he is talking about things that he has really seen and when he is talking about things that he has merely heard or read. Work thus begun with Herodotus may easily be extended so as to

¹ Herodotus, Book II, 2, 3. Slightly adapted.

include along with information about the Greeks and Romans some impression of Thucydides, Xenophon, Plutarch, Livy, and Tacitus.

For an initial exercise in American history in raising the question of how we know, the adventures of the manuscript of Bradford's *History of Plymouth Plantation* furnish material of similar grade for devising an introduction to Bradford's work, which may then be followed somewhat after the manner proposed for Herodotus. The story of the manuscript is told in the edition published by the state of Massachusetts and, more briefly, in the edition included in the *Original Narratives* series published by Scribner's Sons. Materials for extending the work to other writers of the colonial period may be found in Higginson's *Young Folks' Book of American Explorers*.

When the stage is reached at which children begin to use formal textbooks, these may serve as the point of departure for occasional illustration of how histories are made. It is the duty of teachers to point out recognized errors. Incidentally this may be turned to account in showing what is really involved in getting at the truth about a matter in history. In the seventh grade the colonial period is usually treated for the first time with some degree of seriousness. Probably no subject of equal importance in that period has been

dealt with so carelessly by textbook writers as that of colonial boundaries. This subject is as likely as any to furnish ground in need of being cleared up by the teacher. It may therefore be allowed to supply an illustration.

A well-known textbook has the following account of the boundary provisions of the charter of 1606:

To the London Company the king granted the coast of North America about from Cape Fear to the mouth of the Potomac; to the Plymouth Company he granted the coast about from Long Island to Nova Scotia. These grants were to go in straight strips, or zones, across the continent from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific (for so little was known about North American geography that a good many people believed the continent up here to be no wider than in Mexico). As for the middle strip, starting from the coast between the Potomac and the Hudson, it was open to the two companies, with the understanding that neither was to plant a colony within 100 miles of any settlement already begun by the other. This meant practically that it was likely to be controlled by whichever company should first come into the field with a flourishing colony. This made it worth while to act promptly.

An average seventh grade can read and interpret this paragraph. Several textbooks have maps showing the parallel strips running across the continent. If the particular text in use does not contain such a map, pupils can readily work one out on the board with the assistance of the teacher. How did the writer of this paragraph know that the boundaries were as he has

described them? Let the class make suggestions. A little discussion will prepare the way for reference to the charter itself. The charter may then be studied in the manner indicated in the chapter on the use of maps.¹

The study will naturally conclude with a comparison of the two maps. Can both be right? Which is wrong? Compare with the map, if there is one, in the textbook that may be in the hands of the class. It should be said that the textbook quoted has a footnote explaining that the sea to sea provision was added by the charter of 1609. But even that charter did not provide for "straight strips, or zones."

Whether a textbook is right or wrong in the matter, the difference between taking the textbook conclusion ready-made and taking our own conclusions worked out from the charter itself is the difference between learning the answer to a problem and working the problem. A single exercise of this kind, by giving an impression of the nature of the problem, makes any later reference to boundary questions in the colonies more intelligible.

The question asked of the charter was merely, "What does it mean?" The source was accepted as authoritative. Other sources raise the further question, "Is it true?" For an exercise involving the latter a seventh

¹ See above, p. 263.

grade may be asked to find out whether Pocahontas did or did not save the life of Captain John Smith. The teacher may first read the following extract from Smith's *True Relation*, an account written in 1607.

Arriving at Weramocomoco, their Emperour proudly lying upon a Bedstead a foote high, upon tenne or twelve Mattes, richly hung with manie Chaynes of great Pearles about his necke, and covered with a great Covering of Rahaughcums. At heade sat a woman, at his feete another; on each side sitting upon a Matte upon the ground, were raunged his chiefe men on each side the fire, tenne in a ranke, and behinde them as many yong women, each a great Chaine of white Beades over their shoulders, their heades painted in redde: and with such a grave and Majesticall countenance as drave me into admiration to see such state in a naked Salvage, hee kindly welcomed me with good wordes, and great Platters of sundrie Victuals, assuring mee his friendship, and my libertie within foure days.¹

This may be followed by Smith's later description of the same scene, first published in 1624.

At last they brought him to Meronocomo, where was Powhatan their Emperour. Here more than two hundred of those grim Courtiers stood wondering at him, as he had beene a monster; till Powhatan and his trayne had put themselves in their greatest braveries. Before a fire upon a seat like a bedstead, he sat covered with a great robe, made of Rarowcun skinnes, and all the tayles hanging by. On either hand did sit a young wench of 16 or 18 yeares, and along on each side the house, two rowes of men, and

¹ *Original Narratives of Early American History, Narratives of Early Virginia*, 48.

behind them as many women, with all their heads and shoulders painted red; many of their heads bedecked with the white downe of Birds; but everyone with something: and a great chayne of white beads about their necks. At his entrance before the King, all the people gave a great shout. The Queene of Appamatuck was appointed to bring him water to wash his hands, and another brought him a bunch of feathers, in stead of a Towell to dry them: having feasted him after their best barbarous manner they could, a long consultation was held, but the conclusion was, two great stones were brought before Powhatan: then as many as could layd hands on him, dragged him to them, and thereon laid his head, and being ready with their clubs, to beate out his braines, Pocahontas the Kings dearest daughter, when no intreaty could prevaile, got his head in her armes, and laid her owne upon his to save him from death: whereat the Emperour was contented he should live to make him hatchets, and her bells, beads, and copper.¹

Can both accounts be true? The publisher of the *True Relation* says in the preface: "Somewhat more was by him written, which being as I thought (fit to be private) I would not adventure to make it publicke."² Might this have included the death sentence and the rescue by Pocahontas? Or might Smith have been so occupied with other matters when he was writing in 1607 that it did not occur to him to mention the narrow escape from death? In 1616 Pocahontas, then the wife of John Rolfe, went to England, where she attracted

¹ *Generall Historie of Virginia*, in *Travels of Captaine John Smith*. Glasgow, 1907, I, 101.

² *Narratives of Early Virginia*, 31.

much attention. Might Smith then have been reminded that he owed his life to her, or did he merely make up the story to attract attention to himself? Pocahontas died in 1617. A story not unlike that told by Smith in 1624 had appeared in English in 1609, in a narrative of the expedition of De Soto. Juan Ortiz was, like Smith, captured by Indians and brought before their chief. "By command of Ucita, Juan Ortiz was bound hand and foot to four stakes, . . . that he might be burned; but a daughter of the chief entreated that he might be spared. Though one Christian, she said, might do no good, certainly he could do no harm, and it would be an honour to have one for a captive; to which the father acceded, directing the injuries to be healed."¹ Might Smith have read this story and remembered it in rewriting the account of his own adventures? His own account of how he was saved by Pocahontas is the sole source of information confirming the incident.

Such exercises require some skill in presentation, but, when well managed, stimulate thought and excite a high degree of interest. A sixth grade, asked to find out if gunpowder was used at the battle of Crécy, became so engrossed with the problem that the teacher, who had at first protested against such work for "poor little

¹ *Spanish Explorers in the Southern United States, Original Narratives*, 150.

minds," a few days later complained that the same "poor little minds" in their enthusiasm for the gunpowder question were neglecting more important work. A seventh grade discussing, the last period of the school day, the evidence for the Pocahontas story begged to have the period extended. The concession was granted and the discussion went on until four o'clock — thirty minutes of voluntary staying after school.

But is there not danger of making children skeptical beyond their years, unduly wise, and even "bumptious"? Apparently not. The usual lesson which they seem to learn is that one must work very hard to find out the truth about the past. It is besides not at all necessary that every look behind a history should open up a controversy. It is, in fact, desirable that some of the stories investigated should be found indisputably true. The question of how we know requires illustration of what we really know as well as of what we ought really only to suspect or openly to doubt.

The general distinction between primary and secondary sources is easily made. The pupil has but to ask, "Was the author there, or did he get his information by reading or by hearing about the matter?" This directs attention in a simple way to the fact that secondary writers now usually cite their authorities. Children early show an interest in knowing something about

the authors of histories and of their methods of work. It was a sixth-grade girl who, after looking for certain facts in Einhard's *Charlemagne* and in Emerton's *Introduction to the Middle Ages*, wanted to know if Einhard and Emerton lived at the same time. A seventh grade can be introduced to some of the mysteries of checking up a secondary writer. The teacher may read from Fiske's *Discovery of America*:

The narrative upon which our account of the Vinland voyages is chiefly based belongs to the class of historical sagas. It is the Saga of Eric the Red, and it exists in two different versions, of which one seems to have been made in the north, the other in the west of Iceland. The western version is the earlier and in some respects the better. It is found in two vellums, that of the great collection known as *Hauksbók* (AM. 544), and that which is simply known as AM. 557 from its catalogue number. . . . Of these the former, which is the best preserved, was written in a beautiful hand by Hauk Erlendsson, between 1305 and 1334, the year of his death. This western version is the one which has generally been printed under the title, "Saga of Thorfinn Karlsefni." It is the one to which I have most frequently referred in the present chapter.

The northern version is that which was made about the year 1387 by the priest Jón Thórhásson, and contained in the famous compilation known as the *Flateyar-bók*, or "Flat Island Book." This priest was editing the saga of King Olaf Tryggvesson, which is contained in that compilation, and inasmuch as Leif Ericsson's presence at King Olaf's court was connected both with the introduction of Christianity into Greenland and with the discovery of Vinland, Jón paused, after the manner of mediæval chroniclers,

and inserted then and there what he knew about Eric and Leif and Thorfinn. . . . Jón's version . . . has generally been printed under the title, "Saga of Eric the Red."¹

The teacher may then read :

One of the men who accompanied Eric to Greenland was named Herjulf, whose son Bjarni, after roving the seas for some years, came home to Iceland in 986 to drink the Yuletide ale with his father. Finding him gone, he weighed anchor and started after him to Greenland, but encountered foggy weather, and sailed on for many days by guess-work without seeing sun or stars. When at length he sighted land it was a shore without mountains, showing only small heights covered with dense woods. It was evidently not the land of fiords and glaciers for which Bjarni was looking. So without stopping to make explorations he turned his prow to the north and kept on. The sky was now fair, and after scudding nine or ten days with a brisk breeze astern, Bjarni saw the icy crags of Greenland looming up before him, and after some further searching found his way to his father's new home. On the route he more than once sighted land on the larboard.

The narrative then relates how Leif, the son of Eric the Red, "stimulated by what he had heard about Bjarni's experiences," went out to explore the lands which Bjarni had seen and thus came upon what is now supposed to have been our own continent.²

Which version has here been followed? The teacher reads from the Saga of Thorfinn Karlsefni :

¹ Fiske, *Discovery of America*, I, 198-199.

² *Ibid.*, 162-164.

Leif went to the court of King Olaf Tryggvason. He was well received by the king, who felt that he could see that Leif was a man of great accomplishments. Upon one occasion the king came to speech with Leif, and asks him, "Is it thy purpose to sail to Greenland in the summer?" "It is my purpose," said Leif, "if it be your will." "I believe it will be well," answers the king, "and thither thou shalt go upon my errand, to proclaim Christianity there." Leif replied that the king should decide, but gave it as his belief that it would be difficult to carry this mission to a successful issue in Greenland. The king replied that he knew of no man who would be better fitted for this undertaking, "and in thy hands the cause will surely prosper." "This can only be," said Leif, "if I enjoy the grace of your protection." Leif put to sea when his ship was ready for the voyage. For a long time he was tossed about upon the ocean, and came upon lands of which he had previously had no knowledge. There were self-sown wheat fields and vines growing there. There were also those trees there which are called "mausur," and of all these they took specimens.

Leif eventually reached Greenland and proclaimed Christianity. There was "much talk about a voyage of exploration to that country which Leif had discovered," and Thorstein Ericsson led an expedition to explore it. The expedition was, however, unsuccessful. Later "Karlsefni and Snorri fitted out their ship, for the purpose of going in search of that country in the spring. Biarni and Thorhall joined the expedition with their ship." This expedition was successful and Wineland was thus definitely revealed.¹

¹ *The Northmen, Columbus, and Cabot, Original Narratives*, 25, 26, 31-44.

It is at once apparent that this is not the story told in the passage cited from Fiske. The teacher turns to the other version:

Biarni arrived with his ship at Eyrar [in Iceland] in the summer of the same year, in the spring of which his father had sailed away [for Greenland]. Biarni was much surprised when he heard this news, and would not discharge his cargo. His shipmates inquired of him what he intended to do, and he replied that it was his purpose to keep his custom and make his home for the winter with his father; "and I will take the ship to Greenland, if you will bear me company." They all replied that they would abide by his decision. Then said Biarni, "Our voyage must be regarded as foolhardy; seeing that no one of us has ever been in the Greenland Sea." Nevertheless they put out to sea when they were equipped for the voyage, and sailed for three days, until the land was hidden by the water, and then the fair wind died out, and north winds arose, and fogs, and they knew not whither they were drifting, and thus it lasted for many "dœgr." Then they saw the sun again, and were able to determine the quarters of the heavens; they hoisted sail, and sailed that "dœgr" through before they saw land. They discussed among themselves what land it could be, and Biarni said that he did not believe that it could be Greenland. They asked whether he wished to sail to this land or not. "It is my counsel," [said he], "to sail close to the land." They did so, and soon saw that the land was level and covered with woods, and that there were small hillocks upon it."

As they sailed on they saw land a second and a third time, but did not go ashore. When at last they reached Greenland and Biarni told of the lands which he had seen, "the people thought that he had been lacking in enter-

prise, since he had no report to give concerning these countries, and the fact brought him reproach." Leif, the son of Eric the Red, visited Biarni, bought a ship of him and sailed away to explore the land which Biarni had seen.¹

Here evidently is the version which Fiske has followed. The other, and older of the two versions, is regarded by critics as the more probable. Fiske himself says that it is the one to which he has "most frequently referred." Why, then, does he offer the Flat Island Book version?

The teacher who wishes to test a little further Fiske's use of the material may read what is said about Eric's lack of interest in Christianity and compare with references to the subject in the sagas. "Eric, it is said," writes Fiske, "preferred to go in the way of his fathers, and deemed boisterous Valhalla, with its cups of wassail, a place of better cheer than the New Jerusalem, with its streets of gold."² The sagas make no mention of "boisterous Valhalla" or the "New Jerusalem." In one place it is stated that "Eric was slow in forming the determination to forsake his old belief," in another place, that he died before the introduction of Christianity, and in still another place, that he was actually baptized.³

¹ *The Northmen, Columbus, and Cabot, Original Narratives*, 48-50.

² Fiske, *Discovery of America*, I, 163.

³ Reeves, *Finding of Wineland the Good*, 36, 57, 69.

Elementary exercises in putting facts together may be of two general kinds. The pupil may be asked to select from such facts as have been presented those that can be included under a given group name. Or he may be given a group of facts and asked to supply an appropriate group name. Exercises of either kind should suggest arrangements different from those already given in class or in the textbook. A seventh grade, after learning the origin of the name America, may be asked to find the discoverers of America. Usually they think of only one discoverer. The group name, "Discoverers of America," will suggest the Norsemen, Columbus, the Cabots, and Vespuccius, and give a somewhat different significance to their achievements. The exercise may be reversed. The achievements may be grouped and the class asked to supply a name for the group. Such exercises may begin as early as the fourth grade, and in the seventh and eighth grades may be extended to topics of larger scope, illustrating different modes of grouping, the chronological, the geographical, the logical, and combinations of the three. Pupils may be asked to prepare a chronology of discovery and exploration in America, 1000-1565, to group discoverers and explorers with reference to their nationality, with reference to the flag which they carried, with reference to the territory which they discovered or explored, to put together facts

illustrative of the relations between white men and Indians.

In the upper grades a beginning may be made also of exercises in which pupils consciously apply on their own initiative principles of selection and grouping. The problem may be to read a brief narrative, or parts of several narratives, to pick out the facts that seem to be the most important, and to put them together in the form of a connected story. Pupils trained to analyze and to rearrange their reading in the manner described in the chapter on the use of textbooks¹ may be expected to make very acceptable reports on wisely selected readings.

All of the materials to which reference has thus far been made can be used also in the high school. They will, of course, not be used if the children have already worked out the problems in the elementary school. The difference is in the treatment. In the elementary school the teacher does most of the reading and directs attention to the problems by questioning. In the high school the pupil may himself do most of the reading and reach his conclusions with less direct guidance.

Work in the high school should include written exercises in which the pupil classifies his material, passes judgment upon its value for the topic under discussion,

¹ See above, p. 187.

and gives specific references. It is well for these purposes to follow a fixed plan. A regular printed form with spaces for required data is convenient and can easily be made up to order by any printer. It may be a separate sheet or included on the first page of a folded sheet of any size desired. The following is an example:

STUDIES IN HISTORY

M. (Name of pupil). Subject.
 Assigned (Insert date). Report (Insert date).
 Number of pages read. . . Time spent in preparation. . . .

REFERENCES

Sources
 Secondary works
 Personal impression of authors
 Best single reference

In making assignments to individual pupils the teacher writes in the name of the pupil, the subject, the date of assignment, and the date for handing in the report. For some exercises the teacher indicates also the works to be consulted. Where there is to be general class discussion the subject should usually be the same for all and should be one that lends itself to brief treatment. The paper should either have a ruled margin or space at the bottom of the sheet for specific references for the body of the report. Two or three short papers in which

the authorities are indicated, and two or three short papers and one paper of considerable length in which the pupils find their own authorities, will ordinarily be sufficient in any one year.

Subjects for such papers should be so stated as to call for definite conclusions. What boundaries were assigned to Virginia by the charter of 1609? Why was Roger Williams banished from Massachusetts? Who was the author of the Monroe doctrine? When and where did Henry Clay say that he would rather be right than be president? For the first independent quest for material it is sometimes convenient to assign brief extracts from standard works, with instructions to the pupil to trace the authority for the facts alleged to primary sources, to decide whether the facts are correctly reported in the extract assigned, and to describe just how he went to work to find his materials. The following are types of extracts that have been tested in this way:

One day Peisistratus appeared in his chariot in the popular assembly, covered with blood and alleging that he had been attacked and wounded. On the motion of Ariston the people resolved with the consent of the council to assign him a guard of fifty club men. He obtained more than fifty, and seized the citadel.

At length with great toil and peril Hannibal reached the summit, where he rested his men and cheered them with some such words as these: "Here on the summit of the Alps, we hold the

citadel of Italy; below us on the south are our friends, the Gauls, who will supply us with provisions from their bountiful lands and will help us against their deadly foes; and yonder in the distance lies Rome."

[Death and burial of Alaric.] Now that their leader had died in an enemy's land they [the Germans] outdid themselves in showing him honour. They forced their Roman captives to divert the current of the river Busento, in order that his grave should be undisturbed. Here in the bed of the stream, with rich treasures heaped around him, they laid him to rest. The water was turned back into its course, and the workmen were slain lest they should betray the secret.

Roger Williams. Born in Wales about 1600: died in Rhode Island, probably, in March or April, 1684.

[Battle of Crécy.] A small ditch protected the English front, and behind it the bowmen were drawn up "in the form of a harrow," with small bombards between them "which, with fire, threw little iron balls to frighten the horses" — the first instance of the use of artillery in field warfare.

[Inauguration of Jefferson, 1801.] Jefferson had resolved that no pageant should give the lie to his democratic principles, and accordingly he rode on horseback, clad in studiously plain clothes, without attendants, to the capitol, dismounted, tied his horse to the fence, and walked unceremoniously into the senate chamber.

It is sometimes useful to assign work of this kind before giving definite instruction and practice in the use of indexes, tables of contents, card catalogues, footnotes, lists of authorities in histories, bibliographical suggestions in encyclopedias, and special historical bibliographies. The result is likely to convince the pupil of

the utility of such aids. But the instruction should at some time be definitely given and with it sufficient practice to insure a reasonable degree of facility. There should be special exercises in bibliography and at least one of the short papers in each year may be of this character. The subject must of course be one on which not too much has been written. The pupil may be shown a bibliography of Franklin or of Hamilton; he could scarcely be expected to make one. The subjects must usually be local celebrities not too celebrated, and local incidents or questions not too widely heralded, or, in the field at large, relatively obscure persons, incidents, and questions.

Any work in the high school involving comparisons of different accounts should be reduced to a definite system. The pupil should do more than read the accounts and report his general impressions. He should carefully tabulate point by point, either in parallel columns or on separate cards, each fact or opinion in the accounts and then compare point by point. It is only after careful training that impressions gained merely by reading are in any way to be depended upon. Many intelligent persons overlook striking differences even in dealing with very familiar material. Classes made up of teachers have repeatedly failed, with the materials definitely before them, to detect any difference, except in phrase-

ology, between the command to keep the Sabbath as stated in *Deuteronomy* v, 12-16, and in *Exodus* xx, 8-12.

The interest of pupils in problems designed to convey impressions of what is involved in arriving at the truth about the past will be stimulated by occasional reference to specific achievements of historical criticism. How did Lorenzo Valla prove the donation of Constantine a forgery?¹ How did Champollion decipher Egyptian hieroglyphics?² By what process was the famous story that "as the first thousand years of our calendar drew to an end, in every land of Europe the people expected with certainty the destruction of the world" shown to be a mere legend?³ How did Professor Dunning prove that George Bancroft wrote President Johnson's first annual message?⁴ Not only may an account of the problem and its solution be presented, but some of the steps in the solution may occasionally be taken in class. First-year pupils in the high school, knowing how Champollion reached the conclusion that a certain group of characters made up the name Ptolemy and another group the name Cleopatra, will, with the two groups

¹ Coleman, *Constantine the Great and Christianity*, 191-199.

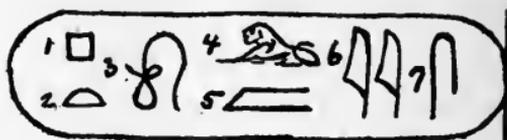
² Budge, *The Mummy*, 129-147.

³ *American Historical Review*, VI, 429-439.

⁴ *Ibid.*, XI, 574-583.

placed upon the blackboard, themselves readily do a little deciphering. The names written in hieroglyphics are as follows:

No. 1. Ptolemy.



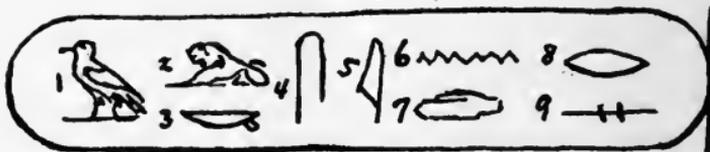
No. 2. Cleopatra.



The class may be asked to pick out the signs which are identical in the two groups and compare their positions with the letters in the names above each cartouche. Thus sign No. 1 in cartouche No. 1 is seen to be the same as sign No. 5 in cartouche No. 2. The first letter in Ptolemy is P and the fifth letter in Cleopatra is P. What is the natural inference? Before the comparison has been completed the class should be told that signs 10 and 11 always accompany feminine names.

With the characters thus discovered the class may examine cartouche No. 3.

No. 3.



Knowing from cartouches Nos. 1 and 2 the signs 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, and 8 the class may write out the equivalents in our own alphabet, leaving blank spaces for the unknown characters. They will then readily see how a scholar might at once surmise that the cartouche contains the name Alexander and that the values of three additional signs have been discovered. The teacher need not be surprised if, after such a lesson, a demand arises for signs sufficient to enable pupils to write their own names in hieroglyphics.¹ The exercise in a somewhat simplified form has been tried with success even in a sixth grade.

Exercises in historical construction of the kind suggested for the elementary school may be continued in the high school, with the addition of some illustrations of historical organization drawn from the practice of historians. The principle of grouping facts according to kind and of arranging each kind in chronological order can be extended and used with profit as a basis for drill and review. The Indian question in the United States, the tariff, internal improvements, slavery, the money of the United States, and other similar topics, treated in this way, should each call up readily a procession of dates attended by associations that bring definitely into view the main facts relating to each topic so far as developed. This plan makes possible a variety of interest-

¹ For materials see Budge, *The Mummy*, 366-375.

ing studies of the relations of facts within a group to each other and to facts in other groups, studies which give to cause and effect in history a meaning quite different from that ordinarily conveyed by a ready-made enumeration of cause and effect.

If the burden imposed upon the memory by learning a considerable number of dates is considered too great, something similar in character can be accomplished by a distribution of topics. At the beginning of the year say to A: "I want you to be our specialist on American slavery. As the work goes on you are to enter in your notebook everything that has any bearing on slavery. You are to know definitely the dates, the situations, and their relations to other situations. Whenever we are in doubt on any question connected with slavery, we shall turn to you for information." Say to B: "You are to be our specialist on the tariff," and repeat the directions given for slavery. It is easy in this way to assign to each member of the class some special topic for which he is to be individually responsible throughout the year. Have the whole class copy all the tables compiled, but do not hold all responsible for all the tables. As a part of the review of each lesson ask if there are any additions to be made to the notebook. If so, have them copied then and there. All will find these tables useful in general reviews where general reviews are required. All

will obtain new light on the relations of facts to each other. The plan can be applied in developing the history of any country.

It is quite possible to leave the pupil at the end of his high school course with fairly definite impressions of history both as a process of establishing and organizing truth and as a body of organized truth. It is too much to expect to leave him with habits of investigation so firmly fixed and with a mind so open to historical evidence as to insure him against all future lapses from the historical treatment of historical data. There are too many melancholy examples of failure on the part even of highly trained historical specialists to apply the principles of historical science to leave room for any such pious expectation. It is, however, permissible to hope that a tendency may be developed to treat ordinary data historical in character with some degree of discrimination. It is permissible to hope that a foundation may be laid for an intelligent appreciation of histories. It is something merely to be protected against the gilded historical rubbish so extensively advertised in periodicals and in special circulars, and so often commended by *ex officio* critics of the class vaguely described by book agents as the "best people." The "best people" may buy a ten-volume history of the world convinced of its enormous erudition by the statement in capital

letters that it is "the most scholarly work of its time." It must be, for the author spent three whole years in preparing it. A graduate from a high school ought to know that ten-volume scholarship ranging over such a field and three years of preparation are hopelessly incompatible.

CHAPTER XV

THE CORRELATION OF HISTORY WITH OTHER SUBJECTS IN THE CURRICULUM

THE correlation of school studies means a treatment in which knowledge or discipline derived from one subject is brought into connection with knowledge or discipline derived from other subjects. It is of two general kinds: (1) the incidental correlation which springs from a broad view of any subject and is suggested for the illumination of the subject itself, and (2) the systematic correlation which seeks in varying degrees to unify the curriculum.

I Incidental correlation is correlation of the kind described by the Committee of Seven. "Ideal conditions," said the Committee, "will prevail when the teachers in one field of work are able to take wise advantage of what their pupils are doing in another; when the teacher of Latin or Greek will call the attention of his pupils, as they read Cæsar or Xenophon, to the facts which they have learned in their history classes; when the teachers of French and German and English will do the same; when the teacher of physical geography

will remember that the earth is man's dwelling place, or more properly his growing place, and will be able to relate the mountains, seas, and tides of which he speaks with the growth and progress of men; when he will remember that Marco Polo and Henry the Navigator and Meriwether Lewis were unfolding geography and making history, and that Cape Verde not only juts out into the Atlantic but stands forth as a promontory in human history. Is the time far distant when the march of the Ten Thousand will be looked upon not merely as a procession of optative moods and conditional clauses, but as an account of the great victory won by Greek skill, discipline, and intelligence over the helplessness of oriental confusion? And will Cæsar long be taught only as a compound of ablative absolutes and indirect discourses, rather than as a story, told by one of history's greatest men, of how our Teutonic forefathers were brought face to face with Roman power, and how the peoples of Gaul were subjected to the arts and the arms of Rome, and made to pass under the yoke of bondage to southern civilization and southern law? The teacher of history, if he knows the foreign languages which his pupils are studying, may connect the words they have learned with concrete things; and he may, above all, help to give the young people who are trying to master a foreign tongue, some appreciation of the tone, temper, and spirit of

the people, without which a language seems void and characterless.”¹

Incidental correlation was probably introduced by the first good teacher and has probably found some illustration in the work of good teachers ever since. The gain and pleasure to be derived from it scarcely need statement. It should, however, be observed that the Committee of Seven in discussing the principle employed the future tense. There was apparently need in 1899 of directing the attention of teachers in general to rather obvious possibilities, and there is still need of emphasis:

Systematic correlation not only looks to the individual teacher to take advantage in each field of what pupils are doing in other fields, but plans definitely in advance to have pupils constantly dealing in each field with material bearing upon material in other fields. Comenius had the idea. Jacotot expressed it in his paradox, “All is in all,” and in the corollary, “Know one thing thoroughly and relate everything else to that.” Herbart led up to it in his conception of apperception as the assimilation of a new idea by ideas already in the mind. The principle, chiefly through the influence of Herbartians, began to be applied in the United States about forty years ago, and by 1890 had come to occupy

¹ *Report*, Committee of Seven, 30-32.

a leading place in educational discussions. The early nineties resounded with concrete examples of close correlation. A supervisor of elementary instruction discovered that history could be introduced into arithmetic and arithmetic into history by computing the difference between the number of British and the number of colonial casualties at Bunker Hill. A superintendent of schools discovered an intimate connection between the hanging of two murderers in an adjoining county and the subjects in the school curriculum. A newspaper editorial on the hanging served, it was said, as a lesson in reading. A class in civics debated the question of capital punishment. A class in history compared the crimes punishable by death in England in the seventeenth century with crimes punishable by death in the United States in the latter part of the nineteenth century. A class in arithmetic computed the board feet of lumber in the scaffold. A class in physics calculated the tension of the rope. The principle seemed to admit of limitless application. Might not to-day's lesson in arithmetic be, not merely one growing out of yesterday's lesson in arithmetic and leading up to the arithmetic lesson of to-morrow, but one growing out of yesterday's lesson in arithmetic, geography, nature study, drawing, current events, and even history and literature, and leading up to the lessons of to-morrow in

all of these lines? Might not lessons in each subject be planned in this way with definite reference to lessons in other subjects?

The ideal may appear attractive, but there are great practical difficulties. The special school studies, as ordinarily conceived, do not offer in sufficient number the necessary points of contact. To force relations is to develop views often superficial and sometimes grotesque. Any high degree of systematic correlation seems to require either that all knowledge desirable for school purposes be thrown into one general mass and then reorganized without reference to the "artificial lines" created by the growth of special studies, or else that some one subject or line of interest be selected as a center or core about which to group materials from other subjects. The most notable achievements in close correlation have been of the latter sort. Ziller, a follower of Herbart, chose history as the central subject and built around it, for the elementary school, a course of study based upon the culture-epoch theory. Among other subjects and lines of interest that have at various times been used as the organizing core are general science, geography, and the social life of the school. This is what is commonly called concentration. It is unnecessary for the present purpose to examine in detail such comprehensive schemes of correlation. The

conditions will be sufficiently illustrated by a brief consideration of the relations between history and geography, history and literature, and history and government.

The theater of events is a necessary part of their reality. It is in many cases the cause that produced them. Man makes his physical environment. He is also made by his physical environment. The story of his life is in any case inseparable from his physical environment. Geography describes this environment. It must, in describing it, include the works of man. History without geography and geography without history are alike unthinkable. School courses in the two fields would, therefore, seem naturally to invite correlation.

The situation has been clearly recognized and consciously faced in the making of programs for European elementary schools. The German pupil commonly begins with *realien*, a blending of geography, history, and general science. From object lessons connected with the teaching of language he is gradually led to home geography, local traditions, and nature study. Geography and history, on becoming separate subjects, go hand in hand as he passes from the district to the province and on to the Empire. Beyond the Empire the subjects necessarily draw apart. History is essentially

German history. Geography takes a wider survey. The French elementary program keeps the topics in history and geography related in a general way throughout the course. History, in the upper classes, passes from a review of French history to summary notions of ancient, mediæval and modern history, and of current events. Geography, in the upper classes, passes from Europe to the world at large.

European secondary schools, like European elementary schools, provide instruction in the two subjects throughout the whole or most of the course. Secondary school programs show, however, in general less attention to correlation than elementary school programs. Some programs for secondary schools in Germany arrange to have countries treated in the history course treated at about the same time in the geography course. The relations are further emphasized by the general practice of assigning to the same teacher classes both in geography and in history. In programs of the concentration type, with history as the central subject, the correlation reaches even individual topics in individual lessons. But, in the main, the history course is planned for history and the geography course for geography. This is true in a still higher degree in France. The ancient custom of intrusting the two subjects to the same teacher remains, but even that has been severely criti-

cised. "In France," writes M. Langlois, "geography has long been regarded as a science closely related to history. An *Agrégation*, which combines history and geography, exists at the present day, and in the *lycées* history and geography are taught by the same professors. Many people persist in asserting the legitimacy of this combination, and even take umbrage when it is proposed to separate two branches of knowledge united, as they say, by many essential connecting links. But it would be hard to find any good reason, or any facts of experience, to prove that a professor of history or an historian is so much the better the more he knows of geology, oceanography, climatology, and the whole group of geographical sciences. In fact it is with some impatience, and to no immediate advantage, that the students of history work through the courses of geography which their curricula force upon them; and those students who have a real taste for geography would be very glad to throw history overboard. The artificial union of history with geography dates back, in France, to an epoch when geography was an ill-defined and ill-arranged subject, regarded by all as a negligible branch of study. It is a relic of antiquity that we ought to get rid of at once."¹

¹ Langlois and Seignobos, *Introduction to the Study of History*, 46-47, Note.

In the majority of American schools little history is taught below the seventh grade, and in the upper grades the subject is usually American history. In the high school, geography is scarcely taught at all. The opportunities for correlation are in consequence, for most schools, so limited that they scarcely suggest a practical problem. With more history in the elementary school and more geography in the high school, general correlation of the kind worked out in the French elementary program and in some German secondary programs would appear to be desirable. But for the most part European experience seems to indicate that the place to emphasize the geographical background of history is in the history course, and that the place to emphasize the historical background of geography is in the geography course. At best, the geography needed to illuminate history may or may not be the geography needed to illuminate geography, and the history needed to illuminate geography may or may not be the history needed to illuminate history.

The correlation of history and literature presents a somewhat different problem. History began as a branch of literature, and history conceived in the literary spirit continues to find publishers and readers. The line of demarcation which critical historians have been drawing during the last hundred years, and which is now fairly

clear to special students of history, has to some extent been recognized in the shaping of school programs. But the attitude of a very considerable part of the educational world has from the first been unfriendly toward all attempts to sever history from its literary associations.

Jacob Grimm, a century ago, complained that education had created an unnatural gulf between history and poetry, and this is still the opinion of many writers on education. There are, as we have seen, theories of grading history that require a romantic treatment of the subject even in the high school. There are educational aims that point to history as an "epic, a drama, and a song." There are conceptions of historical truth that place the tales of poets above the sober facts narrated by historians. In many cases, therefore, the correlation of history and literature means the treatment of history itself in the literary spirit and, in some cases, the treatment of history itself for the sake of literature. "Most people," argued a prominent speaker, discussing, some years ago, the aims of history teaching, "in thinking of Lexington and Concord, think of *Paul Revere's Ride*. The poem should, then, be taught, not only because it is eminently suitable for school use, but because children made familiar with it are to that extent brought into harmony with their environment outside

of school." "Why," asked another speaker on a similar occasion, "should we teach the events of April 19, 1775?" "Chiefly," was the answer, "in order that children may understand *Paul Revere's Ride*."

Advocates of the correlation that ends by swamping history in literature have a simple task. Literature abounds in portrayals of scenes and characters, great and small, by poets, dramatists, and novelists. The materials have so often been searched out and listed that no great amount of ingenuity is required to discover them. It is easy to fill the history course with such materials and to correlate with similar materials in reading courses and in studies in literature. It is easy, if there are qualms of historical conscience, to point out general distinctions between history and literature and easy to preserve peaceful relations afterward by a little honest lapse of memory in applying the distinctions, or by a little honest ignorance of history. But difficulties of a somewhat serious character await those who really explore the mutual contributions of the two fields. "History," we read, for example, "is the record of men's deeds. Literature is the record of men's thoughts and feelings. How can one record be understood without reading the other also? Indeed, it is only by bringing the two records together and comparing them—in-terpreting men's feelings in the light of their deeds,

and illustrating their deeds by their sentiments and feelings as they are expressed in literature — that the study of either literature or history can be made vital.”¹

History does not, of course, stop with men's deeds, and literature does not stop with men's thoughts and feelings. History habitually includes thoughts and feelings; literature does not hesitate to describe deeds. A considerable part of the literature used in school to illuminate history is, indeed, almost pure narration of events. But, waiving this objection, and admitting that the two records should be brought together and compared, other difficulties appear. The speaker who found in *Paul Revere's Ride* a reason for studying history would, in all probability, have been less sure of his ground if his logic had carried him to the actual test. It would seem at least of doubtful value, either to history or to literature, before or after galloping with Paul Revere into “Concord town” in Longfellow's spirited poem, to be stopped on the road by British soldiers in some cold history, with no hint that “the fate of a nation” was thus dismounted or that the steed was responsible for a “spark” which “kindled the land into flame with its heat.” A good poem or novel may be quite spoiled by a little consideration of the bald facts and their historical

¹ *Report*, Association of History Teachers of the Middle States and Maryland, 1908, p. 50.

significance. A clear page of history may reap only confusion from romance.

It is of course possible to select, both from contemporary literature and from later literary reconstructions of the past, records that need not be questioned. The object may be merely to illustrate the sentiments of individual authors. The record may be one in which the facts of history are touched but lightly, or in a very general way, and as a mere background, with emphasis upon impressions made by the facts or upon their larger meaning. One does not check severely Byron's summary of Greek history in the *Isles of Greece*, or the conversation between the mate and the admiral in Joaquin Miller's *Sail On*. One does not look to Browning's *Abt Vogler* or *A Grammarian's Funeral* for biography. The situation is in any event saved, in most cases, by the simple device of not bringing the two records together for comparison. Those who look upon *Ivanhoe* as "a true picture of the Middle Ages," or *A Tale of Two Cities* as "a true picture of the French Revolution," naturally feel no need of instituting comparisons. Those who are more critical, and who recommend such works for "purely illustrative purposes," usually find comparisons with matter of fact pictures impracticable. For teachers in general it is enough that historical fiction is supposed to be more interesting than history, that it is supposed to

have more atmosphere, and that it is supposed to lead in time to the reading of serious history. Lady Clarinda spoke for a large class of readers. "History," she said, "is but a tiresome thing in itself; it becomes the more agreeable the more romance is mixed up with it. The great enchanter has made me learn many things which I should never have dreamed of studying, if they had not come to me in the form of amusement."¹

The romantic treatment of history has been commended even by historians. Thierry eulogized Chateaubriand and contrasted Scott's "wonderful comprehension of the past with the petty erudition of the most celebrated modern historians." The appearance of *Ivanhoe* he saluted "with transports of enthusiasm." It was apparently from Scott that he derived the inspiration for his *Conquest of England by the Normans*, and it was quite in the spirit of Scott that he wrote at the end of one of his chapters: "These men have been dead seven hundred years. But what of that? For the imagination there is no past."²

If the discredit cast upon Thierry by historical critics is held to detract from the value of his praise, we have, nearer home, the generous recognition accorded by James

¹ Thomas Love Peacock, *Crotchet Castle*, Scribner's Edition, 427. ("The great enchanter" was of course Sir Walter Scott.)

² Gooch, *History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century*, 170, 171.

Ford Rhodes to a novelist within a field already investigated by the historian. "What I have attempted in the way of color when touching upon South Carolina and Charleston," says Rhodes, "has been completely and artistically done by Owen Wister in 'Lady Baltimore.' Every student of the South during the period of reconstruction will have his knowledge clarified and his judgment informed by a study of this delicate portrayal of the people of Charleston. Through the charm of a skillfully constructed story, he will be made to see life as it is and as it was. Nothing, in my judgment, has been written to prove so powerful an agent in bringing to pass Lamar's noble words, 'My countrymen, *know* one another and you will *love* one another.'" ¹

Other historians have been less favorably impressed by historical fiction. It was no less a master than Ranke who declared that "the discovery of the difference in the portraits of Louis XI and Charles the Bold in *Quentin Durward* and in Commines constituted an epoch in his life." "I found by comparison," he says, "that the truth was more interesting and beautiful than the romance. I turned away from it and resolved to avoid all invention and imagination in my work and to stick to the facts." ²

¹ *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850*, VI, p. vii.

² Gooch, *History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century*, 78.

It would be easy to multiply quotations from historians in praise or dispraise of historical fiction. It would be easy to show similar differences of opinion among literary critics, and even among novelists themselves.¹ The teacher who desires to prove either side by citations of opinion will find no lack of distinguished support.

Accuracy in historical detail is rarely claimed for historical novels and rarely tested in school, and the encomiums pronounced upon atmosphere come so often from those who have scarcely looked at history, outside of a textbook, that the claims are subject to some suspicion. There should at least be a distinction between an atmosphere really true to history and an atmosphere which appears true to the reader merely because he feels atmosphere. The extent to which historical novels cultivate a taste for history is debatable. It will not do to argue that, because Parkman was led by Cooper's novels to write one of the greatest of American histories, the pupil who begins with Cooper will end with Parkman. It is safer, as a general proposition, to argue that the historical novel cultivates a taste for the historical novel. Certainly tests of teachers addicted to historical novels show an almost hopeless mortality in crossing the bridge to history. At bottom, the argument for the introduction

¹ For examples of literary opinion see *Forum*, XXIV, 79-91, and André Le Breton, *Balzac*, 83.

of historical fiction into school instruction in history rests, in most cases, upon the grounds stated by Lady Clarinda. Historical fiction is used because it is interesting. To a large extent literature in general is used for the same and for no other real reason.

Teachers of history, especially in the elementary school, concede too readily that history is "but a tiresome thing in itself." The tradition, it should be remembered, has in the main been established by those who are more familiar with literary than with historical interpretations of history. Those who have tried the latter have often discovered, even in the elementary school, that there are children who, like Ranke, find "the truth more interesting and beautiful than the romance." But even if the greater interest of the literary interpretation be granted, it does not follow that the place of history is in the camp of literature whenever it happens to meet a poet, dramatist, or novelist, who has drawn materials from its highways or byways.

History contributes to literature. It furnishes material and inspiration to literary genius. It supplies the background of conditions and events contemporary with literary genius and here, as elsewhere, relates the times to the man. It records great achievements in literature with great achievements in other fields of human activity. It is itself in some cases literature. Literature

contributes to history. It furnishes indications of popular taste and of moral and intellectual standards. It sheds light upon the prejudices, the ideals, and the aspirations of a people. It is to be counted with the forces that mold the life of a people. It is a part of the atmosphere of its age. Each field is dependent upon the other. But history moves primarily in the realm of fact. Literature moves primarily in the realm of art. The difference is radical both in spirit and in purpose. It may be that literature is of the higher value to humanity. The value of history is not, in any event, to be realized by teaching literature. The duty of those who profess to teach history is to teach history.

The relations between history and government have, through most of the history of history, been so intimate that to discuss them is much like discussing the relation of botany to plants or of zoölogy to animals. When Freeman pronounced history past politics he summed up at least the common practice of past historians. History meant for centuries essentially the history of rulers and of governmental operations, and affairs of state still occupy the most prominent place in the pages of the general historian. The study of history in school has been from the beginning, in large part, a study of forms of government, of changes in government, and of the workings of government. Partly as cause and partly

as effect of this arrangement, it has for many years been an axiom that the study of history should prepare for political duties. It has for many years been assumed that history accomplishes the purpose.

In Europe the correlation, if the term is here applicable, has been and is so complete that government is commonly taught as a part of the course in history. The need of more political instruction has often been emphasized, but almost invariably as a part of instruction in history. It is a need that has recently found frequent expression, especially in Germany. *Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, in its initial number in 1911, published the opinions of six prominent German statesmen. Prince Bülow, one of the contributors, quoted a remark made by Dr. Althoff in response to a suggestion that political instruction in Germany left much to be desired. "We are," said Dr. Althoff, "the first people in philosophy, music, lyric poetry. No one surpasses us in bravery before the enemy. In science and in technics, in trade and industry we have made mighty progress. Since one cannot at the same time do and be everything it need not surprise your Highness if we are political donkeys."¹ Prince Bülow, without going as far as Dr. Althoff, recognized a serious defect in school instruction, which he proposed to remedy by making political intel-

¹ Heft I, 5.

ligence and a sense of political duty the first aim in the teaching of history. This seems to be at present a view widely held in Europe.

In the United States, opinion has to a considerable extent followed the conclusions of the Committee of Seven. "Much time" said the Committee, "will be saved and better results obtained if history and civil government be studied in large measure together, as one subject rather than as two distinct subjects. We are sure that, in the light of what has been said in the earlier portions of this report about the desirability of school pupils knowing their political surroundings and duties, no one will suppose that in what we recommend we underestimate the value of civil government or wish to lessen the effectiveness of the study. What we desire to emphasize is the fact that the two subjects are in some respects one, and that there is a distinct loss of energy in studying a small book on American history and afterward a small book on civil government, or *vice versa*, when by combining the two a substantial course may be given.

"In any complete and thorough secondary course in these subjects there must be, probably, a separate study of civil government, in which may be discussed such topics as municipal government, state institutions, the nature and origin of civil society, some fundamental

notions of law and justice, and like matters; and it may even be necessary, if the teacher desires to give a complete course and can command the time, to supplement work in American history with a formal study of the Constitution and the workings of the national government. But we repeat that a great deal of what is commonly called civil government can best be studied as a part of history. To know the present form of our constitutions well, one should see whence they came and how they developed; but to show origins, developments, changes, is the task of history, and in the proper study of history one sees just these movements and knows their results.”¹

In 1908, however, a committee of five of the American Political Science Association reported that “the consensus of opinion and the existing practice are clearly in favor of teaching American government as a distinct branch of high school study,” and proceeded with vigor to assail the position of teachers who still believed that American government should be taught in the course in American history. The arguments for the latter arrangement, as summarized by the Committee, were:

1. Since American government is largely an outgrowth of American history, both should be studied simultaneously. 2. The subjects should be taught together to save time and avoid the repetition of history. 3. The subject of government when taught

¹ *Report, Committee of Seven, 81-82.*

apart from history is abstract and very general, therefore uninteresting to high school students. 4. Because of the recommendation made by the Committee of Seven of the American Historical Association.

In answer to these arguments the political science Committee found in the first statement a "pedagogical fallacy." "It does not follow that because government is largely an outgrowth from history a boy in the high school should study them at the same time." The second statement was declared to be its own best refutation. If there is not room for government, there ought to be room. As for the repetition of history in the study of government, "it is exactly this kind of correlation that we want." The third statement was held to be "really directed against the threadbare stuff that formerly was taught under the meaningless name of 'Civics'" and therefore without special significance. The conclusions of the Committee of Seven were found "hesitating and apparently contradictory." That Committee, it was inferred, "did not aim to solve the problem of the course in government, but undertook to adapt it to the needs of instruction in history." The results of combining the two subjects were described. "In most instances the teachers present, in these combination courses, American history as it is commonly taught, with a brief study of local government in connection with the history of the

colonies, a few lessons on the Constitution in the constitution-making period, and then some hurried lessons here and there on special topics like the Speaker, the veto power, etc." "We cannot hope," added the Committee, "for anything but the merest botch work from such plans of instruction."¹ *ill-finished work*

The Committee of Five of the American Historical Association restated the views of the Committee of Seven and expressed general sympathy therewith, but, recognizing more definitely the need of some separate work in government, proposed to divide between history and government the time allotted to history in the fourth year of the high school. "Two-fifths of the time," said the Committee, "may be given to separate work in government and three-fifths to the course in history. This arrangement will not appear to all teachers as ideal; some teachers will desire more time for history, others more time for government. But on the whole the distribution appears to be the best that can be proposed, and we should be the last to assert that no teacher should modify any adjustment or arrangement to suit his own needs and inclinations, if they are based on an intelligent regard for the subject and his pupils. Many teachers will prefer to give the civil government separately after

¹ *Proceedings, American Political Science Association, 1908, p. 228, 231, 232, 234, 236, 238.*

the history work is concluded. But while this plan may have its advantages in some respects, the continuous study of government throughout the year side by side with history has also advantages that merit some consideration. Where the study of government extends through the whole year, there are many opportunities for concrete illustrations and even learning by observation, which are not allowed in a shorter time: elections are held; municipal problems arise and are discussed in the newspapers; important appointments to office are announced; the usual presidential message appears. These advantages will induce many teachers to prefer the system of carrying government through the year side by side with history.”¹

The conceptions of history and of history teaching which have been especially emphasized in these pages are, it is at once apparent, quite irreconcilable with any general scheme of close correlation except the concentra-

¹ *Report*, Committee of Five, 52-53.

The writer is strongly of the opinion that government should be taught as a separate subject both in the elementary and in the secondary school. It is for this reason that the teaching of government has not been included in the present work. The thread of governmental institutions about which school history is still commonly organized is a part of history and as such in no need of special discussion. But government as a separate and systematic study of political institutions and present civic life offers problems that require for their elucidation a separate treatise.

tion about history of all the materials in the curriculum. History is not without claims to such a position. It is, as suggested by the Committee of Seven, by its very nature a central subject. The specialist in every field now views his field historically, and the teacher of any subject is to some extent called upon to follow the example of the specialist. "As a theoretical proposition, at least," said the Committee of Seven, "the assertion that the story of life and the onward movement of men, not their language or their physical environment, should form the center of a liberal course, would seem to leave little ground for argument."¹ Yet concentration about history would, perhaps, be as undesirable for history as for the subjects thus subordinated to history. Each subject presents facts and processes essential to the understanding or appreciation of the world as it is, which, to be made effective, must be worked out on the principle "This one thing I do," and with materials selected with an eye single to the one thing. There are, beyond question, natural points of contact that should be foreseen in planning the curriculum and consciously turned to account by all teachers. But it is at best a doubtful procedure so to manipulate any subject as to impair the integrity of its own peculiar contribution.

¹ *Report*, Committee of Seven, 32.

CHAPTER XVI

THE HISTORY EXAMINATION

SCHOOL examinations occasionally involve tests of tastes, interests, and habits. More commonly they are confined to tests of what pupils know and of what they are able to do with what they know. To the extent that such processes are involved, every school lesson is an examination. More specifically an examination is the formal and more or less formidable test which most pupils at some stage of their school career learn to expect at the end of the month, the term, the year, or the course. The latter is the usual conception and is the one to be considered in the present chapter.

The examination idea, as developed in Europe and America, had its origin in the universities of the Middle Ages, where it was applied in testing candidates for admission to the various university degrees. It appears to have been first carried over into school practice for the purpose of indicating to outside authorities the quality of school work. Early school examinations were oral and were conducted by bishops and other learned men. Such were the "school visitations" of the sixteenth cen-

ture. The step to written examinations conducted by teachers in the school appears to have been taken partly as a matter of convenience, partly to meet the objection that examinations by strangers placed both teachers and pupils at a disadvantage, and partly as the expression of a growing confidence in teachers. In the case of the Merchant Taylors' School in London, the last two of these reasons were specifically alleged when, after forty years of visitation, provision was made in 1601 for introducing written examinations to be set by the masters, and for confining the work of visitors to a review of the papers.¹ Another purpose that early came into view in England was the award of scholarships on the basis of examination results. Our own vexed question of college entrance examinations was launched in 1642, when Harvard first formulated its requirements. Before the end of the eighteenth century most of the purposes and problems now commonly associated with school examinations had been disclosed. The nineteenth century added few new elements, but extended the application of the examination idea far beyond all earlier practice and perfected the machinery of examinations. The period of greatest development in the United States was ushered in about forty years ago.

The experience of the sixteenth century brought into

¹ Monroe, *Cyclopedia of Education*, II, 533-534.

discussion two fundamental questions of procedure: Shall examinations be determined within or without the schools? Shall they be written or oral? To these questions different countries have returned somewhat different answers. The most important European school examination is the leaving examination at the end of the secondary school course. Under the Prussian system, established in 1788, there are written examinations extending over four or five days and, for those whose papers are not entirely satisfactory, supplementary oral examinations. The examination board consists of a government inspector, the head of the school, and the upper class teachers. The questions for the written examinations are selected by the inspector from lists prepared by the teachers. The papers are marked by the teachers concerned and then submitted to the board as a whole. The French *baccalauréat de l'enseignement secondaire* is the outgrowth of a system established in 1808. The regulations, as revised in 1902, require examinations on the subjects pursued during the second cycle. The examinations are in two parts, separated by an interval of a year. For some subjects the examinations are in part written and in part oral; for others the examinations are entirely oral. The examining board consists of two or more members of university faculties and two or more secondary teachers either active or re-

tired. These two systems are typical of the practice of continental Europe.¹

The examinations most familiar in the United States are examinations to test at short intervals the progress of pupils, and examinations to determine fitness for promotion, for a school certificate or diploma, or for entrance to college. Examinations to test progress are usually framed and conducted by class teachers in consultation with the principal of the school. Other examinations are sometimes determined within the school and sometimes by state, or college, or other authorities outside of the school. The examinations most widely known are those conducted by the College Entrance Examination Board, organized in 1900, and pronounced by President Butler in 1913 "by far the most useful single constructive force that has ever come into the field of American secondary and collegiate education."² The Board represents both colleges and secondary schools, and both have a voice in the framing of questions and in the marking of papers. Examinations are held at different centers throughout the country, and in foreign countries, and successful candidates are admitted to colleges throughout the country.

The examinations most frequently under discussion

¹ See article on *Examinations*, *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th edition.

² College Entrance Examination Board, *Report*, 1914, p. 3.

are those determined in whole or in part by outside authorities. Where such examinations are required the natural tendency on the part both of teachers and of pupils is to prepare for examinations, and even to look upon examinations as the chief end of study. This is by no means an unmixed evil. It has, indeed, been an important factor in elevating standards and a powerful, if not altogether worthy, stimulus to effort on the part of pupils. The problem is so to adjust the examinations as not to interfere with purposes which may be considered of higher merit than the attainment of passing grades. It is, as suggested by the Madison Conference, to devise some system "by which schools which use proper methods shall have some advantage."¹ Under European systems of school organization such adjustments are relatively simple. The curriculum determines the nature of the examinations. Under English and American systems the examinations often determine, if not the curriculum, at least the general methods of teaching.

Some subjects lend themselves readily to examination. The ability, for example, to read Latin, or to solve a problem in Algebra, can be definitely and adequately tested. The subject of examination is in each case a process. Where the subject of an examination is not a process, but a body of facts, and where the test of

¹ *Report, Committee of Ten, 183.*

ability resolves itself largely into a test of ability to remember, the results may or may not furnish true indications of the actual attainments of pupils. This has from the beginning been the situation for history. Examiners have for years wrestled with the problem of introducing "thought" questions. They have asked for comparison and inference, for causes and results. They have endeavored to test the ability to select from a mass of facts the essentials, to arrange them in orderly form, to determine their bearing on present-day problems. They have raised questions on collateral reading designed to test both knowledge and taste. Efforts in these directions are obviously more likely to prove effective in oral than in written examinations, and history under the Prussian and French systems is, as a matter of fact, listed with the subjects in which examinations are exclusively oral. But the history examination, whether oral or written, seems to remain essentially an exercise for the memory. Certainly little more can be claimed for it in its written form in England and in the United States. Here, for example, is a typical examination set in England for pupils of about the age of American pupils in the third year of the high school:

A

[Candidates are required to attempt at least ONE question in each section of the paper, and not more than SIX altogether.]

A

1. Trace the history of the divorce of Catharine of Aragon and show how it affected the separation from Rome.
2. Write short narratives of (a) Wyatt's Rebellion, (b) the loss of Calais.
3. Give a rapid sketch of English literature under Elizabeth.

B

4. Explain the royalist successes in the first two years of the Great Rebellion (1642, 1643). Why were they not maintained?
5. What were the objects aimed at by the Navigation Acts? What results were achieved?
6. Give some account of the doings of the English navy during the reign of William III.

C

7. Sketch the relations between England and Spain during the eighteenth century.
8. Give some account of the opposition to Sir Robert Walpole, and of the careers of the leaders of that opposition.
9. Trace in outline the principal stages in the French Revolution from its outbreak in 1789 to the establishment of the French Empire in 1804.

D

10. Write a brief description of the following battles, and show their importance: Vinegar Hill, Vittoria, Navarino, Isandhlwana.
11. Outline, with brief comments, the repressive measures of 1819 (the six Acts).
12. How did (a) the *coup d'état* of 1851, (b) the Crimean winter, affect the constitution of the British Ministry for the time being? ¹

¹ This list of questions is taken from Keatinge, *Studies in the Teaching of History*, 173.

This examination covered the period from 1485 to the death of Queen Victoria.

The following questions, set by the College Entrance Examination Board in 1914, may be taken as fairly representative of recent American practice:

HISTORY C — ENGLISH HISTORY

In each answer give dates.

In your answer to at least one question mention authors and titles of any books which you have used, in addition to your textbook, on the general subject referred to in the question or on some phase of that subject. In your answer to the question selected, include results of your reading outside the textbook. Indicate the nature or content of one book other than your textbook and point out how the book has helped you.

GROUP I. (*Answer one question only.*)

1. Name three great churchmen of England living before 1215, who were also great statesmen. Describe carefully the work of one of them.

2. Show that you have a definite knowledge of five of the following, writing not less than four or five lines on each: Constitutions of Clarendon, Cade's Rebellion, Curia Regis, Joan of Arc, Lollard, Statute of Præmunire, Wars of the Roses.

GROUP II. (*Answer one question only.*)

3. "The Petition of Right, the Habeas Corpus Act, and the Bill of Rights are the complements or the reassertions of the Magna Charta." Give the main provisions of each of these documents and then explain what the quotation means.

4. Name four prominent literary men in the Age of Elizabeth and the most famous works of each. Indicate briefly the nature or content of one of these works which you have read.

GROUP III. (*Answer one question only.*)

5. It has been said that "the defeat of the British at Yorktown had a profound effect upon the constitutional development of Great Britain herself." Explain this statement.

6. In what respect is England's present treatment of her colonies different from that of the period 1763-1775?

GROUP IV. (*Answer three questions only.*)

7. Write fully on one of the following: Duke of Marlborough, John Bright, Robert Peel.

8. What was Burke's attitude toward the American Revolution? What "source" have you for your knowledge? What was Burke's attitude toward the French Revolution?

9. Why was the Reform Bill of 1832 necessary? Give an account of its provisions.

10. State the provisions of the important measures for Ireland's relief advocated by Gladstone.

11. Indicate briefly how England got control of Australia. What is included in the Australian Commonwealth? What are the main features of its constitution?

GROUP V. (*Answer one question only.*)

12. On map 81b indicate with names, and boundaries or locations, the possessions which England gained in the eighteenth century.

13. On map 81b indicate with names, and locations or boundaries, the possessions of Great Britain on the way from England to India.

See that you have followed the direction at the head of the paper regarding dates and collateral reading.¹

All of the questions, except 6 and 7, in the English paper, are answered directly in the ordinary textbooks and involve no necessary mental process beyond memory. Questions 6 and 7 seem to suggest something more. The facts are not in the ordinary textbooks. Question 7 would appear to require some power of selection and arrangement, even if collateral reading is assumed. Both questions can, however, be avoided. Question 3, in the opinion of Keatinge, "represents the worst type of question that can be set. It is a direct encouragement to teach lists of names and characteristics of authors that the pupils have not read, and this is useless and senseless cram of the most unprofitable kind. It is a saddening reflection that many competent and earnest teachers have to spend their lives in preparing pupils to deal with papers of this kind, that a great university countenances such examining and derives a pecuniary profit from it, and that the money which rate payers contribute towards secondary education with such reluctance may be devoted to work of which such papers determine the quality. It is examinations of this type which deter many able men from entering the teaching profession."² The

¹ *Examination Questions*, College Entrance Examination Board, 1914, p. 74-75.

² *Studies in the Teaching of History*, 175.

condemnation is severe, but is it too severe? The paper as a whole leaves the impression, as Keatinge further suggests, that the examiners have aimed to ask questions not asked in previous examinations rather than to bring out the real significance of the period.

In this last respect, the American paper, in spite of its larger scope, is plainly superior to the English paper. In its search for evidence of collateral reading and its introduction of map studies it brings in important additional elements. In other respects, it invites the same general comments as the English paper. The test as a whole is a test of memory. Question 3 calls for comparison, but of a kind likely to be made in the textbook and emphasized by the teacher in class. It may, therefore, be simply a memory question. But even if it is not, the pupil who can "give the main provisions of each of these documents" has little to do in explaining "what the quotation means." Question 5 seems to call for independent interpretation and organization, but the answer is supplied directly by textbooks. Question 4 is in part saved from such strictures as were passed upon question 3 in the English paper by the call to "indicate briefly the nature or content of one of these works which you have read." But it remains a memory question.

The general answer of examiners to such criticism is

that history teaching as now constituted admits of no other kind of examination. The statistics of the College Entrance Examination Board seem to indicate that the present ordeal is sufficiently severe. Of the 325 candidates who took the Board examination in English history, cited above, 29.8 per cent obtained a rating of 60 or over; 36.6 per cent obtained ratings below 40. These ratings compare very unfavorably with ratings in other subjects listed by the Board. In 1914, 34.4 per cent of all candidates taking examinations in history obtained a rating of 60 or over; the average for all subjects was 52.1 per cent. The record for history was lower than for any other subject except geography, and only 45 candidates offered the latter subject, while 2001 offered history.¹ The mortality in the history examination has in fact become almost a public scandal, and has, especially during the last three or four years, excited vigorous comment. Numerous explanations have been offered. "The most common remark," says the *History Teacher's Magazine*, "has been that candidates try the history examinations after a process of cramming, or at the close of a short review course and without regular instruction in the subject."² But the difference in the grades obtained by candidates of this type and the

¹ College Entrance Examination Board, *Report*, 1914, p. 54.

² Vol. IV, 256.

grades obtained by candidates who have had regular instruction is too slight to save the situation for history.

The questions, it is often urged, are too difficult and the standards of marking are too high. The questions, it is retorted, are reasonable and fair, the markings are lenient, it is the teaching of history that is bad and in need of reform. There is truth on both sides. The questions are too difficult in that the teacher, unable to predict where the lightning will strike, feels compelled to teach all of the facts in the ordinary textbook. The questions are entirely reasonable and fair in that the pupil who happens to find them within the range of his textbook knowledge has ready-made answers. There have, indeed, been cases in which the reading of a single manual on general history has enabled a pupil to pass examinations in three of the four blocks of history — ancient history, mediæval and modern European history, and English history. The teaching of history is, in many schools, undeniably bad. But the connection between bad teaching and the examination should not be overlooked. The teacher prepares for the examination. The examination determines the character of the preparation. Each condition is in a measure responsible for the other. There is need of reform at both ends.

That school instruction in history should leave behind a fund of definite information which it is entirely proper for examiners to test is denied by no sensible teacher. Memory questions have beyond doubt their place. But a history examination reduced wholly to memory questions is unreasonable, unfair, and a standing inducement to reduce history teaching to memorizing. Facts are important. The American pupil should know more of them than he now seems to know, and know them more definitely. But the study of history, in any true sense, involves processes as well as a body of facts. To learn facts alone is in no real sense to learn history; to examine in facts alone is in no real sense to examine in history. This has been generally recognized and emphasized in discussions of the aims and values of history teaching. But in practice history has fallen so far below the professions made for it that it is now barely tolerated by many educational critics and administrators, and, as we have seen, in some danger of being reduced to a position even lower than the relatively low position which it now holds in the curriculum.

If history is to be an instrument of training and culture, it must be used in school as an instrument of training and culture. There must always be facts, but facts, as has been repeatedly intimated, should be reduced in number and expanded in content to the point of becom-

ing really intelligible. They should be so definitely indicated by examiners as to remove the present anxiety to "get up" everything for the examination. The memory test should not be allowed to dominate the history examination. It is, indeed, doubtful if more than a fourth, or perhaps a third, of the examination should be devoted to tests of ability to *remember*. The remainder of the paper could then be devoted to tests of ability to *do*: to interpret a map or picture; to analyze a paragraph or a page of history; to find materials on a given topic; to solve by use of given materials a simple problem in criticism; to recognize in given facts differing degrees of probability; to judge from a given description some historical character; to discover in given conditions, past and present, resemblances, differences, relations, tendencies; to organize a given collection of facts; to select from the work of a term or a year, facts of special importance and to explain why they are important. The general character of the possibilities has been indicated in the body of the present volume in discussing the possibilities of history teaching, and should be fairly clear to any teacher who has thought of the study of history as the learning and application of processes and not merely as the learning of facts. The following exercises are offered as illustrations of possible modes of procedure.

MAP INTERPRETATION

Place before a class the physical map found in Shepherd's *Historical Atlas*, pp. 2-3, or some other map of the same type, and give the following directions :

1. Estimate from the map the height above sea level of the central plain of England. Compare with the height of some object with which you are familiar.

2. Estimate from the map the distance from the mouth of the Seine to the Pyrenees Mountains. Compare with some distance which you have actually traveled.

3. Estimate from the map the area in square miles of the Iberian Peninsula. Compare with the area of some region which you can really see when you close your eyes and think about it.

COMPARISON AND APPRECIATION

"In the same winter," says Thucydides, writing of the Peloponnesian War, "the Athenians gave a funeral at the public cost to those who had first fallen in this war." Pericles was chosen as the orator. In the address attributed to him by Thucydides he exhibits some reluctance to speak.

"For myself," he says, "I should have thought that the worth which had displayed itself in deeds would have been sufficiently rewarded by honours also shown by deeds; such as you now see in this funeral prepared at the people's cost. And I could have

wished that the reputation of many brave men were not to be imperilled in the mouth of a single individual, to stand or fall according as he spoke well or ill. . . . However, since our ancestors have stamped this custom with their approval, it becomes my duty to obey the law and to try to satisfy your several wishes and opinions as best I may."

After describing the greatness and glory of Athens and the sacrifice of those who had fallen in her cause, he continues :

"So died these men as became Athenians. You, their survivors, must determine to have as unfaltering a resolution in the field, though you may pray that it may have a happier issue. And not contented with a mere hearsay notion of the advantages which are involved in the defence of your country, though these would furnish a valuable text to a speaker even before an audience so alive to them as the present, you must yourselves realise the power of Athens, and feed your eyes upon her from day to day, till love of her fills your hearts; and then when all her greatness shall break upon you, you must reflect that it was by courage, sense of duty, and a keen feeling of honour in action that men were enabled to acquire it, and that no personal failure in an enterprise could make them consent to deprive their country of their valour, but they laid it at her feet as the most glorious contribution that they could offer. For this offering of their lives made in common by them all they each of them individually received that renown which never grows old, and for a sepulchre, not so much that in which their bones have been deposited, but that noblest of shrines wherein their glory is laid up to be eternally remembered upon every occasion on which deed or story shall call for its commemoration. For heroes have the whole earth

for their tomb; and in lands far from their own, where the column with its epitaph declares it, there is enshrined in every breast a record unwritten with no tablet to preserve it, except that of the heart.”¹

Lincoln in his world-famed address at Gettysburg in 1863 said:

“Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth upon this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

“Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battle-field of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

“But in a larger sense we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it far above our power to add or detract. The world will little note nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us; that from these honoured dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom; and that government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth.”

¹ Thucydides, II, 35-44, Crawley's translation.

1. Find the differences and resemblances in the sentiments expressed and the kind of appeal made to the audience in these two speeches.

2. Is there any sentiment expressed by Pericles which would not have been suitable at Gettysburg? If so, indicate what it is.

3. Is there any sentiment expressed by Lincoln which would not have been suitable at Athens? If so, indicate what it is.

4. What comment is suggested by your answers to 2 and 3?

THE DETERMINATION OF FACTS

In 1822, John Adams, in a letter to Timothy Pickering, gave an account of the drafting of the Declaration of Independence. The letter is printed in Randall's *Life of Thomas Jefferson* as follows:

"The Committee met, discussed the subject, and then appointed Mr. Jefferson and me to make the draft, I suppose because we were the two first on the list. The sub-committee met. Jefferson proposed to me to make the draft. I said, 'I will not.' 'You should do it.' 'Oh! no.' 'Why will you not? You ought to do it.' 'I will not.' 'Why?' 'Reasons enough.' 'What can be your reasons?' 'Reason first — You are a Virginian, and a Virginian ought to appear at the head of this business. Reason second — I am obnoxious, suspected, and unpopular. You are very much otherwise. Reason third — You can write ten times better than I can.' 'Well,' said Jefferson, 'if you are decided, I

will do as well as I can.' 'Very well. When you have drawn it up, we will have a meeting.' A meeting we accordingly had, and conned the paper over. [After stating what he really liked and disliked in it, Mr. Adams proceeds:] I consented to report it, and *do not now remember that I made or suggested a single alteration.* We reported it to the Committee of five. It was read, and I *do not remember that Franklin nor Sherman criticised anything.* We were all in haste. Congress was impatient, and the instrument was reported, as I believe, *in Jefferson's handwriting, as he first drew it.*"

"This statement," says Randall, "was published in 1823, and Jefferson soon after (August 30th) wrote Mr. Madison :

". . . Mr. Adams's memory has led him into unquestionable error. At the age of eighty-eight, and forty-seven years after the transactions of Independence, this is not wonderful. *Nor should I, at the age of eighty, on the small advantage of that difference only,* venture to oppose my *memory* to his, *were it not supported by written notes, taken by myself at the moment and on the spot.*" [After giving the substance of Mr. Adams's statement, he continues:] "Now these details are quite incorrect. The Committee of five met ; no such thing as a sub-committee was proposed, but they unanimously pressed on myself alone to undertake the draft. I consented ; I drew it ; but before I reported it to the Committee, I communicated it *separately* to Doctor Franklin and Mr. Adams, requesting their corrections, because they were the two members of whose judgments and amendments I wished most to have the benefit, before presenting it to the Committee: and you have seen the original paper now in my hands, *with the corrections of Doctor Franklin and Mr. Adams interlined in their own handwritings.* Their alterations were two or three only, and merely verbal. I then wrote a fair copy, reported it to the Committee,

and from them, unaltered, to Congress. This personal communication and consultation with Mr. Adams, he has misremembered into the actings of a sub-committee."

The "notes" to which Jefferson refers contain the following statements :

"The Committee were John Adams, Dr. Franklin, Roger Sherman, Robert R. Livingston and myself. . . . *The Committee for drawing the Declaration of Independence desired me to do it. It was accordingly done, and being approved by them, I reported it to the House on Friday, the 28th of June, when it was read and ordered to lie on the table.*"¹

1. What facts do you consider established by these two letters and Jefferson's notes?
2. Give your reasons.

THE RECOGNITION OF DEGREES OF PROBABILITY

The following statements relate to the Webster-Hayne debate :

1. "Desiring to know how the country would receive the bare doctrine of nullification, Senator Hayne was put forward to deliver the prologue, but Calhoun was the prompter behind the scenes."
2. "Hayne asserted that, in case of a palpable violation of the Constitution by the general government, a State may interpose its veto."
3. "The Senator's speeches were not remarkable, and would never have been remembered, had not his most labored effort

¹ Randall, *Life of Thomas Jefferson*, I, 165-166.

given Webster the occasion for one of those rare bursts of eloquence that astonish and delight the world.”

4. “Webster’s oration itself is familiar to students of American history, to lovers of English literature, and to all those whose admiration is kindled by eloquence in any tongues.”

(A) Indicate the kinds of sources that you would use in determining the truth or falsity of each of the above statements.

(B) Which of the statements admits most readily of proof or disproof? Why?

(C) Which of the statements do you consider the most difficult to prove or disprove? Why?

SELECTION OF MATERIAL

Two or three weeks before the examination assign to the class eight or ten general topics covering the significant parts of the work of the term or the year. Give the following directions:

1. Write out for each topic one question that seems to you of special importance.

2. Be prepared to answer definitely your own questions.

In the examination period inform the class that the questions which they have framed are to count as one question in the examination, and that as another part of the examination they are to answer any two of their own questions.

Or assign a smaller number of topics and have the questions prepared in the examination period. The following may, for example, constitute part of an examination in English history.

1. Prepare on each of the following topics one question that seems to you of special importance: England under the Normans; the personal monarchy of the early Stuarts; the foundation of the British Empire, 1689-1763; the period of reform, 1815-1852.

2. Enter all the questions in your paper.

3. Answer any two of your own questions.

Examination along the lines here indicated is of course unfair to pupils accustomed merely to learn and to recite facts. The teacher may in such cases predict with confidence that the results will approximate zero. High school classes fairly proficient in pointing at maps, and in filling in dots and lines to indicate places and boundaries, have repeatedly answered with a blank stare when asked to estimate, from a map, elevation, extent, or area. Students still more advanced have repeatedly handed in blank papers when asked to use a little discrimination in weighing the probability of facts. But the principles have been found applicable as early as the sixth grade in testing classes trained to interpret maps and to think a little about the difference between proving a motive and proving what was said in a speech. Exercises of all

the types that have been illustrated, and of all the other types suggested above in enumerating possibilities, can be adapted even to the elementary school. It requires, to be sure, something more than a knowledge of textbooks to frame them. It takes more time for a pupil to work them out than to answer memory questions. But, for teachers in control of examinations and free to teach history as something more than facts to be memorized, there are so many opportunities in connection with the daily lessons to try the general processes that the problem is half solved by the mere act of consciously facing it.

For those who must prepare for examinations from without, given by state, or college, or other authorities, the problem is more difficult. Few of the facts packed into the traditional textbook seem to be exempt from such examinations, and the only safe procedure may well seem to be to pack all of the textbook facts into the minds of the pupils. But even granting this dreary necessity, it is still possible to meet the conditions without forgetting altogether that history should be an instrument of training and of culture. Indeed, the best guarantee of that temporary memory of facts which examiners so generally seem to expect is to teach at least some of the facts intelligently. At the worst, the teacher can teach history six or seven of the nine or ten months of the

school year and devote the remaining months to a conscientious cram for the examination. The cram, while not an ideal mode of "getting up" history, has uses beyond the passing of examinations. So much of success in business and in the professions depends upon the ability to "get up" facts quickly, and to hold them clearly for some temporary purpose, that there is something to be said in favor of cultivating the ability in school. It is in any event better to reduce history to a grind for a few months than to keep it a grind throughout the year.

Teachers must prepare for examinations; examiners must adapt their questions to existing systems of teaching. Better teaching will be followed by better examinations; better examinations will be followed by better teaching. But who shall break the vicious circle? Teachers blame examiners, examiners blame teachers, and both blame the situation. This relieves to some extent the emotions; it does not relieve the situation. There is need on both sides of more courage and more faith. Competent teachers, who find that they can teach history and still prepare for examinations, have a right to demand of examiners questions designed to furnish a more adequate test of sound instruction. Examiners have a right to assume sound instruction. Incompetent teachers have a right to adjust themselves to the standards of sound instruction or to seek more congenial occupation.

APPENDIX I

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF HISTORY TEACHING

A bibliography of the study and teaching of history. Compiled by James Ingersoll Wyer. Annual Report of the American Historical Association, 1899, pp. 561-612. Prepared for the Committee of Seven. The part in which "the pedagogical point of view is given first place" contains references to judiciously selected books and articles on the teaching of history in France, Great Britain, Germany, and the United States. Valuable chiefly for the latter half of the nineteenth century. The earlier period receives scant attention.

The following brief list contains titles not cited by Wyer, and is designed merely to furnish some further indication of materials for a study of conditions in Europe before 1850. Russell's articles, cited farther on (p. 461), contain references to materials for a study of early conditions in the United States.

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APPENDIX II

GUIDES TO HISTORICAL LITERATURE

MINIMUM COLLECTION

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A brief annotated guide to works on the study and teaching of history, world histories, histories of special countries, historical stories for the elementary school, and stories for children preparatory to history. The most serviceable general guide for teachers.

A *history syllabus for secondary schools*. Prepared by a special committee of the New England History Teachers' Association. Boston, 1904. Outlines the four years' course recommended by the Committee of Seven. Suggests collections of books for each of the four fields and lists specific references for topics in each field.

Historical sources in school. Report to the New England History Teachers' Association by a select committee. New York, 1902. Covers the four fields recommended by the Committee of Seven. Description and criticism of the most important sources available for schools.

A BRIEF LIST OF STANDARD GUIDES

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- CHANNING, E., HART, A. B., and TURNER, F. J. *Guide to the study and reading of American history*. Boston, 1912. Classified lists, and a topical analysis of American history with specific references. The most comprehensive guide to American history.

IMPORTANT PERIODICALS

Historische Zeitschrift. Leipzig. Founded in 1859. Quarterly, 1859-1876. Bimonthly since 1877.

Revue Historique. Paris. Founded in 1876. Bimonthly since 1877.

English Historical Review. London. Founded in 1886. New York, Longmans, Green, & Company. Quarterly.

American Historical Review. Founded in 1895. New York, Macmillan Company. Quarterly.

APPENDIX III

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF ILLUSTRATIVE MATERIAL

Materials listed below can be ordered through any dealer in foreign books.

Illustrierter Lehrmittel-Katalog. Verzeichnis der neuesten, besten und bewährtesten Anschauungs- und Lehrmittel. Leipzig. K. F. Koehler. Furnished only to dealers, 50 cents. From dealers in the United States, about \$1. An invaluable guide to German materials.

Lehrmittel für den Geschichtsunterricht. Wandtafeln u. Modelle zur Veranschaulichung des Lebens der Griechen und Römer. A. Pichlers Witwe & Sohn. Vienna. A circular descriptive of Gall and Rebhann models and wall pictures. Gratis.

Stofflehrmittel für den Geschichtsunterricht. Modelle zur Vaterländischen Kulturgeschichte. Modelle zur antiken Kulturgeschichte. Friedrich Rausch, Nordhausen a. Harz. Circulars descriptive of the Rausch, and Blümner and Rausch, models. Gratis.

Ministère de l'instruction publique et des beaux-arts. Archives de La Commission des Monuments Historique. Paris, 1904. Can be obtained from E. Hauteœur, 35 Avenue de l'Opera, Paris. Classified lists of photographs.

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- New York, 1909. Materials in the Teachers College collection. Classified lists and prices.
- Catalogue of material collected by the New England History Teachers' Association. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1912. 50 cents. Classified lists and prices.
- MCKINLEY, A. E. Illustrative material for history classes. *History Teacher's Magazine*, IV, 158-168. Lists of dealers and publishers, with description of materials and of catalogues. Historical Association Leaflets, Nos. 12, 13. London, 1908. Portraits and lantern slides, chiefly for British and modern history. Historical maps and atlases.
- A. L. A. *Portrait Index*. Washington, 1906. Index to portraits contained in printed books and periodicals.

SUGGESTIONS FOR A SMALL COLLECTION OF FOREIGN MATERIAL

MODELS

- Roman house, Hensell. \$12. Or, Roman house, Blümner and Rausch. \$15. Larger and more elaborate than the Hensell model.
- Hensell lay figure for displaying Greek and Roman costumes. About 4 ft. high. \$18. Costumes, complete, \$28. Articles can be purchased separately. Roman toga, \$6.75. Or, Blümner and Rausch lay figure. \$45. Life size. Costumes, \$54.50. Articles can be purchased separately. Roman toga, \$9.
- Gall and Rebhann loom. \$4.25.
- Models of Greek and Roman coins, 56 pieces. \$18. K. F. Koehler.
- Groups of Rausch models. Can be ordered by group numbers. Any article also sold separately.

- Group I. Plants and agricultural implements, 13 pieces.
\$20.
- Group III. Linen manufacturing, 15 pieces. \$37.50.
- Group V. Fire and lighting apparatus, 15 pieces.
\$18.75.
- Group XII. Mediæval inventions, 4 pieces. \$12.
Includes Gutenberg printing press.

WALL PICTURES

CYBULSKI. *Tabulæ quibus antiquitates Græcæ et Romanæ illustrantur.* In colors.

Greek house. \$1. Descriptive text, 25 cents.

Roman house. \$1. Descriptive text, 25 cents.

Costumes of the Greeks and Romans, 5 pictures, each \$1.

Descriptive text, 40 cents.

LEHMANN. *Kulturgeschichtliche Bilder für den Schulunterricht.*

Paper, mounted, each 70 cents. In colors.

Cloister, 10th century.

Castle, 13th century.

Interior of castle, 13th century.

Interior of city, 15th century.

Interior of town house, 16th century.

Peasants, etc., 16th century.

Rococo scene, 18th century.

Mediæval manuscripts.

Examples of early printing.

Descriptive text and comment: HEYMANN und UEBEL.

Aus Vergangenen Tagen. Bound, \$1.15. Same authors:

Aus dem Schriftwesen des Mittelalters. Pamphlet. 30 cents.

HISTORICAL ALBUMS

- CYBULSKI. *Die Kultur der Griechen und Römer. Bilder-Atlas mit erläuterndem Texte.* Bound, \$1.
- FOUGÈRES, G. *La vie privée et publique des Grecs et des Romains.* Hachette, Paris. Bound, \$2.40.
- LAVISSE et PARMENTIER. *Album historique.* Colin, Paris. 4 Vols. Bound, \$16.

MAPS

- SCHREIBER. Wandtafel zur Veranschaulichung geographischer Grundbegriffe. Mounted, \$1.15. Descriptive text, 10 cents.
- VIDAL-LABLACHE. Cartes murales. Colin, Paris. Double-faced, each \$1.30. Descriptive text, questions, and answers, for each map, 8 cents.¹

¹ The prices quoted for the above collection are list prices in Europe. Those who order through American dealers must expect to pay from 25 to 100 per cent more.

APPENDIX IV

SELECTED REFERENCES

CHAPTER I

WHAT HISTORY IS

METHODOLOGY

- BERNHEIM, ERNST. *Lehrbuch der historischen Methode und der Geschichtsphilosophie*. Leipzig, 1908. Sixth edition. The standard treatise. See especially Chap. 1, sections 1 and 6; Chap. 3, sections 1 and 2; and Chap. 6.
- BERNHEIM, ERNST. *Einleitung in die Geschichtswissenschaft*. Leipzig, 1905. A brief summary of the *Lehrbuch*. See especially pp. 5-13, 33-43, 72-78, 113-134.
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inction between the historical method and the method of the natural sciences. See especially Chap. III, section 4. This book is admirably summarized by F. M. Fling in an article on Historical Synthesis, *American Historical Review*, IX, 1-22.

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HISTORY OF HISTORY

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BRIEF ARTICLES BY AMERICAN HISTORIANS

- ADAMS, G. B. History and the philosophy of history. *American Historical Review*, XIV, 221-236.
- CHEYNEY, E. P. What is history? *History Teacher's Magazine*, II, 75-95.
- RHODES, J. F. History. *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 85, pp. 158-169.
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CHAPTER II

THE PROBLEM OF GRADING HISTORY

- ALLEN, J. W. *The place of history in education*. London, 1909. pp. 1-105. Extended analysis of the problem.
- BARNES, MARY SHELDON. *Studies in historical method*. Boston; 1896. pp. 47-105. Compares the historic sense of primitive peoples with the historic sense in children. Describes experiments with children tending to support the culture-epoch theory.
- BEHRENDT, WALTER. Die Beliebtheit des Geschichtsunterrichts auf Grund experimentaler Untersuchungen. *Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, 1913, Heft 5, pp. 308-317. Shows the preferences of pupils for the various school studies, with special comment on the statistics for history. Summarizes the work of recent investigators.
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- SALMON, LUCY M. Some principles in the teaching of history. *Yearbook*, National Society for the Scientific Study of Education. Chicago, 1902. pp. 39-47. Finds in each of five stages of development a dominant mental trait which determines materials and treatment. For criticism of this view see *Yearbook* of the same society, 1903.
- SEIGNOBOS, CH. *L'histoire dans l'enseignement secondaire*. Paris, 1906. pp. 3-25. A clear analysis of the problem. History should begin with concrete facts relating to the material aspects of the past. We should avoid abstract terms.
- SCHEIBLHUBER, A. C. Das Erlebnis in seiner Bedeutung für den elementaren Geschichtsunterricht. *Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, 1911, Heft 1, pp. 54-58. "Das Kind phantasiert, wo der Erwachsene denkt, und wo es nicht zuvor phantasiert hat, denkt es auch hinterher nicht."
- TUCKER, HENRY R. The doctrine of interest. *History Teacher's Magazine*, III, 50-53. A general view of the doctrine "as related to instruction in the social sciences in the high school."
- WILSON, ROLAND K. Should history be taught backward? *Contemporary Review*, Vol. 70, pp. 391-407.
- WINTERBURN, R. V. Some studies of children in history teaching. *Education*, XXI, 37-44. By the same author: Ethnological consideration of history for the grades. *Ibid.*, XXII, 212-217.

CHAPTER III

THE QUESTION OF AIMS AND VALUES

"I have always been of the opinion," wrote Karl August Müller in 1835, "that nothing is more useless for a teacher than to talk about the value of his subject. Those who understand the matter need no praise of it; those who do not will learn more readily through experience than through words." In the case of history there was a further objection. So much had already been written that no one could hope to say anything new.¹ Few writers on the teaching of history seem to have agreed with Müller that it is useless to talk about values, but many have illustrated the difficulty of saying anything new. The following list is confined to expressions of opinion in our own time, chiefly in the United States, and is believed to be fairly representative both of what is commonplace and of what is exceptional in current discussion.

GENERAL DISCUSSIONS

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- BOURNE, H. E. *Teaching of history and civics*. New York, 1910.
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- JAMESON, J. F. The future uses of history. *History Teacher's Magazine*, IV, 35-40.
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pp. 1-17.

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REIM, CARL. *Methodik des Geschichtsunterrichts*, 1-20.

SPENCER, F., editor. *Chapters on the aims and practice of teaching*. Cambridge, 1899. History, by J. E. Lloyd, 141-155.

SPECIAL PHASES OF THE QUESTION

ANDREWS, C. M. History as an aid to moral culture. *Proceedings*, National Education Association, 1894. pp. 397-411.

BARNES, MARY SHELDON. *Studies in historical method*, 106-121. Emphasizes the making of patriots.

BLAIR, F. G. The social function of history. *Yearbook*, Herbart Society, 1898. pp. 44-56.

BOWMAN, J. N. What others think of history. *History Teacher's Magazine*, III, 143-145. Opinions of men in various walks of life.

JACKSON, L. F. A single aim in history teaching. *History Teacher's Magazine*, V, 245-248. "History alone attempts to show matters in their relation to time, to emphasize the importance of sequence in life." One of the few attempts to set up for instruction in history an aim distinct from the aims of instruction in other subjects.

LANGLOIS and SEIGNOBOS. *Introduction to the study of history*, 331. "We understand that the value of every science consists in its being true, and we ask from history truth and nothing more."

LEA, H. C. Ethical values in history. *American Historical Review*, IX, 233-246. A criticism of Lord Acton's exhortation "to try others by the final maxim that governs" our own lives and "to suffer no man and no cause to escape the undying penalty which history has the power to inflict on wrong." Lea illustrates the changing standards of morals

and finds a fallacy in judging the past by our own "moral yardstick."

LECKY, W. E. H. *The political value of history*. New York, 1893.

PAULUS, E. Die zukünftige Friedensschluss und die Schule. *Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, 1915. Heft 2, pp. 112-117. Forecasts the effects of the present war on the teaching of history.

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CHAPTER IV

HISTORY IN THE SCHOOL CURRICULUM IN EUROPE

HISTORY OF HISTORY TEACHING

NO GENERAL SURVEY OF THE FIELD HAS AS YET APPEARED

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- RICHTER, ALBERT. *Geschichtsunterricht im 17. Jahrhundert. Pädagogisches Magazin*. Heft 35. Langensalza, 1893. pp. 1-27.
- ROSENBERG, HERMANN. *Methodik des Geschichtsunterrichts*. Breslau, 1910. pp. 130-145.
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CHAPTER V

HISTORY IN THE SCHOOL CURRICULUM IN THE UNITED STATES

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VI, 14-19; 44-52. List of historical textbooks published before 1861. (In the United States.) *Ibid.*, 122-125. The only important contribution on the early teaching of history in the United States.

BOURNE, H. E. *Teaching of history and civics*, 56-76. A sketch of conditions since 1892.

ZIMMERN, ALICE. *Methods of education in the United States*. London, 1894. Discussion of history, 61-77.

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BUTLER, N. M. Reform of secondary education in the United States. *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 73, pp. 372-384. Review of report of Committee of Ten.

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COLLEGE ENTRANCE REQUIREMENTS

MONROE'S *Cyclopedia of Education*, II, 14-16. A brief historical summary.

GENERAL TREATISES ON THE TEACHING OF HISTORY

A score or more produced in the United States during the last thirty years. For an annotated list of the most important examples see ANDREWS, GAMBRILL, and TALL, *Bibliography of history for schools and libraries*, 1-10. The following have appeared since the publication of this bibliography:

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THE STUDY OF SOCIAL GROUPS

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MAKING THE PAST REAL. USE OF MODELS AND PICTURES. USE OF MAPS

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CHAPTER XI

TEXTBOOKS IN HISTORY

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CHAPTER XIII

THE SELECTION AND MANAGEMENT OF COLLATERAL READING

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SCHOOL HISTORY AND THE HISTORICAL METHOD

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THE CORRELATION OF HISTORY WITH OTHER SUBJECTS IN THE CURRICULUM

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THE HISTORY EXAMINATION

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APPENDIX V

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

CHAPTER I

WHAT HISTORY IS

1. Illustrate the difficulty of classifying sources.
2. What conditions are suggested by the terms "prehistoric" and "historic"?
3. Why is historical criticism necessary?
4. Indicate the steps in historical synthesis.
5. What kind of historical construction is suggested by the search for the interesting? for the useful? for the true?
6. What claims has Herodotus to the title "father of history"?
7. What reason is suggested by Thucydides for believing that history may be useful?
8. Can history be made scientific by the method of the natural sciences? Why?
9. In what sense has history become a science?
10. There is a history of the United States that actually happened to be distinguished from the history of the United States that was in the mind of George Bancroft and from the *History of the United States* that is now in Bancroft's six volumes. Are such distinctions of any importance to teachers of history? Why?

CHAPTER II

THE PROBLEM OF GRADING HISTORY

1. Indicate some special reasons for emphasizing, in discussions of school instruction in history, the question of what is possible.
2. Show that the answers to this question supplied by the natural tastes and interests of children, by the culture-epoch theory, and by the principle of proceeding from the near to the remote are incomplete answers.
3. In what two ways may the culture-epoch theory, as applied to history programs, be interpreted?
4. Both interpretations have been applied with success in the construction of history programs. Does this prove the validity of the theory? Why?
5. "Different groups take steps in culture in a different order." Why is this "a sufficient comment" on the culture-epoch theory?
6. Can the past in any sense be observed directly? What is the bearing of this question on the problem of grading history?
7. Indicate the process involved in reconstructing past mental states. What hints for grading history does this process suggest?
8. What images or ideas are called up in your mind when you pronounce the words, "Slave Power in America?" What inference as to the conditions of grading history do you draw from this experience?
9. How do you represent to yourself 484 B.C.? What inference do you draw as to the teaching of dates in the elementary school?
10. Show that the problem of grading history is essentially a problem in presentation.

CHAPTER III

THE QUESTION OF AIMS AND VALUES

1. Do the aims commonly proposed for historical instruction furnish a distinctive argument for teaching history? Justify your answer.
2. What conditions explain the tendency to treat aims as values?
3. On what general grounds has the value of historical instruction been questioned?
4. Have you ever observed in yourself or in others any symptoms of *historitis*? What comment on Nietzsche's views is suggested by your answer?
5. Why is it necessary, in formulating specific aims for historical instruction, to take account of kinds of history?
6. Distinguish between controlling aims and incidental aims.
7. What controlling aim is suggested by the idea of development? Why?
8. Show the relation of this aim to other aims.
9. Indicate the difficulty of using the past to explain the present.
10. Should one of the specific aims of historical instruction be to teach history? Why?

CHAPTER IV

HISTORY IN THE SCHOOL CURRICULUM IN EUROPE

1. Explain the general attitude toward historical instruction before the seventeenth century.
2. What modern ideas of school instruction in history were advanced in the seventeenth century?
3. To what extent was history taught in the eighteenth century?

4. What kind of history was taught in the eighteenth century?
5. Show how patriotism affected school programs in history in the nineteenth century.
6. Find in the German programs that are cited applications of the concentric circles idea.
7. What evidence of a changing attitude toward contemporary history is afforded by these German programs.
8. In what European program, among the examples given, do you find the greatest emphasis upon modern history?
9. What differences in point of view and in organization are indicated by the examples of current elementary programs?
10. What comment is suggested by the English attitude toward school instruction in history?

CHAPTER V

HISTORY IN THE SCHOOL CURRICULUM IN THE UNITED STATES

1. Compare historical instruction in the United States before 1815 with historical instruction in Europe before the seventeenth century.
2. Point out the difference between "subjects" in history and a "course" in history.
3. Can American history for American elementary schools be urged with the same force as German history for German elementary schools? Why?
4. In what important respect did the Madison Conference take more advanced ground than later committees?
5. What progress in program making is indicated by the report of the Committee of Seven?

6. In what respects is the program proposed by the Committee of Five superior to the program proposed by the Committee of Seven?
7. Were the recommendations of the Committee of Fifteen a step forward or backward for historical instruction? Why?
8. Compare the program proposed in the Report of the Committee of Twelve with the French elementary program.
9. What conceptions of grading history are suggested by the program proposed by the Committee of Eight?
10. In the making of history programs, to judge by the recommendations of the latest of our numerous committees, we have not yet reached ground occupied by Russia in 1890; in the amount of history actually taught we stand about on a par with Spain. Refute or defend this statement.

CHAPTER VI

THE BIOGRAPHICAL APPROACH TO HISTORY

1. What is the "true biographical motive"? Should works determined by any other motive be classed as biography? Why?
2. Indicate the grounds for the following statements:
 - (a) Rousseau was an advocate of biography but not of the biographical approach to history.
 - (b) Advocates of the biographical approach to history have, on the whole, not been advocates of biography.
3. To what extent is it desirable for children to clothe their own acts "in hero's clothes"?
4. Why is it natural to link the biographical approach to history with the great-man theory of history?

5. Describe the greatness of some historical character and note the extent to which your description sets him apart as exceptional.
6. In what sense can biography be made more historical by making it more biographical?
7. Why should the grouping of men about events suggest more strongly than the grouping of events about men the possibility of a continuous story?

CHAPTER VII

THE STUDY OF SOCIAL GROUPS

1. Explain the persistence of political and military history in school instruction.
2. What conditions in the world at large are reflected in the present general emphasis upon social history?
3. Would you argue from the history of *Kulturgeschichte* in German schools that the present war in Europe will be followed by a reaction in favor of military history? Why?
4. Why is the study of group life as a whole more difficult than the study of group life as expressed in politics and war?
5. Show how you would use your own community in introducing a first grade to the study of group conditions and activities.
6. Show how you would use your own community in introducing a seventh grade to the study of group conditions and activities.
7. What are the chief difficulties in applying the point of view thus indicated to history in general?
8. To what extent have these difficulties been met?
9. Find in the classification proposed by Langlois and Seignobos hints of procedure in selecting and arranging materials for a senior class in the high school.

CHAPTER VIII

MAKING THE PAST REAL

1. What is the general process involved in making the past real?
2. Make a brief list of aids to the visualization of history furnished by material conditions and activities in your own community.
3. In the order of their merit as representations of reality the general types of material aids to visualization may be arranged as follows: the reality itself; casts; models; ordinary pictures; maps; diagrams. Does this order suggest a descending scale of merit in the use of the materials in school? Why?
4. Indicate the conditions of making verbal description an aid to visualization.
5. Analyze your impressions of Andrew Jackson and decide whether you think of him as a real man or as "one of those historical characters." If he appears "real," point out the factors that make him "real" to you.
6. Illustrate the difficulty of utilizing details in the history lesson.
7. How and to what extent can the difficulty be met?
8. Describe any special device for utilizing details that you would use with a senior class in the high school.

CHAPTER IX

THE USE OF MODELS AND PICTURES

1. Explain the prevalence of the exhibition idea in the use of models and pictures.
2. In what sense are models and pictures abstractions?

3. Look at a picture of the Roman forum and describe the images evoked.
4. Look at a picture of George Washington and describe the image evoked.
5. What comment on the use of pictures is suggested by the character of these images?
6. Compare the process of interpreting a model with the process of interpreting an ordinary picture.
7. Show how your treatment of a picture of the Sistine Madonna would differ from your treatment of a picture of the Roman Forum.
8. Of what value are tests of the pupil's ability to identify unlabeled models and pictures?
9. Why should models and pictures be subjected to criticism even more exacting than that applied to verbal description?

CHAPTER X

THE USE OF MAPS

1. Why are maps essential?
2. Show what is involved in realizing location.
3. Show what is involved in realizing area.
4. What adjustments are made necessary by differences in map scales and map projections?
5. Under what conditions is the visualization of actual geographical environment essential?
6. To what extent is the relation between geographic conditions and human development "an untrodden field" in the teaching of history in school?
7. What is historical geography?
8. Indicate any situation in history that would require for its interpretation a contemporary map.

9. Would you require reproductions of maps from memory?
Why?
10. Work out the exercises in map construction suggested in this chapter, pp. 259-268.

NOTE. Do not judge too hastily, if you find these exercises difficult, that they are unsuitable for school. In estimating the difficulties for pupils, allow for the directing skill of the teacher.

CHAPTER XI

TEXTBOOKS IN HISTORY

1. What has been the general relation of textbooks to school instruction in history?
2. Examine any textbooks in history that may be accessible and find, if possible, one example of the *précis* type, one of the *manuel* type, and one of the *cours* type.
3. Examine the extracts from textbooks quoted in this chapter and indicate the type of textbook treatment which each extract suggests.
4. What general conditions in the United States discourage the *cours* type of treatment?
5. Look up in *Who's Who in America* the author of any textbook in history with which you are familiar and indicate how your tests of the accuracy of this textbook would be affected by your knowledge of the author.
6. Show how an author's general point of view may be determined from the proportions of a textbook in history.
7. Examine the pictures in any textbook with which you may be familiar and note their relations to the text.
8. Should a textbook in history reflect the personal opinions of the author? Why?

CHAPTER XII

THE USE OF TEXTBOOKS

1. Why is the question of how to use a textbook of greater importance in the United States than in Europe?
2. Explain the decline of the memoriter method of teaching history in the United States.
3. Show that the type of class recitation is determined in part by the type of textbook.
4. Indicate the general merits of guiding questions, outlines, and problems, as aids to study.
5. Compare with the French plan of dictation and *explication*.
6. Show what is involved in independent study of the history lesson.
7. Read the passage quoted on p. 297 of this book and then answer in writing the three questions that immediately follow. Study the same passage in the manner suggested on p. 308 and write out your summary. Compare the two papers and comment on the results.
8. Find in the lists of questions in this book fact questions that call for both analysis and synthesis. What comment on the classification of questions, indicated on p. 314, do these examples suggest?
9. Describe the general type of textbook recitation which, with your experience, point of view, and personality seems, on the whole, the best to you.

CHAPTER XIII

THE SELECTION AND MANAGEMENT OF COLLATERAL
READING

1. Point out some defects in current conceptions of collateral reading.
2. What are the chief purposes to be served by collateral reading?
3. Indicate the types of material and treatment suggested by each of these purposes.
4. What should be the general character of readings to the class?
5. To what extent are readings by the class determined by the nature of the class textbook?
6. Why is it a cardinal mistake to treat all collateral reading as material for information?
7. Assume the following conditions: A small library; two classes studying the same subject in history; 25 pupils in each class; general study periods for one class, 9.40-10.20 and 2-2.40; general study periods for the other class, 11.20-12 and 3.20-4. Outline a general scheme for the management of collateral reading adapted to these conditions.
8. Indicate the principles which you would apply in making additions to a small library.

CHAPTER XIV

SCHOOL HISTORY AND THE HISTORICAL METHOD

1. Why is history in school treated so generally as a body of assured knowledge?
2. What are the general results?

3. Indicate results of a different character that seem desirable.
4. Is the question of whether Pocahontas did or did not save the life of Captain John Smith of any historical importance? Why?
5. Is the question of how Fiske used the sources in his account of the discovery of America by the Norsemen of any historical importance? Why?
6. In view of your answers to questions 4 and 5 would you use, for exercises in criticism, the materials there indicated? Why?
7. What is implied in the statement that the most valuable material in a history may be in the footnotes? What bearing, if any, has this on the use of histories in the school?
8. Suggest exercises to train the pupil in the use of indexes and tables of contents.
9. In taking notes for an extended paper the pupil should be trained to analyze his reading as he goes along, to enter only one topic on a sheet, and to write on one side of the sheet only. Where this rule is followed what general directions would you give for the organization of the material in the notes?
10. Sum up the arguments for and against illustrations of the historical method in school.

CHAPTER XV

THE CORRELATION OF HISTORY WITH OTHER SUBJECTS IN THE CURRICULUM

1. Point out the difference between incidental correlation and systematic correlation.
2. Compare the opportunities for correlating history and geog-

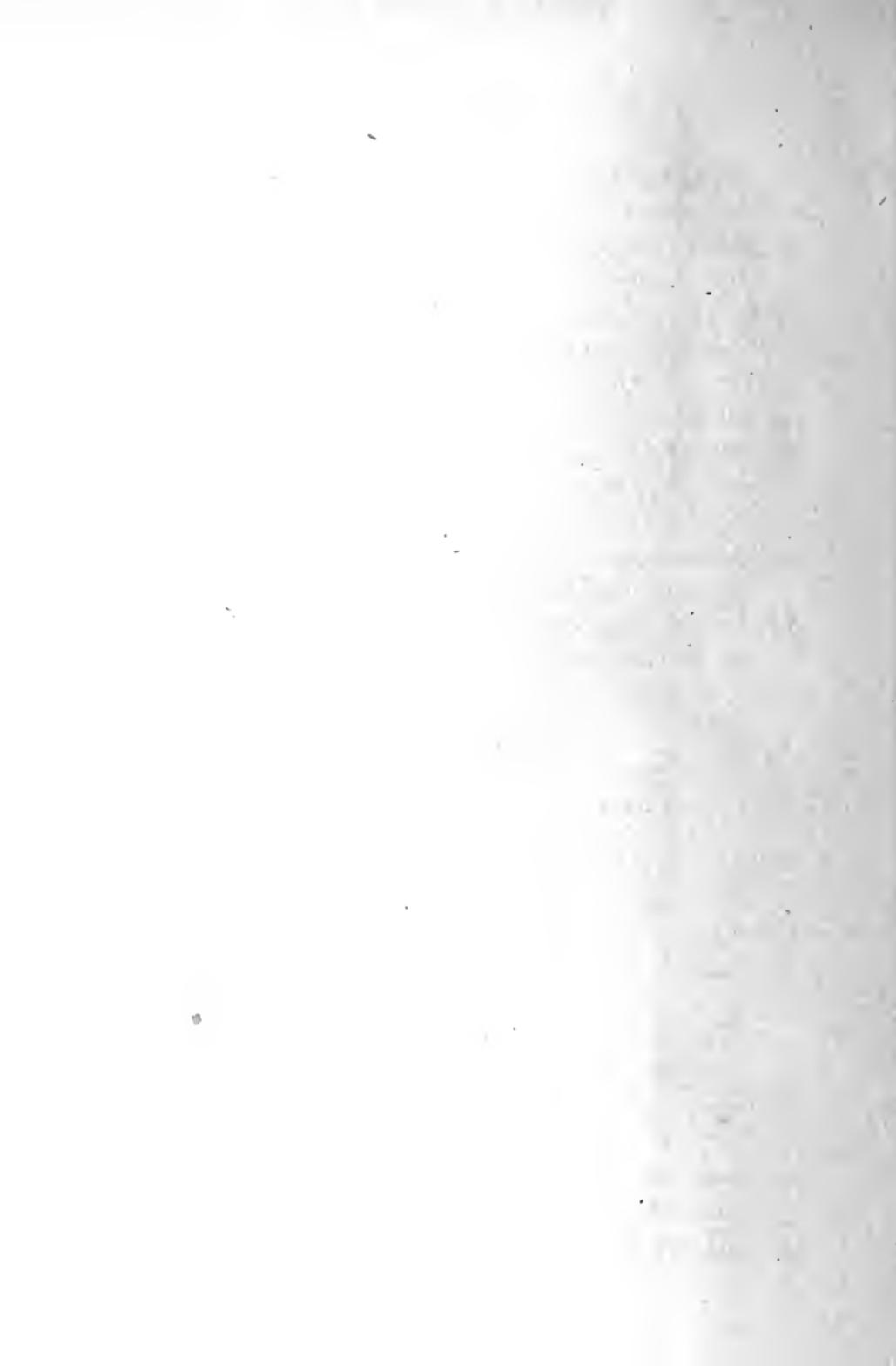
raphy in Europe with the opportunities for correlating these subjects in the United States.

3. Explain the unfriendly attitude toward attempts to sever history from its literary associations.
4. Show how history contributes to literature and how literature contributes to history.
5. Point out the difficulties and dangers in using history to illuminate literature and in using literature to illuminate history.
6. What place would you assign to the historical novel in the teaching of history?
7. What argument is suggested by European experience in the teaching of government?
8. On what grounds may history be regarded as a central subject in the curriculum?

CHAPTER XVI

THE HISTORY EXAMINATION

1. What are the advantages and disadvantages of examinations set by authorities outside of the school?
2. Look up in a textbook in English history the answers to the questions cited in this chapter, pp. 420-422, and determine the extent to which they are answered directly.
3. What comment on memory tests is suggested by the "mortality in history examinations"?
4. Work out each of the exercises suggested in this book, pp. 429-436. If you find them difficult, do not judge too hastily that they are unsuitable for school. Allow for the assumption that pupils have been trained to deal with materials in these ways.



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