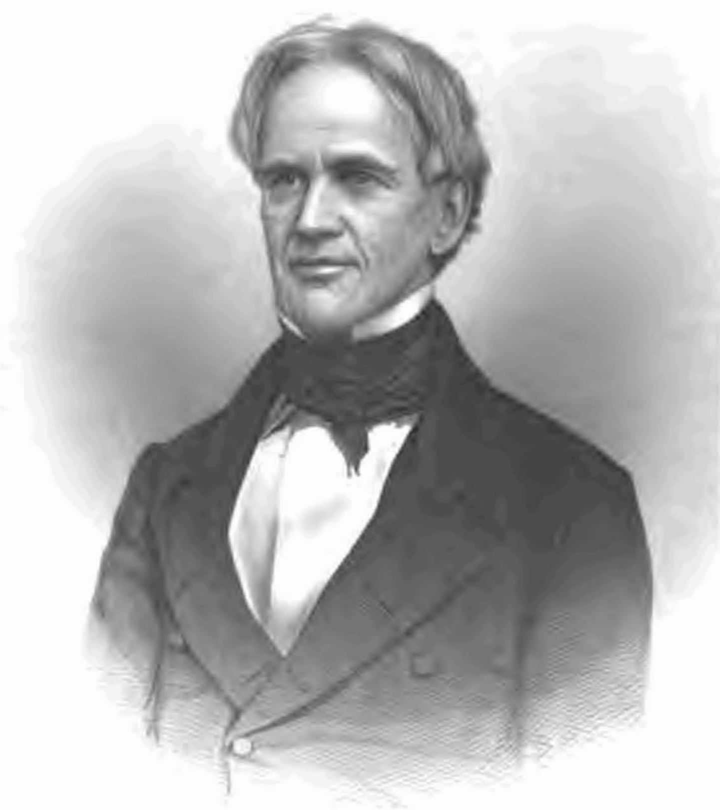

Horace Mann.

PRESIDENT OF ANTIOCH COLLEGE YELLOW SPRINGS, OHIO.

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HORACE MANN.*

Horace Mann, the first Secretary of the Board of Education for the State of Massachusetts, and President of Antioch College, at Yellow Springs, Ohio, was born in the town of Franklin, Norfolk County, Mass., May 4, 1796. His father, Mr. Thomas Mann, supported his family by cultivating a small farm. He died when the subject of this memoir was thirteen years of age, leaving him little besides the example of an upright life, virtuous inculcations, and hereditary thirst for knowledge.

The narrow circumstances of the father limited the educational advantages of his children. They were taught in the district common school; and it was the misfortune of the family that it belonged to the smallest district, had the poorest school-house, and employed the cheapest teachers, in a town which was itself both small and poor.

His father was a man of feeble health, and died of consumption. Horace inherited weak lungs, and from the age of twenty to thirty years he just skirted the fatal shores of that disease on which his father had been wrecked. This inherited weakness, accompanied by a high nervous temperament, and aggravated by a want of judicious physical training in early life, gave him a sensitiveness of organization and a keenness of susceptibility, which nothing but the iron clamps of habitual self-restraint could ever have controlled.

His mother, whose maiden name was Stanley, was a woman of superior intellect and character. In her mind, the flash of intuition superseded the slow processes of ratiocination. Results always ratified her predictions. She was a true mother. On her list of duties and of pleasure her children stood first, the world and herself afterward. She was able to impart but little of the details of knowledge; but she did a greater work than this, by imparting the principles by which all knowledge should be guided.

Mr. Mann's early life was spent in a rural district, in an obscure county town, without the appliance of excitements or opportunity for display. In a letter before us, written long ago to a friend, he says:—

I regard it as an irretrievable misfortune that my childhood was not a happy one. By nature I was exceedingly elastic and buoyant, but the poverty of my

* This Memoir is abridged in part from an article in Livingston's "*Law Journal*," which also appeared in Livingston's "*Eminent Americans*."

parents subjected me to continual privations. I believe in the rugged nursing of Toil, but she nursed me too much. In the winter time, I was employed in in-door and sedentary occupations, which confined me too strictly; and in summer, when I could work on the farm, the labor was too severe, and often encroached upon the hours of sleep. I do not remember the time when I began to work. Even my play-days,—not play-days, for I never had any,—but my play-hours were earned by extra exertion, finishing tasks early to gain a little leisure for boyish sports. My parents sinned ignorantly, but God affixes the same physical penalties to the violation of His laws, whether that violation be willful or ignorant. For willful violation, there is the added penalty of remorse, and that is the only difference. Here let me give you two pieces of advice, which shall be *gratis* to you, though they cost me what is of more value than diamonds. Train your children to work, though not too hard; and, unless they are grossly lymphatic, let them sleep as much as they will. I have derived one compensation, however, from the rigor of my early lot. Industry, or diligence, became my second nature, and I think it would puzzle any psychologist to tell where it joined on to the first. Owing to these ingrained habits, work has always been to me what water is to a fish. I have wondered a thousand times to hear people say, "I don't like this business;" or, "I wish I could exchange for that;" for with me, whenever I have had any thing to do, I do not remember ever to have demurred, but have always set about it like a fatalist; and it was as sure to be done as the sun is to set

What was called the love of knowledge was, in my time, necessarily cramped into a love of books; because there was no such thing as oral instruction. Books designed for children were few, and their contents meager and miserable. My teachers were very good people but they were very poor teachers. Looking back to the school-boy days of my mates and myself, I can not adopt the line of Virgil,

"O fortunatos nimium sua si bona norint."

I deny the *bona*. With the infinite universe around us, all ready to be daguerreotyped upon our souls, we were never placed at the right focus to receive its glorious images. I had an intense natural love of beauty, and of its expression in nature and in the fine arts. As "a poet was in Murray lost," so at least an amateur poet, if not an artist, was lost in me. How often, when a boy, did I stop, like Akenside's hind, to gaze at the glorious sunset; and lie down upon my back, at night, on the earth, to look at the heavens. Yet with all our senses and our faculties glowing and receptive, how little were we taught; or rather, how much obstruction was thrust between us and nature's teachings. Our eyes were never trained to distinguish forms or colors. Our ears were strangers to music. So far from being taught the art of drawing, which is a beautiful language by itself, I well remember that when the impulse to express in pictures what I could not express in words was so strong that, as Cowper says, it tingled down to my fingers, then my knuckles were rapped with the heavy ruler of the teacher, or cut with his rod, so that an artificial tingling soon drove away the natural. Such youthful buoyancy as even severity could not repress was our only dancing-master. Of all our faculties, the memory for words was the only one specially appealed to. The most comprehensive generalizations of men were given us, instead of the facts from which those generalizations were formed. All ideas outside of the book were contraband articles, which the teacher confiscated, or rather flung overboard. Oh, when the intense and burning activity of youthful faculties shall find employment in salutary and pleasing studies or occupations, then will parents be able to judge better of the alledged proneness of children to mischief. Until then, children have not a fair trial before their judges.

Yet, with these obstructions, I had a love of knowledge which nothing could repress. An inward voice raised its plaint for ever in my heart for something nobler and better. And if my parents had not the means to give me knowledge, they intensified the love of it. They always spoke of learning and learned men with enthusiasm and a kind of reverence. I was taught to take care of the few books we had, as though there was something sacred about them. I never dog's-eared one in my life, nor profanely scribbled upon title pages, margin, or fly-leaf, and would as soon have stuck a pin through my flesh as through the pages of a book. When very young, I remember a young lady came to our house on a visit,

who was said to have studied Latin. I looked upon her as a sort of goddess. Years after, the idea that I could ever study Latin broke upon my mind with the wonder and bewilderment of a revelation. Until the age of fifteen I had never been to school more than eight or ten weeks in a year.

I said we had but few books. The town, however, owned a small library. When incorporated, it was named after Dr. Franklin, whose reputation was then not only at its zenith, but, like the sun over Gibeon, was standing still there. As an acknowledgment of the compliment, he offered them a bell for their church, but afterward, saying that, from what he had learned of the character of the people, he thought they would prefer sense to sound, he changed the gift into a library. Though this library consisted of old histories and theologies, suited perhaps to the "conscript fathers" of the town, but miserably adapted to the "proscript" children, yet I wasted my youthful ardor upon its martial pages, and learned to glory in war, which both reason and conscience have since taught me to consider almost universally a crime. Oh, when will men learn to redeem that childhood in their offspring which was lost to themselves! We watch for the seed-time for our fields and improve it, but neglect the mind until midsummer or even autumn comes, when all the *artinism* of the vernal sun of youth is gone. I have endeavored to do something to remedy this criminal defect. Had I the power, I would scatter libraries over the whole land, as the sower sows his wheat field.

More than by toil, or by the privation of any natural taste, was the inward joy of my youth blighted by theological inculcations. The pastor of the church in Franklin was the somewhat celebrated Dr. Emmons, who not only preached to his people, but ruled them for more than fifty years. He was an extra or hyper-Calvinist—a man of pure intellect, whose logic was never softened in its severity by the infusion of any kindliness of sentiment. He expounded all the doctrines of total depravity, election, and reprobation, and not only the eternity but the extremity of hell torments, unflinchingly and in their most terrible significance, while he rarely if ever descanted upon the joys of heaven, and never, to my recollection, upon the essential and necessary happiness of a virtuous life. Going to church on Sunday was a sort of religious ordinance in our family, and during all my boyhood I hardly ever remember of staying at home.

As to my early habits, whatever may have been my shortcomings, I can still say that I have always been exempt from what may be called common vices. I was never intoxicated in my life—unless, perchance, with joy or anger. I never swore—indeed profanity was always most disgusting and repulsive to me. And (I consider it always a climax,) I never used the "vile weed" in any form. I early formed the resolution to be a slave to no habit. For the rest, my public life is almost as well known to others as to myself; and, as it commonly happens to public men, *others know my motives a great deal better than I do.*

Mr. Mann's father having died when he was thirteen years of age, he remained with his mother on the homestead until he was twenty. But an irrepressible yearning for knowledge still held possession of him. "I know not how it was," said he to a friend in after life, "its motive never took the form of wealth or fame. It was rather an instinct which impelled toward knowledge, as that of migratory birds impels them northward in spring time. All my boyish castles in the air had reference to do something for the benefit of mankind. The early precepts of benevolence, inculcated upon me by my parents, flowed out in this direction; and I had a conviction that knowledge was my needed instrument."

A fortunate accident gave opportunity and development to this passion. An itinerant schoolmaster, named Samuel Barrett, came into his neighborhood and opened a school. This man was eccentric and abnormal, both in appetites and faculties. He would teach a

school for six months, tasting nothing stronger than tea, though in this Dr. Johnson was a model of temperance compared with him, and then for another six months, more or less, he would travel the country in a state of beastly drunkenness, begging cider, or any thing that would intoxicate, from house to house, and sleeping in barns and styes, until the paroxysm had passed by. Then he would be found clothed, and sitting in his right mind, and obtain another school.

Mr. Barrett's speciality was English grammar, and Greek, and Latin. In the dead languages, as far as he pretended to know any thing, he seemed to know every thing. All his knowledge, too, was committed to memory. In hearing recitations from Virgil, Cicero, the Greek Testament, and other classical works, then usually studied as a preparation for college, he never took a book into his hand. Not the sentiments only, but the sentences, in the transposed order of their words, were as familiar to him as his A, B, C, and he would as soon have missed a letter out of the alphabet, as article or particle out of the lesson. This learned Mr. Barrett was learned in languages alone. In arithmetic he was an idiot. He never could commit the multiplication table to memory, and did not know enough to date a letter or tell the time of day by the clock.

In this chance school Mr. Mann first saw a Latin grammar; but it was the *veni, vidi, vici* of Cæsar. Having obtained a reluctant consent from his guardian to prepare for college, with six months of schooling he learned his grammar, read Corderius, Æsop's Fables, the Æneid, with parts of the Georgics and Bucolics, Cicero's Select Orations, the Four Gospels, and part of the Epistles in Greek, part of the Græca Majora and Minora, and entered the Sophomore class of Brown University, Providence, in September, 1816.

Illness compelled him to leave his class for a short period; and again he was absent in the winter to keep school as a resource for paying college bills. Yet, when his class graduated in 1819, the first part or "Honor" in the comencement exercises was awarded to him, with the unanimous approval of Faculty and classmates. The theme of his oration on graduating foreshadowed the history of his life. It was on the Progressive Character of the Human Race. With youthful enthusiasm, he portrayed that higher condition of human society when education shall develop the people into loftier proportions of wisdom and virtue, when philanthropy shall succor the wants and relieve the woes of the race, and when free institutions shall abolish that oppression and war which have hitherto debarred nations from ascending into realms of grandeur and happiness.

Immediately after commencement (indeed some six weeks before, and immediately after the final examination of his class, so that no time might be lost; for the law then required three years' reading in a lawyer's office, or rather three years to be spent in a lawyer's office without any reference to reading,) he entered his name in the office of the Hon. J. J. Fiske, of Wrentham, as a student at law. He had spent here, however, only a few months when he was invited back to college as a tutor in Latin and Greek. This proposal he was induced to accept for two reasons: first, it would lighten his burden of indebtedness (for he was living on borrowed money;) and, second, it would afford the opportunity he so much desired of revising and extending his classical studies.

He now devoted himself most assiduously to Latin and Greek, and the instructions given to his class were characterized by two peculiarities, whose value all will admit, though so few have realized. In addition to rendering the sense of the author, and a knowledge of syntactical rules, he always demanded a translation in the most elegant, choice, and euphonious language. He taught his Latin classes to look through the whole list of synonyms given in the Latin-English dictionary, and to select from among them all the one which would convey the author's idea, in the most expressive, graphic, and elegant manner; rendering military terms by military terms, nautical by nautical, the language of rulers in language of majesty and command, of suppliants by words of entreaty, and so forth. This method improves diction surprisingly. The student can almost feel his organ of language grow under its training; at any rate, he can see from month to month that it has grown. The other particular referred to, consisted in elucidating the text by geographical, biographical, and historical references; thus opening the mind of the student to a vast fund of collateral knowledge, and making use of the great mental law, that it is easier to remember two or even ten associated ideas than either of them alone.

Though liberal in granting indulgences to his class, yet he was inexorable in demanding correct recitations. However much privation or pain the getting of the lesson might cost, yet it was generally got *as the lesser evil.* One day a student asked the steward of the college what he was going to do with some medicinal preparation he had. "Mr. So and So," said the steward, "has a violent attack of fever, and I am going to give him a sweat." "If you want to give him a sweat," said the inquirer, "send him into our recitation room without his lesson."

While in college, Mr. Mann had excelled in scientific studies. He

now had an opportunity to improve himself in classical culture. A comparison of the two convinced him how infinitely inferior in value, not only as an attainment, but as a means of mental discipline, is heathen mythology to modern science; the former consisting of the imaginations of man, the latter of the handiwork of God.

In the latter part of 1821, having resigned his tutorship, he entered the law school at Litchfield, Connecticut, then at the zenith of its reputation, under the late Judge Gould. Here he remained rather more than a year, devoting himself with great assiduity to the study of the law under that distinguished jurist. Leaving Litchfield, he entered the office of the Hon. James Richardson, of Dedham, was admitted a member of the Norfolk bar, in December, 1823, and immediately opened an office in Dedham.

We believe the records of the courts will show that, during the fourteen years of his forensic practice, he gained at least four out of five of all the contested cases in which he was engaged. The inflexible rule of his professional life was, never to undertake a case that he did not believe to be right. He held that an advocate loses his highest power when he loses the ever-conscious conviction that he is contending for the truth; that though the fees or fame may be a stimulus, yet that a conviction of being right is itself *creative* of power, and renders its possessor more than a match for antagonists otherwise greatly his superior.

In 1827, Mr. Mann was elected to the Massachusetts House of Representatives, for the town of Dedham, and continued to be returned until the year 1833, when he removed to Boston, and entered into a partnership with Edward G. Loring. At the first election after his becoming a citizen of Boston, he was chosen to the State Senate for the county of Suffolk, which post he was returned to for the four succeeding elections. In 1836 that body elected him its president, and again in 1837, in which year he retired from political life to enter upon the duties of Secretary of the Board of Education. During his legislative course Mr. Mann took an active part in the discussion of all important questions, especially of such as pertained to railroads, public charities, religious liberty, suppression of traffic in lottery tickets, and spirituous liquors, and to education.

He advocated laws for improving the system of common schools. He, more than any other man, was the means of procuring the enactment of what was called the "Fifteen Gallon Law," for the suppression of intemperance in Massachusetts. He was a member of the committee who reported the resolves which subsequently resulted in the codification of the statute laws of Massachusetts. He took a leading

part in preparing and carrying through the law whose stringent provisions for a long time, and almost effectually, broke up the traffic in lottery tickets.

But the act by which Mr. Mann most signalized his legislative life in the House of Representatives was the establishment of the State Lunatic Hospital of Worcester. This benevolent enterprise was conceived, sustained, and carried through the House by him alone, against the apathy and indifference of many, and the direct opposition of some prominent men. He moved the appointment of the original committee of inquiry, and made its report, drew up and reported the resolve for erecting the hospital, and his was the only speech made in its favor. After the law was passed, he was appointed chairman of the Board of Commissioners to contract for and superintend the erection of the Hospital. When the buildings were completed, in 1833, he was appointed chairman of the Board of Trustees for administering the institution, and remained on the Board until rotated out of office by the provisions of the law which governed it.

We subjoin a sketch of Mr. Mann's speech in behalf of the resolve for establishing the Hospital:—

Mr. Mann, of Dedham, requested the attention of the House to the numbers, condition, and necessities of the insane within this commonwealth, and to the consideration of the means by which their sufferings might be altogether prevented, or at least assuaged. On reviewing our legislation upon this subject, he could not claim for it the praise either of policy or humanity. In 1816 it was made the duty of the Supreme Court, when a grand jury had refused to indict, or the jury of trials to convict such person, by reason of his insanity or mental derangement, to commit any person to prison, there to be kept until his enlargement should be deemed compatible with the safety of the citizens, or until some friend should procure his release by becoming responsible for all damages which, in his insanity, he might commit.

Had the human mind been tasked to devise a mode of aggravating to the utmost the calamities of the insane, a more apt expedient could scarcely have been suggested; or, had the earth been searched, places more inauspicious to their recovery could scarcely have been found.

He cast no reflection upon the keepers of our jails, houses of correction, and poor houses, as humane men, when he said that, as a class, they were eminently disqualified to have the supervision and management of the insane. The superintendent of the insane should not only be a humane man, but a man of science; he should not only be a physician, but a mental philosopher. An alienated mind should be touched only by a skillful hand. Great experience and knowledge were necessary to trace the causes that first sent it devious into the wilds of insanity, to counteract the disturbing forces, to restore it again to harmonious action. None of all these requisites could we command under the present system.

But the place was no less unsuitable than the management. In a prison little attention could be bestowed upon the bodily comforts and less upon the mental condition of the insane. They are shut out from the cheering and healing influences of the external world. They are cut off from the kind regard of society and friends. The construction of their cells often debars them from light and air. With fire they can not be trusted. Madness strips them of their clothing. If there be any recuperative energies of mind, suffering suspends or destroys them, and recovery is placed almost beyond the reach of hope. He affirmed that he was not giving an exaggerated account of this wretched class of beings, between whom and humanity there seemed to be a gulf, which no one had as yet crossed to carry them

relief. He held in his hand the evidence which would sustain all that he had said. * *

From several facts and considerations, he inferred that the whole number of insane persons in the State could not be less than 500. Whether 500 of our fellow-beings, suffering under the bereavement of reason, should be longer subjected to the cruel operation of our laws, was a question which no man could answer in the affirmative, who was not himself a sufferer under the bereavement of all generous and humane emotions. But he would for a moment consider it as a mere question of saving and expenditure. He would argue it as if human nature knew no sympathies, as if duty imposed no obligations. And, in teaching Avarice a lesson of humanity, he would teach it a lesson of economy also.

Of the 298 persons returned, 161 are in confinement. Of these, the duration of the confinement of 150 is ascertained. It exceeds in the aggregate a thousand years;—a thousand years, during which the mind had been sequestered from the ways of knowledge and usefulness, and the heart in all its sufferings inaccessible to the consolations of religion. * *

The average expense, Mr. Mann said, of keeping those persons in confinement could not be less than $2.50 per week, or if friends had furnished cheaper support, it must have been from some motive besides cupidity. Such a length of time, at such a price, would amount to $130,000. And if 150 who were in confinement exhibit an aggregate of more than a thousand years of insanity, the 148 at large might be safely set down at half that sum, or 500 years. Allowing for these an average expense of $1 per week, the sum is $52,000, which added to $130,000 as above, makes $182,000. Should we add to this $1 per week for all, as the sum they might have earned had they been in health, the result is $234,000 lost to the State by the infliction of this malady alone; and this estimate is predicated only of 298 persons, returned from less than half the population of the State.

Taking results then, derived from so large an experience, it was not too much to say, that more than one-half of the cases of insanity were susceptible of cure, and that at least one-half of the expense now sustained by the State might be saved by the adoption of a different system of treatment. One fact ought not to be omitted, that those who suffer under the most sudden and violent access of insanity were most easily restored. But such individuals, under our system, are immediately subject to all the rigors of confinement, and thus an impassable barrier is placed between them and hope. This malady, too, is confined to adults almost exclusively. It is then, after all the expense of early education and rearing has been incurred, that their usefulness is terminated. But it had pained him to dwell so long on these pecuniary details. On this subject he was willing that his feelings should dictate to his judgment and control his interest. There are questions, said he, upon which the heart is a better counselor than the head,—where its plain expositions of right encounter and dispel the sophistries of the intellect. There are sufferers amongst us whom we are able to relieve. If, with our abundant means, we hesitate to succor their distress, we may well envy them their incapacity to commit crime. * *

But let us reflect, that while *we* delay *they* suffer. Another year not only gives an accession to their numbers, but removes, perhaps to a returnless distance, the chance of their recovery. Whatever they endure, which we can prevent, is virtually inflicted by our own hands. Let us restore them to the enjoyment of the exalted capacities of intellect and virtue. Let us draw aside the dark curtain which hides from their eyes the wisdom and beauty of the universe. The appropriation proposed was small—it was for such a charity insignificant. Who is there, he demanded, that, beholding all this remediable misery on one hand, and looking, on the other, to that paltry sum which would constitute his proportion of the expense, could pocket the money, and leave the victims to their sufferings? How many thousands do we devote annually to the cultivation of mind in our schools and colleges; and shall we do nothing to reclaim that mind when it has been lost to all its noblest prerogatives? Could the victims of insanity themselves come up before us, and find a language to reveal their history, who could hear them unmoved? But to me, said Mr. Mann, the appeal is stronger, because *they* are unable to make it. Over his feelings, their imbecility assumed the form of irresistible power. No eloquence could persuade like their heedless silence. It is now, said he, in the power of the members of this House to exercise their highest

privileges as men, their most enviable functions as legislators; to become protectors to the wretched, and benefactors to the miserable."

The execution of this great work illustrated those characteristics of the subject of this memoir which have signalized his life. The novelty and costliness of the enterprise demanded boldness. Its motive sprung from his benevolence. Its completion without loss or failure illustrated his foresight. It was arranged that no ardent spirits should ever be used on the work, and the whole edifice was completed without accident or injury to any workman. The expenditure of so large a sum as fifty thousand dollars without overrunning appropriations proved his recognition of accountability. The selection of so remarkable a man as Dr. Woodward for the superintendent, showed his knowledge of character. And the success which, after twenty years of experience, has finally crowned the work, denotes that highest kind of statesmanship, which holds the succor of human wants and the alleviation of human woes to be an integral and indispensable, as it is a most economical part of the duties of a paternal government. That Hospital has served as a model for many similar institutions in other states and countries, which, through the benevolent influence of its widely-known success, have been erected because that was erected.

In 1835, Mr. Mann was a member, on the part of the Senate, of a legislative committee to whom was intrusted the codification of the statute law of Massachusetts, and after its adoption he was associated with Judge Metcalf in editing the same for the press.

On the organization of the Board of Education for Massachusetts, on the 29th of June, 1837, Mr. Mann was elected its secretary, and entered forthwith on a new and more congenial sphere of labor. From the earliest day when his actions became publicly noticeable, universal education, through the instrumentality of free public schools, was commended by his word, and promoted by his acts. Its advocacy was a golden thread woven into all the texture of his writings and his life. One of his earliest addresses was a discourse before a county association of teachers. As soon as eligible, he was chosen a member of the Superintending School Committee of Dedham, and continued to fill the office until he left the place. In the General Court his voice and his vote were always on the side of schools.

Mr. Mann withdrew from all other professional and business engagements whatever, that no vocation but the new one might burden his hands or obtrude upon his contemplations. He transferred his law business then pending, declined re-election to the Senate, and—the only thing that caused him a regret—resigned his offices and his active connection with the different temperance organizations. He

abstracted himself entirely from political parties, and for twelve years never attended a political caucus or convention of any kind. He resolved to be seen and known only as an educationist. Though sympathizing as much as ever with the reforms of the day, he knew how fatally obnoxious they were to whole classes of people whom he wished to influence for good; and as he could not do all things at once, he sought to do the best things, and those which lay in the immediate path of his duty, first. Men's minds, too, at that time were so fired with partisan zeal on various subjects, that great jealousy existed lest the interest of some other cause should be subserved under the guise of a regard for education. Nor could vulgar and bigoted persons comprehend why a man should drop from an honorable and exalted station into comparative obscurity, and from a handsome income to a mere subsistence, unless actuated by some vulgar and bigoted motive like their own.* Subsequent events proved the wisdom of his course. The Board was soon assailed with violence by political partisans, by anti-temperance demagogues, and other bigots after their kind, and nothing but the impossibility of fastening any purpose upon its secretary save absolute devotion to his duty saved it from wreck. During a twelve years' period of service, no opponent of the cause, or of Mr. Mann's views in conducting it, was ever able to specify a single instance in which he had prostituted or perverted the influence of his office for any personal, partisan, or collateral end whatever.

It is obvious, on a moment's reflection, that few works ever undertaken by man had relations so numerous, or touched society at so many points, and those so sensitive, as that in which Mr. Mann was now engaged. The various religious denominations were all turned into eyes, each to watch against encroachments upon itself, or favoritism toward others. Sordid men anticipated the expenditures incident

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* Dr. William E. Channing was the only man, among his friends and acquaintances, who did not dissuade him from accepting the office. He wrote to him as follows:—

My Dear Sir:—I understand that you have given yourself to the cause of education in our commonwealth. I rejoice in it. Nothing could give me greater pleasure. I have long desired that some one uniting all your qualifications should devote himself to this work. You could not find a nobler station. Government has no nobler one to give. You must allow me to labor under you according to my opportunities. If at any time I can aid you, you must let me know, and I shall be glad to converse with you always about your operations. When will the low, degrading party quarrels of the country cease, and the better minds come to think what can be done toward a substantial, generous improvement of the community? "My ear is pained, my very soul is sick" with the monotonous yet furious clamors about currency, banks, &c., when the spiritual interests of the community seem hardly to be recognized as having any reality.

If we can but turn the wonderful energy of this people into a right channel, what a new heaven and earth must be realized among us! And I do not despair. Your willingness to consecrate yourself to the work is a happy omen. You do not stand alone, or form a rare exception to the times. There must be many to be touched by the same truths which are stirring you.

My hope is that the pursuit will give you new vigor and health. If you can keep strong outwardly, I have no fear about the efficiency of the spirit. I write in haste, for I am not very strong, and any effort exhausts me, but I wanted to express my sympathy, and to wish you God speed on your way.

Your sincere friend, WM. E. CHANNING.

to improvement. Many teachers of private schools foresaw that any change for the better in the public schools would withdraw patronage from their own; though to their honor it must be said that the cause of public education had no better friends than many private teachers proved themselves to be. But hundreds and hundreds of wretchedly poor and incompetent teachers knew full well that the daylight of educational intelligence would be to them what the morning dawn is to night-birds. Bookmakers and booksellers were jealous of interference in behalf of rivals; and where there were twenty competitors of a kind, Hope was but a fraction of one-twentieth, while Fear was a unit. Mr. Mann for many years had filled important political offices; and, if political opponents could not find any thing wrong in what he was doing, it was the easiest of all things to foresee something wrong that he would do. Many persons who have some conscience in their statements about the past, have none in their predictions about the future. And however different and contradictory might be the motives of opposition, all opponents would coalesce; while the friends of the enterprise, though animated by a common desire for its advancement, were often alienated from each other through disagreement as to methods. There was also the spirit of conservatism to be overcome; and, more formidable by far than this, the spirit of pride on the part of some in the then existing condition of the schools,—a pride which had been fostered for a century among the people, not because their school system was as good as it should and might be, but because it was so much better than that of neighboring communities. And, besides all this, it was impossible to excite any such enthusiasm, for a cause whose highest rewards lie in the remote future, as for one where the investment of means or effort is to be refunded, with heavy usury, at the next anniversary or quarter-day. Then questions respecting the education of a whole people touched the whole people. Politics, commerce, manufactures, agriculture, are class interests. Each one is but a segment of the great social circle. While the few engaged in a single pursuit may be intensely excited, the great majority around may be in a state of quiescence or indifference. But, so far as education is regarded at all, it is a problem which every body undertakes to solve; and hence ten thousand censors rise up in a day. It is an object not too low to be noticed by the highest, nor to high to be adjudicated upon by the lowest. Do not these considerations show the multifarious relations of the cause to the community at large, and to the interests and hopes of each of its classes? And now consider the things indispensable to be done, to superinduce a vigorous system upon a decrepit one,—changes in the

law, new organizations of territory into districts, the building of school-houses, classification of scholars, supervision of schools, improvements in books, in methods of teaching, and in the motives and ways of discipline, qualifications of teachers, the collection of statistics, the necessary exposure of defects and of mal-administration, &c., &c.,—and we can form a more adequate idea of the wide circuit of the work undertaken, and of the vast variety of the details which it comprehends.

Mr. Mann, in entering on his work, availed himself of three modes of influencing the public. 1. By lectures addressed to conventions of teachers and friends of education, which were held at first annually in each county of the state. It was made his duty, as secretary, to attend these conventions, both for the purpose of obtaining information in regard to the condition of the schools, and of explaining to the public what were supposed to be the leading motives and objects of the legislature in creating the Board. His addresses, prepared for these occasions, and for teachers' associations, lyceums, &c., were designed for popular and promiscuous audiences, and were admirably adapted to awaken a lively interest, and enlist parental, patriotic, and religious motives in behalf of the cause. 2. In the Report which he was required annually to make to the Board of his own doings, and the condition and improvement of the public schools, he presented more didactic expositions of the wants of the great cause of Education, and the relations which that cause holds to the interests of civilization and human progress. 3. In the "*Common School Journal*," which he conducted on his own responsibility, he gave more detailed and specific views, in regard to modes and processes of instruction and training, and the general management of schools.

Of his numerous lectures, seven were published in a volume,* prepared for the press, by a special request of the Board, in 1840. These lectures alone would establish for him a permanent reputation as an eloquent writer, and profound thinker, in this department of literature. But his twelve Annual Reports constitute an enduring monument of well-directed zeal in the public service, and of large, comprehensive, and practical views of educational improvement, and of his power as a master of the English language. We shall, in justice to Mr. Mann, and for the valuable suggestions which even an imperfect analysis of these remarkable documents must impart, pass them in rapid review.

* Lectures on Education, by Horace Mann, pp. 338. *Contents.*—Lecture I. Means and Objects of Common School Education. II. Special Preparation, a prerequisite to Teaching. III. The Necessity of Education in a Republican Government. IV. What God does, and what He leaves for Man to do, in the work of Education. V. An Historical View of Education; showing its dignity and its Degradation. VI. On District School Libraries. VII. On School Punishments.

Analysis of Mr. Mann's Reports as Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education.

In his first report, submitted less than five months after his acceptance of the post of Secretary of the Board of Education, Mr. Mann presented a comprehensive survey of the condition of the public schools of the state, under four heads; viz., I. The situation, construction, condition, and number of the school-houses; to which he devoted a supplementary report, with a free exposition of his views in regard to ventilation and warming, size, desks, seats, location of school-houses, light, windows, yards or playgrounds, and the duty of instructors in regard to these structures. These were accompanied with two plans of the interior of school-houses. II. *The manner in which the school committees performed their duties.* Under this head he specified their neglect in regard to the time of examining teachers, the character of the examinations, the hesitation in rejecting incompetent candidates; their neglect of the law requiring them to secure uniformity of school books, and furnishing them to the scholars at the expense of the town, when the parents neglected to furnish them—their negligence in not enforcing attendance, regularity, and punctuality, and in not visiting the schools as the law demanded. The causes of this neglect, want of compensation, and consequently of penalty for non-performance of duties, the hostility often induced by a faithful performance of duty, and the ingratitude with which their services were treated, thus preventing the best men from accepting the office. Remedies for these evils were also suggested; viz., compensation for services, penalties for neglect, and an annual report by each committee. III. *Apathy on the part of the community* in relation to schools. This is of two kinds. The apathy of those indifferent to all education, which, in the influx of an ignorant and degraded population, would naturally increase; and apathy toward the public or free schools, on the part of those who considered them as not supplying the education needed, and hence sought to procure that education for their children, in academies and private schools. Under this head, he propounded the true theory of public schools, the measures necessary to secure their efficiency, and the objections to private schools as means of popular education. IV. *Competency of Teachers.* The obstacles to this competency were considered; viz., low compensation, preventing its being followed as a profession; the low standard of attainment required; and the ulterior objects of those who engaged in it temporarily. With a few remarks concerning the necessity of school registers, apparatus, &c., and the best time for the election of school officers, the report closed.

Mr. Mann's second report, after briefly reviewing the evidences of progress in Nantucket, and some other large towns, during the previous year, and the delinquencies of others, is mainly occupied with the discussion of the importance of better instruction in language, in the public schools, and the best methods of effecting it. The existing methods of instruction in spelling and reading are described, their defects noted, and the measures proposed for remedying them mentioned. The teaching of the young child words before letters (a plan previously advocated by Dr. Gallaudet,) is strongly recommended, and cogent reasons given for its adoption. The faulty character of the selections in school reading-books, are noticed, their want of connection and interest to the pupil, the utter unintelligibility of many of them; spellers and definers discarded as suitable means of giving children ideas of the meaning of words; dictionaries for study, regarded

as better, but still exceptional—the preparation of readers, detailing in simple and interesting style, events of home life—popular treatises on natural science—voyages and travels and, as the vocabulary of the pupil increases, and his perceptions of matters of argument and reason increases, the advance to the discussion of higher topics may be encouraged. Compositions, translations, and paraphrases, should be required early, and generally should be of a descriptive rather than a didactic character. The effects of this method of instruction are portrayed in the vivid language of the secretary—its elevation of the taste, refinement of the manners, and the preparation which it would give the community for the enjoyment of a higher and purer literature. With a brief discussion of the question whether the Board of Education should recommend a series of school books, and some incidental allusions to matters of detail, the report closes.

Mr. Mann commences his THIRD REPORT with congratulations to the Board of Education, on the evidences of progress and improvement evinced by the school returns, and other facts which he lays before them; and, after stating briefly the efforts made for the instruction of children on the lines of railroad then in course of construction, and the number and character of the violations of the laws relative to the employment of children in manufactories, without giving them opportunities of education, he proceeds to discuss, in all its bearings, the necessity of libraries in school districts. He gives at length, statistics, carefully collected, relative to the number, character, and accessibility of the existing libraries in the state, showing that there were in the state, including college, society, theological, and other public libraries, some 300,000 volumes; that the use of them was confined to not over 100,000 persons, while 600,000 had no access to them—that one hundred towns of the state had no public libraries of any description; that of the books in the libraries, very few, not over one-twentieth, were adapted to the use of children, or young persons; that many of them were out of date, old, and incorrect; that the greater part of those in circulation were works of fiction, and many of them of injurious or immoral tendency, while a few were composed mainly of historical and scientific works. Other facts are stated, showing the prevalent tendency in the popular mind, to read only, or mainly, works of fiction and amusement. The mental and moral influence of various descriptions of reading, is next fully discussed. The effect of reading, in the formation and development of character illustrated. Statistics are next given of the lyceum and other lectures, maintained in the state, their advantages and disadvantages are shown, and the impossibility of their acting as substitutes for libraries, in the work of public instruction, fully demonstrated. The reasons why school district libraries should be established, and at the expense of the state, in part, are forcibly stated—the density of the population, the necessity for high education to sustain such a population—the advantages of the subdivision of districts, in carrying libraries to every man's neighborhood—the inability of the small districts to compete, unaided, with the larger, in supplying themselves with libraries, yet their greater need of them, from the brevity of their period of school sessions, are all urged. The character of the books necessary for such libraries, is then dwelt upon; natural science, biography, well-written history, agricultural and popular scientific works—works on physiology and hygiene, on morals and their applications—and, when practicable, biographical dictionaries, encyclopedias, and other works of a similar character, as reference books, are specified. The general demand for libraries, throughout the state, is noticed in conclusion.

In his FOURTH REPORT, Mr. Mann, after a brief general review of the gratifying progress of the state, in educational matters, in the three years preceding, and a portrayal of the material advantages which would ensue from the publication and circulation of the abstracts of the school reports, enters upon a full discussion of the topics suggested by these reports, prefacing it by a brief account of the principles on which schools have been supported since 1647, in Massachusetts.

The topics treated are the following: school districts—the evils of their minute subdivision—the remedies suggested are the reunion of small districts, the placing the whole management of the schools, where it was placed originally, in the hands of the towns, and the organization of union schools for the older scholars. The last measure is urged on the grounds of the economy of the plan, and the advantage gained in management and discipline; the condition and repair of school-houses is next considered, and a tax suggested, once in three or five years, to furnish means to the committee to keep the school-house in good repair. The inefficiency and unproductiveness of expenditure for public instruction, is next dwelt upon—the statistics of private school expenditure for instruction, in the branches taught in the public schools, given; its wastefulness shown; the greater advantages which would result from the expenditure of the same sum on the public schools, demonstrated; and the moral evils which the present course causes, exhibited. The suggestions of the reports in regard to *teachers*, are then considered. The advantage of increasing the number of female teachers, discussed; the deficiencies in the qualifications of those examined, commented upon; and the necessity of their possessing a thorough knowledge of common school studies, aptness to teach, ability in management and discipline, good manners, and unexceptionable morals, urged. The necessity of strict uniformity in school books, is demonstrated; the advantages arising from the introduction of school apparatus and school libraries, mentioned; constancy and punctuality of attendance urged, on the grounds of the monstrous loss and waste of time and money which are involved in irregularity and absence; and the fearful deprivation of the best hours of life to the young, a loss not to be repaired. The enforcement of regular and punctual attendance is advised, by the efforts of the teachers to attach children to the school, by the use of the register, the notification of parents, the example of the teacher, and appeals to parents and guardians to encourage it. The duties of superintending or town committees, and of prudential committees, are briefly considered; manifestation of parental interest in the schools, the evils of forcible breaking up the schools, and of absences from final examinations, referred to; and the report closes with a general retrospect.

In his FIFTH REPORT, Mr. Mann, after his usual resumé of the results attained the previous year, and a few remarks on the advantage of increasing the number of meetings, and multiplying the points at which conventions of the friends of education should assemble, and some passing notice of the improvement in school districts, school-houses, appropriations of money by the towns, amount and regularity of attendance, length of schools, and uniformity of school books, discusses at length the best methods of ascertaining the qualifications of teachers for their work, a duty devolving, by law, on the town or superintending committees. Under the head of moral character, he recommends, where the candidate is not previously known to the committee, strict scrutiny of his credentials, and a registry of the names of those who recommend them, and denounces, in the strongest terms, those who would be guilty of furnishing recommendations to persons

morally disqualified for the high calling of teachers of youth. Passing over the matter of the scholarship of the teacher, which can generally be ascertained without much difficulty, he next considers the best method of ascertaining the ability of the teacher to impart knowledge, and his capacity for managing and governing a school—points of great importance, but which many of the school committees had declared impossible to be ascertained. In regard to the first, he recommends that the candidate should be questioned on his method of using the blackboard, his mode of teaching reading, whether he requires the children to understand the meaning of the words, and the sense of the passage read, his instruction in pronunciation, his time and method of teaching the arithmetical signs, his mode of instructing in geography, grammar, and arithmetic, his practice in regard to reviews, alternations of studies, &c. In relation to his ability to manage and govern a school, he suggests inquiries into his methods of preserving order and quiet in his school; his views relative to the necessity and frequency of corporeal punishment; his practice in exciting emulation by prizes, &c. He also suggests that inquiry should be made in regard to the special preparation made by the candidate for teaching, what instruction he has received on the art of teaching, either in normal schools, or from books or teachers' periodicals. Some further suggestions are thus made relative to the details of the examination of teachers.

The two Shaker societies had the previous year refused to allow their teachers to be examined, or their schools visited. The secretary shows, with great force, the absurdity of their course, and then passes to illustrate, by means of statistics and otherwise, the inequality in the means of education in different towns in the state. The facts being stated, he demonstrates by irrefragible arguments, and by the testimony of several of the largest employers of labor in the commonwealth, the difference which this inequality of education makes in the productive value of the labor of the educated and uneducated. He thus shows, conclusively, that the state and individuals would be very greatly the gainers, in a pecuniary sense, by the universal diffusion of education. That a person with a good common school education will, in the same business, ordinarily earn fifty per cent. more than one without education—and this with less injury or expense of tools or machinery; and that such persons usually live better, and are better members of society. The argument is an admirable one.

In his SIXTH REPORT, Mr. Mann passes in review the progress of the preceding year, in the school appropriations, the attendance, vacations in the annual schools, employment of female teachers, compensation of teachers, reports of school committees, breaking up of schools, qualifications of teachers, dismission of incompetent teachers, school registers, and school district libraries; and proceeds, under the head of *selection of studies*, to urge the importance of the introduction of the study of physiology into the schools. To do this effectually, he goes at considerable length into a statement and illustration of the laws of life and health, and the daily and hourly violations of them by the masses. He also submits the opinions of eminent physicians in regard to the importance of the study of physiology and hygiene to the young, and enforces these opinions by further argument and illustration. This portion of the report furnishes, in itself, an admirable essay on physiology and hygiene, and is well worthy of perusal and study.

Mr. Mann, in his SEVENTH REPORT, after his customary review of the condition of the schools of the state, proceeds to give an account of the observations made

in his European tour of the preceding year, in which he had visited a large number of schools in England, Ireland, Scotland, Prussia, Germany, Holland, Belgium, and France. He visited not only the public schools of these countries, but their institutions for the blind, deaf mutes, orphans, vagrants, and juvenile offenders, also. Leaving these topics, however, Mr. Mann comes again upon his own appropriate ground, and considers the fearful evils of a partial system of education, as exhibited in England, giving numerous facts demonstrating the great inequality of the opportunities of education, the disproportion in the salaries of teachers, the vile and often degrading and obscene books used in the lowest class of schools, and the necessity of a general supervisory power on the subject of education. The school-houses, with the exception of some of the palaces devoted to private or endowed schools in England, he regarded as decidedly inferior to those of Massachusetts, in convenience and in ventilation. The reading-books, especially in Germany, were better than ours, as being more practical in their character. There was but little more apparatus there than here. The blackboard was universally used, and for more purposes than here. In some schools he found the standard weights and measures of the country—a valuable aid to the understanding of the comparative quantities contained in them. In some of the schools, as in Holland, there were cards containing fac-similes of the coins of the realm; reading boards or frames (since introduced here,) were also found there. Models of implements of utility, collections of shells, minerals, seeds, woods, &c., and occasionally paintings of considerable value; and, in nearly all, tasteful though cheap engravings and maps adorned the walls. The Lancasterian schools he found upon the wane, a " more excellent way " having been substituted for them. He was much pleased with the mental activity displayed in the Scotch schools, and with the thoroughness of their training in reading, and in exercises in language, but thought there was too much harshness, and too strong appeals to emulation in their management.

But the Prussian schools were, in his view, superior to any others he saw in Europe. After reviewing briefly the orphan and vagrant schools of Potsdam, Halle, and Horn, giving to the apostolic Wichern his due meed of praise, he proceeds to treat of the classification of the Prussian schools, the method of teaching in the primary classes; and here he urges with great force the advantage of the system adopted there of teaching words before letters. He also suggests that the phonic or *lautir* method of spelling, which he found in use in Prussia, might with advantage be adopted here. After a brief reference to the way in which reading is taught in the higher classes, he proceeds to speak of their methods of instruction in arithmetic and mathematics, in grammar and composition. In writing and drawing, in geography, by the sketching of outlines on the blackboard; in thinking exercises, knowledge of nature, the world, and society; alluding, under these heads, to the careful and thorough preparation of the teachers for their work of instruction, and the entire absence of text-books, in instruction in Bible history and music, which he found universally taught in Prussia. He next gives an account of the seminaries for teachers, the preliminary course in which their eligibility to become members of the seminaries for teachers was decided, the course of instruction, its extreme thoroughness, and the high moral and religious tone of the instruction. In reviewing the period spent in Prussia and Saxony, he states these facts, viz., that he never saw a teacher hearing a lesson with a book in his hand; he never saw a teacher sitting; and he never saw

a child either arraigned for punishment, undergoing it, or having recently been punished. He does not intend to imply, by the last remark, that corporeal punishment was entirely discarded, but that it was very seldom necessary to resort to it. The earnestness and interest of the teachers in their work, their evidently strong affection for their pupils, and the reciprocal affection engendered by this, were generally sufficient to produce obedience. Educational journals he found abundant, and well sustained. The school inspectors were men of high attainments, and qualified to fill the highest stations. School attendance was made compulsory by law, the parent being imprisoned if he neglected to send his child, after repeated warnings—but so well were the parents convinced of its advantages, that it was seldom necessary to appeal to the law. Mr. Mann next gives a brief account of the higher schools (the real and burger schools,) of Prussia and Saxony; and assigns the reasons why, though the young are thus educated, yet the nation is in a condition of such apathy.

He then proceeds to review some points, in the schools of other countries which he visited. Corporeal punishment was not used in Holland. In Scotland and England, on the contrary, it was in full force; and, in some of the proprietary and endowed schools of England, solitary confinement still prevailed. In France, he found the system of *surveillance* in force in the boarding-schools and colleges—the watching being as close as in a prison. Emulation is an incentive in the English and Scotch schools, of all grades; and is allowed, though not extensively practiced, in the Prussian and Saxon schools. Its application to religious instruction and attainment, Mr. Mann thinks highly objectionable. The religious instruction, both in Great Britain and on the continent, is for the most part sectarian—a measure fraught with many and great evils, not the least of which are its political results. Mr. Mann closes with some eloquent reflections on the reasons we have for thankfulness that our lot was not cast among the effete, worn-out nations of Europe; but that here civilization could have new opportunities of trial, unembarrassed by prescriptive rights, hereditary nobility, an absolute government, feudalism, or pauperism; and sums up with this great truth, that "*In a republic, ignorance is a crime; and that private immorality is not less an opprobrium to the state than it is guilt in the perpetrator.*"

In his EIGHTH REPORT, after giving his usual statistics of the advance in the cause of education in the state, and a few remarks on the increasing employment of female teachers, the enlarged amount of town appropriations, the gratifying increase in the number of school libraries, and the painful necessity of breaking up schools from the incompetency of teachers, he advocates, at some length, the organization of teachers' institutes (which had already been established in New York,) and recommends an appropriation for the purpose; he also notices, with approbation, the organization of county and town teachers' associations, suggests that school registers should hereafter be provided, in book form; specifies the results of an inquiry into the number of towns in which the Bible is not used in the schools; and notices the causes which led to the removal of one of the state normal schools from Lexington to West Newton. He then proceeds to discuss the question of the *distribution of the school moneys among the districts*, giving statistics of the methods heretofore adopted, which were exceedingly various; and, without entering into details, urging the view that the distribution should be made in such a way as to give equal advantages to each district. This does not necessarily require an equal expenditure in each; for one school may be large

and require one or more assistants, another may be small and require but one teacher; one may be composed mostly of large scholars and require a male teacher, another of small scholars and be benefited by having a good female teacher. Connected with this subject is the question of the power of the towns to raise money for school purposes, beyond the minimum required by the statute. Mr. Mann defends the liberal construction of the statute; not only from motives of humanity and philanthropy, but from the evident design of the law-makers, as demonstrated from other enactments bearing upon the question. Another point considered in the report, is the *teaching vocal music* in the schools. He states that about five hundred, or nearly one-sixth of the schools in the commonwealth have already adopted the practice of singing in school; and urges the importance of its universal adoption, from the natural taste for it in all classes, from its refining, softening, and purifying power, from the excellent results which it has produced in other countries, and in our own wherever it has been introduced, for its promotion of health, as furnishing the means of intellectual exercises, and for its social and moral influence. He quotes also the opinions of Dr. Chalmers, and of Napoleon, in regard to the power of music in controlling men. Having thus demonstrated the desirableness of this addition to school instruction, he proceeds to consider the means of accomplishing the object. He suggests that the ability to sing should, as far as possible, be made one of the qualifications of the teacher; and that, where this is impracticable, in the larger towns, a teacher should be hired, and in the smaller towns, benevolent persons, accomplished in the art, should volunteer to bestow instruction.

The NINTH REPORT commences with some statistics of great interest; one table, showing that there were but twenty-two towns in the commonwealth which had not availed themselves of the state provision for school libraries; another showing the progress of the school fund for ten years; a third giving the amount raised by the towns for school purposes, showing that the expenditure for schools, per annum, was more than one dollar for every inhabitant. The usual statistics in regard to length of schools, attendance, &c., are given; and the necessity of enforcing a more full and punctual attendance, urged with great earnestness and eloquence. The compensation of teachers is next considered, and the secretary urges the necessity of increased compensation, and a higher standard of qualification, especially for female teachers; on the ground of the severity and responsibility of their duties, the cost of training, and the fact that the best talent is now drawn away to private schools and seminaries, in other states, by the higher compensation offered them. The advantages of the new school register are pointed out; the cases in which schools were broken up through the incompetency of the teacher, or other causes, which had largely increased under the new law of the previous year, are next analyzed; the number of new teachers, and the comparatively small number who make teaching a profession, are noticed; an interesting narrative is given of the holding of the first teachers' institutes, whose organization was due to the liberality of Hon. Edmund Dwight; a retrospect of the year, its progress, and its signs of promise, are recorded; and Mr. Mann proceeds to discuss the duties of the state for the future, in the cause of education.

In connection with this subject, he speaks at considerable length of *school-motives*, and of some means for avoiding and extirpating *school vices*. Under these heads, he considers, first, the character, duties, and qualifications of the school

committees, urging the importance of their placing moral improvement, in their examinations of the school, in at least equal rank with intellectual progress, and that they should discountenance the effort on the part of teachers to encourage intellectual progress, at the expense of moral culture, or the development of the evil passions of our nature. He next passes to the motives that should actuate the teacher. He must not be a hireling. He must love children and love his work. The contemplation of his work, in its ever-changing character, and its beneficence should constantly excite him to new zeal, and exhilarate his spirits; if it do not, he is unfit for his work. He should enter the school-room as the friend and benefactor of his scholars; should aim to secure their good-will; should lead, not drive. Order must be maintained, but it should be maintained from reverence and regard for the teacher, and not from fear. No code of laws should be enacted, but every act should be submitted to the conscience of the school. *Is it right?* not *Is it written?* should be the question to be propounded by each scholar to his own conscience. It would be well for the teacher to speak of the duties to be done, of the reasons and rewards appertaining to them, rather than of offenses and their punishments. The moral instruction given by the teacher should have reference to their duties in school and at home; the duty of cultivating the spirit of honor and kindness to each other; the desire of aiding each other's improvement; the cowardice and meanness of attributing to others our own faults and offenses; the despicable character of falsehood and deception, &c., &c.

The government of the school is next considered; the influence of the fear of punishment, and of the restraint of higher motives, is compared; and, though corporeal punishment may be necessary in extreme cases, it should be abandoned when higher motives can be brought to bear upon the pupil. Fear is neither *curative* nor *restorative;* it is, at some times and in some cases, preventive, and hence should not be proscribed from the teacher's list of motives, but when both teacher and pupil reach that higher plane of action, for which, we are striving, we may hope to substitute love and duty for it. In this connection, Mr. Mann expresses himself decidedly opposed to the practice of expelling refractory and disobedient children from the school; they should be retained and subdued. In the exercises of the school-room, every true teacher will consider the train of *feeling*, not less than the train of *thought*, which is evolved; and the importance of being alive to the bearing and influence of them upon the character of his pupils can not be overrated.

Imperfect recitations, and their penalties, may exert an unhappy influence. The teacher should not induce them by giving too long lessons, and he should not suffer any scholar habitually to break down in recitation; and, above all, a class should not be allowed to do so, from the loss of the sense of shame, contempt for the study, and recklessness, which would follow. The other temptations in regard to lessons are next considered, and the means of obviating and overcoming them stated. The slurring or shirking lessons, the acted falsehood of procuring others to do the work, and then presenting it as the pupil's own, the prompting others at recitation, and the relying on others to prompt one, and the evils which follow from them, and the best means of preventing them, are fully stated. The use of keys, or answers, in mathematical studies, is also condemned, not more for the ignorance of the principles of mathematics which it exhibits, than for the deception and falsehood which it inevitably occasions; and the teacher

is recommended to give out original questions and problems, to thwart the practice.

The prevention of whispering, and other forms of communication, is the next topic considered, and the various methods taken to prevent it are discussed, and the moral danger attendant upon some of them noticed. The intense occupation of the pupils, and the elevation of the moral standard to such a tone as shall array the moral force of the pupils against whispering, and in favor of self-denial, are commended as the most effectual preventive.

Truancy is another school-vice to be overcome. This can be done by rendering the school attractive, by careful and accurate registration, and by frequent conference with parents. The *motives* to be brought to bear on children are numerous. The objects of knowledge should be made attractive, both by their order of presentation and the manner of exhibiting them; this requires high powers and attainments on the part of the teacher. Fear, ambition, emulation, if used as motives, must be used sparingly, and with a full consciousness of the evils which would result from their excessive application. The relative rank which is assigned to mental and moral qualities in the teacher's mind, will determine the propriety or impropriety of using emulation as an incentive. With some appropriate remarks on the preparation for school examinations, showing the necessity of their being only the measure of the actual progress of the pupils in knowledge, and some admirable suggestions on the possibility of inculcating moral lessons through intellectual exercises, and a contrast of the inductive with the dogmatic method of instruction, this able report closes.

Mr. Mann's TENTH REPORT commences with the announcement of some cheering facts relative to the advancement of the cause of education in the state. The amount appropriated by the towns for the support of schools, had risen from $400,000, in 1837, to $620,000, in 1845. The number of female teachers employed had increased from 3591 to 4997, while the number of male teachers was only 215 more than nine years previous. More than $1,200,000 had been expended during the same period for the erection and repair of school-houses; the amount of apparatus had increased a hundred fold; the methods of instruction, through the influence of normal schools and teachers' institutes, and the greater strictness of examinations, had been greatly improved. Examinations both of teachers and schools had been conducted, in many instances, by written or printed questions. The government and discipline of the schools had been much improved; induced by a higher degree of competency on the parts of the teachers, more careful examination of the teachers, and visitation of the schools, and deeper interest on the part of parents; five hundred schools, almost one-sixth of the entire number, had been taught, and well taught, without a resort to corporeal punishment. The aggregate attendance had been a little advanced, though too little; and the average length of the schools had increased, since 1837, fifteen per cent. The circulation of the school abstracts had accomplished a vast amount of good, and the teachers' institutes and normal schools, were well attended, and were qualifying a better class of teachers for the state.

Having stated these encouraging facts, Mr. Mann next proceeds to give some account of the Massachusetts school system, commencing with the history of its origin and the arguments for a system of *free schools*. He specifies, first, the argument adduced for it by its early founders,—the necessity of universal education for the promotion of the Protestant faith,—an insufficient argument, because on

that ground the Romanist should oppose it; next, the argument that it was necessary for the preservation and perpetuity of republican institutions; this, too, an untenable ground, as a monarchist should, in that case, be opposed to it; the argument of the political economist, and of the moralist, who extends the positions of the economist, are next stated; and Mr. Mann proceeds to defend free schools, by an argument resting on higher grounds than either. Laying down the postulate that every child of the human family has the same right to an education that he has to inhale the air which keeps him in life, or to enjoy the light of the sun, or to receive that shelter, protection, and nourishment, which are necessary to the continuance of his bodily existence, he proceeds to defend this postulate by the following argument. Property, whether real or personal, has for its main, primary, and natural elements and ingredients, the riches of the soil, the treasures of the sea, the light and warmth of the sun, fertilizing clouds, streams, and dews, the wind, and the chemical and vegetative agencies of nature. But these are the gifts of God, not to individuals, but to the race; hence the individual can have but a life tenure, and is bound to transmit the property thus acquired, not only unimpaired, but improved, to the next generation. Again, of that portion of property which may be said to be the direct result of human toil, how very small a portion is there, for which the present generation is not indebted to those which have preceded it; our government, laws, institutions, our houses, roads, churches, the arts, sciences, discoveries, and inventions, by which we are enabled to apply labor profitably, were all, or most of them, handed down to us by those who have preceded us; and we are but the trustees of the accumulations of the ages to those who shall come after us. It follows from these premises that the next generation have a claim on that which we hold as property, such as the ward has upon the guardian, and hence there is an obligation on us to qualify those yet in their minority, for their future inheritance, and they have a right to the use of so much of their future inheritance as may be necessary thus to qualify them, before they come into full possession. Mr. Mann illustrated this also in other ways, as by the case of several proprietors of land on the same stream, where those above can not corrupt, or injure the quality, or diminish the quantity, of water to which those below are entitled, and thus the occupant below has some claim upon the waters above, before they reach his land; or, in the case of persons occupying the same vicinity, one can not injure or vitiate the quality of the atmosphere, which the others are to breathe. He sums up the argument as follows: "The successive generations of men, taken collectively, constitute one great commonwealth."

The property of this commonwealth is pledged for the education of all its youth, up to such a point as will save them from poverty and vice, and prepare them for the adequate performance of their social and civil duties.

The successive holders of this property are trustees, bound to the faithful execution of their trust by the most sacred obligations; because embezzlement and pillage from children and descendants, are as criminal as the same offenses, when perpetrated against contemporaries. Having thus laid his foundations broad and deep, he proceeds to show how the free school system of Massachusetts is reared upon them; giving first the constitutional provision relative to free schools, and then, under the following heads, in popular language, the substance of the legal enactment, and decisions bearing on the subject. Territorial organization of the state, duty of towns to maintain schools (giving under this head the decision

of the supreme court in the case of Cushing *vs.* Inhabitants of Newburyport,) school districts, prudential committees, district school-houses, school district taxes, contiguous school districts, in adjoining towns, union school districts, school committees, duty of the town committee to provide a school when the prudential committee fails to do so, duty of the town committee in regard to schools kept for the benefit of all the inhabitants of the town, visitation of schools, school-books, religious liberty, teachers, Board of Education, school registers, inquiries and returns, committees' reports, school abstracts, reports of the Board of Education, apparatus, district school libraries, state normal schools, teachers' institutes, penalties for not providing and for withholding the means of education, aids and encouragements to education, provision for answering the requests of other states and countries.

With an eloquent peroration on the results which have already been realized from this general diffusion of education in the state, Mr. Mann closes this long and able report, occupying in all nearly 300 pages.

The ELEVENTH REPORT announces an advance of more than $50,000 over the preceding year in the appropriations for the support of schools, an increase of 241 in the number of female teachers employed, and an advance in the monthly stipend paid to both male and female teachers; which, however, especially in the case of females, it still pronounces far below what it should be, and urges a decided increase. The schools were held an average period of eight months, and the attendance was also increasing. The tables in the school abstracts had been prepared by the secretary, and an important one added, arranging the towns in the state in the order of their merit or delinquency in regard to attendance of scholars; thus demonstrating an important fact, that the attendance was much better in the scattered rural districts than in the cities and large towns. In this connection he suggests the importance of a change in the apportionment of the income of the school fund, bestowing it according to the actual attendance upon the schools, and urges some potent reasons for such a measure; he refers to an error in the act of 1847, relative to the forwarding reports and returns by the school committees, suggests some improvements in regard to holding teachers' institutes, and to the condition of the state normal schools, &c., and then proceeds to discuss a topic which he deems of vital interest to the state, viz., ***The power of common schools, if under proper management and control, and attended by all the children of the state, to redeem the state from social vices and crimes.*** During the preceding year, Mr. Mann had addressed a circular to John Griscom, Esq., an eminent teacher and reformer, David P. Page, Esq., of the New York State Normal School, Solomon Adams, Esq., Rev. Jacob Abbott, F. A. Adams, Esq., E. A. Andrews, Esq., Roger S. Howard, Esq., and Miss Catherine E. Beecher, all distinguished and experienced teachers, in which, after stating that he regarded high moral qualifications as an essential to successful teaching, he had propounded the following queries:—

1. "How many years have you been engaged in school-keeping; and whether in the country, or populous towns, or cities?"

2. "About how many children have you had under your care; of which sex, and between what ages?"

3. "Should all our schools be kept by teachers of high intellectual and moral qualifications, and should all the children in the community be brought within these schools for ten months in a year, from the age of four to that of sixteen years; then what proportion,—what per centage,—of such children as you have

had under your care, could, in your opinion, be so educated and trained, that their existence, on going out into the world, would be a benefit and not a detriment, an honor and not a shame, to society? Or, to state the question in a general form, if all children were brought within the salutary and auspicious influences I have here supposed, what per centage of them should you pronounce to be irreclaimable and hopeless? Of course, I do not speak of imbeciles or idiots, but only of rational and accountable beings."

The persons to whom these inquiries were addressed, were all believers in the Calvinistic doctrine of total depravity, and a transmitted sinful nature, so that no theory of the innate goodness, or perfectibility of human nature, could have influenced their opinion, yet there is a wonderful unanimity in the views they expressed. Mr. Griscom, a cautious, careful member of the Society of Friends, a teacher for forty-two or forty-three years, replied: "My belief is that, under the conditions mentioned in the question, not more than two per cent. would be irreclaimable nuisances to society, and that ninety-five per cent. would be supporters of the moral welfare of the community in which they resided. * * * * * Finally, in the predicament last stated in the circular, and supposing the teachers to be imbued with the gospel spirit, I believe there would not be more than *one half of one per cent.* of the children educated, on whom a wise judge would be compelled to pronounce the doom of hopelessness and irreclaimability."

Mr. Page says, under the circumstances stated, "I should scarcely expect, after the first generation of children submitted to the experiment, to fail, in a single case, to secure the results you have named."

Mr. S. Adams says: "So far as my own experience goes, so far as my knowledge of the experience of others extends, so far as the statistics of crime throw any light on the subject, I should confidently expect that ninety-nine in a hundred, and I think even more, with such means of education as you have supposed, and with such divine favor as we are authorized to expect, would become good members of society, the supporters of order and law, and truth and justice, and all righteousness."

Rev. Jacob Abbott replies: "If all our schools were under the charge of teachers possessing what I regard as the right intellectual and moral qualifications, and if all the children in the community were brought under the influence of these schools, for ten months in the year, I think the work of training up *the whole community* to intelligence and virtue, would soon be accomplished, as completely as any human end can be obtained by human means."

Mr. F. A. Adams had met with but two boys, out of nearly four hundred, who had been under his care, of whose correct conduct, under the circumstances supposed, he would have any doubt; and even them he could not regard as utterly irreclaimable.

Mr. E. A. Andrews replies: "On these conditions, and under these circumstances, I do not hesitate to express the opinion that the failures need not be,—would not be,—one per cent."

Miss Beecher says: "Let it be so arranged that all these children shall remain till sixteen, under their teachers, and also that they shall spend their lives in this city (*i. e.* the city where they had been taught,) and I have no hesitation in saying, I do not believe that *one*, no, *not a single one*, would fail of proving a respectable and prosperous member of society; nay, more, I believe every one would, at the close of life, find admission into the world of peace and love."

Having obtained such weighty evidence in favor of the plan suggested, Mr. Mann proceeds to consider what is necessary to carry it out, and states, as the prerequisites, the advancement of all the teachers of the state to the physical, intellectual, and moral qualifications of those who now occupy the highest rank; and, second, the power of enforcing the attendance of all the children of the state in school ten months in the year, during the period between the ages of four and sixteen. Can these prerequisites be attained? He believes they can, and urges the following considerations. The talent and ability for a supply of such teachers as are required, sufficient for this demand, exists in the state, as is evident from the large number who, entering at first on the teacher's profession, forsake it for those more lucrative, and considered more honorable, and who attain in these high distinction. If the standard of requirements was raised, and the compensation put as high as the average of other professions, the number would soon be sufficient; that the state could afford to do this, is demonstrated from the fact that the expense would not exceed three times what it is now, and the saving effected in the diminution of crime and vice, as is easily proved, would amount to tenfold the cost.

In regard to attendance, he shows that the previous legislation of Massachusetts, and other states, settles the question of the power of enforcing attendance; that in most cases it would be a benefit to the parent, and in all to the child; that in the case of the vicious and indolent parent, who now lives on his child's labor, it is but justice; and in the case of the honest and virtuous poor, to whom it might be a hardship, the state could and should compensate for the loss of service. In regard to the loss of service to the public, he demonstrates that the number employed is comparatively few, and that, in these cases, the more intelligent labor of the educated child, over sixteen years of age, would be sufficiently profitable to compensate for any loss which might otherwise ensue. He then urges, in a most eloquent appeal to the Board, the importance of taking this bold step forward, and securing to the rising generation *Universality of Education.*

Some months prior to the presentation of his TWELFTH AND LAST REPORT, Mr. Mann had resigned his office as secretary of the Board of Education, in consequence of his election to Congress. This report was prepared at the request of the Board, as his farewell address to those with whom, and for whom, he had, for almost twelve years, so faithfully labored.

In this report he reviews his past labors, contrasting the condition of the public schools of the commonwealth, at the time he accepted office, with their present state, enumerating, with a justifiable pride, the doubling of the appropriations for schools, the expenditure of $2,200,000 on school-houses during the period, the rapid increase of female teachers, as indicating the high intellectual culture of the sex, the increase in attendance, the organization and successful operation of the state normal schools and teachers' institutes, the district school libraries, which, in some seven or eight years, had risen from nothing, to an aggregate of more than 91,000 volumes, and the beneficent legislation of the past two years, by which the sphere of the teachers' institutes was enlarged, power given to take land on appraisal for the location of school-houses, the inmates of jails and houses of correction provided with instruction, the idiot and imbecile brought under humanizing and enlightening influences, and the juvenile offender reformed, instead of being brutalized by the associations of a prison. Having thus laid before the Board the existing condition of education in the state, he proceeds, as in his former reports, to discuss a particular topic, or class of topics more at length.

Announcing, as his general subject, "The capacities of our present school system to improve the pecuniary condition, and to elevate the intellectual and moral character of the commonwealth," he proceeds to show the comparative insignificance of Massachusetts with most of the other states in territorial extent; its paucity of mineral resources, and of natural facilities for internal intercourse; its rock-bound and sterile soil, and its political inferiority in the number of its representatives in the national councils; and then, in a passage of rare eloquence and beauty, a regal gem, even among his profusion of brilliant passages, he urges that her very diminutiveness should be a stimulus to higher achievements; and that "the narrow strip of half-cultivated land, that lies between her eastern and western boundaries, is not Massachusetts; but her noble and incorruptible men, her pure and exalted women, the children in all her schools, whose daily lessons are the preludes and rehearsals of the great duties of life, and the prophecies of future eminence,—THESE ARE THE STATE." Developing and applying this idea, he proceeds to consider the common school as the most effective and benignant of all the forces of civilization and progress, and to show how the true business of the schoo'-room connects itself and becomes identical with the great interests of society. He considers, first, the influence of correct views of *physical education*, such as might be disseminated from the school-room. By means of this, life might be prolonged, sickness, insanity, and pain prevented, weakness replaced by vigor, the appetites controlled, and the vices of excess subdued, and the body, God's earthly temple, made fit and seemly for the abode of an indwelling divinity.

Considering next the beneficial effects of a universal diffusion of intellectual education on the community, and especially a community situated like Massachusetts, he shows, by numerous illustrations, that the only efficient preventive of the division of society into a wealthy aristocracy and a poor and dependent laboring class, is that intellectual culture, which shall make the poor in money the equal of the rich, in intellectual power, in inventive genius, and in that skill and creative energy which, whatever may be their employment, will prevent them from remaining in the ranks of the poor. He passes next to the consideration of political education, and its influence in the promotion of wise action, in all that appertains to the government of the state or the nation; in the prevention of arbitrary exactions, of monopolies, of lotteries, and of licenses for the commission of crime; the too frequent administration of the oath, under circumstances inviting perjury; the preservation of the sanctity of the ballot-box; and the inculcation of those great principles of political science, which lie at the basis of all our institutions.

But far higher in importance is moral education. It is a primal necessity of social existence. Educated intellect, uncontrolled by moral principle, would be but the minister of evil. In all the history of man, intellect, unrestrained by conscience, has subverted right, and turned good into evil, until, spite of the restrictions of law, the arguments of the moralist, and the warnings and appeals of the minister of Christianity, it has attained a status so formidable, that some have been ready to give up the world as a total loss, utterly gone to wreck. The attempt to give to all the children of a community a careful moral training has not yet, however, been made; and, till this fails, we need not despair. We have in its favor the strongest testimony of experienced teachers, and, more than this, the declaration of holy writ: "Train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it." But to the full consummation of so glorious a result, more is needed than mere training, in morals. *Religious education* is

requisite. By this is meant, not sectarian education, not the teaching after and of this or that denomination, but those great truths of revelation in which all can agree, and which will cause men to know and reverence God, and love their fellow-men. The question how this religious education shall be conveyed to the young, is an important one. It must not be a religion established by government, with its formulas and creeds, for all history shows that this uniformly shelters and encourages the vilest hypocrisy and irreligion. It may not be done by permitting to one sect or another the control of all religious instruction. It can only, in our common schools, be accomplished by putting the Bible, the eternal rule of right, into the hands of the pupils, and causing the teacher, by precept, and above all by example, to enforce and illustrate its blessed teachings.

In this connection, Mr. Mann vindicates, at some length, the Board of Education, and himself, from the charge of encouraging or favoring irreligion, and, as it was charged, with advocating "*godless schools.*" He shows, conclusively, that both the Board and its secretary advocated and urged the use of the scriptures in all the schools, from some of which they had been rejected when he came into office, but were restored at his instance; that he and the Board opposed the teaching of denominational catechisms and sectarian instruction, as being inconsistent with the laws, and deleterious to the best interests, of the schools; and he demonstrates, conclusively, that any other course would have proved ruinous to the schools, of great and lasting injury to the community, and of no benefit even to the parties who urged it.

With a thrilling appeal to the citizens of Massachusetts to act worthy of their fathers, and of the noble destiny which the future has in reserve for them, Mr. Mann closes his report.

In a brief SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT, with his usual thoughtfulness for the welfare of others, he suggests to the Board, that his successor will need an office (which he had never had,) a clerk, and some compensation for his traveling expenses; and incidentally, though with great modesty, he unveils a part of his own arduous labors. He had averaged fifteen hours labor per diem, from the time of taking the office, had never had a day of relaxation, and, we may add, what he did not, had expended more than the half of his salary for the cause of education.

The foregoing brief synopsis of Mr. Mann's twelve annual reports to the Board of Education, will give the reader, who is not familiar with the documents themselves, only a faint idea of the fullness and ability with which the vast details of school organization, administration, instruction, and discipline, are discussed. To be appreciated they must be read; and we know of no series of educational reports, by one mind, in any language, so readable, or so instructive. We hope the author will consent to their republication—or, what will be better, will himself recast the whole into a complete treatise on the public schools of Massachusetts.

NOTE.—The original edition of these reports was long ago exhausted, but all except the 10th, 11th, and 12th, were republished in the "*Common School Journal,*" sets of which can still be had. To bring the many valuable suggestions, eloquently expressed, of Mr. Mann to the knowledge of our readers, we shall enrich several of the subsequent numbers of our Journal with copious extracts from his publications, arranged under appropriate headings.

In addition to his annual and occasional lectures before county conventions, educational associations, teachers' institutes, and lyceums; and to his annual reports, as secretary, Mr. Mann himself contributed largely to the pages, and superintended the monthly publication, of the "*Common School Journal*," making ten octavo volumes, with which every public library of the country should be supplied, as a valuable part of our educational literature.

No inconsiderable portion of each year was given to the preparation of the Abstracts of the reports and returns of the school committees of the several towns of the Commonwealth—a labor, before his appointment, and since his retirement, performed by a clerk—but which was added to his other duties, and which was cheerfully performed, because of the intrinsic value of the documents thus prepared and published. The real progress and strength of the common school movement, can nowhere be better traced and felt, than in the statistical tables and reports of committees to the several towns, in these abstracts.

Added to all these labors was a correspondence with school officers, teachers, and active friends of educational improvement, both in and out of the state, which, in itself, was sufficient to employ a clerk during regular office hours, but which was performed by Mr. Mann, at such intervals, in any part of the day or night, as he could command, not otherwise appropriated.

To all these labors of the voice and pen—of brain and muscle—at home and abroad—must be added the "wear and tear" of spirits, as well as the physical labor of writing in defense of himself and the board, from numerous attacks which were made, from time to time, upon his and their measures and publications.

The most memorable of these attacks, as connected with the educational policy of the state, was the attempt made in the legislature of 1840, for the abolition of the Board of Education, the discontinuance of the normal schools, the payment back to Edmund Dwight of the money which he had given to aid in the advancement of these schools, and generally for setting things back to the point from which they had started three years before. A majority of the committee on education, sprang a bill upon the House for accomplishing these purposes, without the knowledge of the minority of the committee, who were favorable to the board, until a few hours before the report was submitted. No opportunity was allowed, either by the committee, or the house, for a counter report, but an attempt was made to drive the bill through, without delay and without debate. Delay was secured, a counter report was made by the minority, a debate was

had, and the wise policy of former legislatures in establishing the board, and in inaugurating the system of special institutions, and courses of training for the professional training of teachers was ably vindicated, and, contrary to all expectation, on the part of the best friends of the board, and the secretary, the measure was defeated, and so thoroughly, that no attempt was afterward made to discontinue this department of the government. The friends of public schools, and of special institutions, for the qualification and improvement of teachers, and of state supervision of the great interest of education, in every state, owe a large debt of gratitude to those men who achieved a triumph for the Board of Education, the normal schools, and Mr. Mann, in the legislature of Massachusetts, in 1840.* Defeat there and then, added to the disastrous policy in Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Connecticut, about the same time, in reference to common schools, would have changed the whole condition of public instruction in this country, for a half century, if not forever.

In the winter of 1844, the fundamental principle of the common school system of Massachusetts, its requiring of all teachers to inculcate the principles of piety, justice, universal benevolence, and other Christian virtues, and its prohibition of those things "which are calculated to favor the tenets of any particular sect"—the sole basis of common schools can be maintained among differing and discordant religious denominations—was assailed by violent attacks on the board and their secretary, on the ground that they, and particularly Mr. Mann, had, for the first time, asserted this principle, in such form and to such extent as to exclude all religious men and all distinctive religious instruction from the public schools, and their administration. To these grave charges, variously reiterated, Mr. Mann replied in "*Three Letters*," which were afterward republished in a pamphlet, entitled "*The Common School Controversy*." In these letters Mr. Mann vindicates, in a masterly manner, both the policy of the constitution and school laws of Massachusetts, in this regard, but showed, undeniably, that the charges made against the board—as to the questionable religious character of a majority of the members who had composed it, from time to time, and of the documents which the board or secretary had published, and as to the influence and results of their actions, and of their publication, so far as the same could be

* The majority and minority reports, together with letters from George B. Emerson, Samuel G. Howe, and remarks in the house of representatives, by Hon. John A. Shaw, of Bridgewater, afterward superintendent of public schools in New Orleans, will be found in the "*Common School Journal*" for August, 1840, Vol. II. pp 225-46. Mr. Mann's own graphic account of the matter, will be found in an address, made by him, at the dedication of the new building erected for the State Normal School, at Bridgewater, in 1846, and which we shall append to this memoir.

measured and ascertained—were without the substance or semblance of truth. These letters, in their newspaper as well as their pamphlet form, attracted much attention, were widely commented upon in the religious as well as the secular press, and did much to disabuse the public mind of the prejudices which had been fostered against the board among many excellent people. The argument of these letters was again ably presented, in a more formal and elaborate manner, by Mr. Mann, in his twelfth annual report, and meets now with general, if not universal, acceptance.

But the document which had at once the widest circulation, and involved the author in the most varied, voluminous, and prolonged controversy, was his Seventh Annual Report, giving the results of his observations in the schools of Europe, in the summer of 1843. The attacks made from various quarters, as to Mr. Mann's statement of facts, or his speculations, as to modes of instructing deaf-mutes, of managing juvenile delinquents, and methods of instruction and discipline in public schools generally, and particularly in those of Prussia, with Mr. Mann's replies and explanations, did a vast amount of good, by attracting the attention of educated men, and of teachers, all over the country, to the condition of our own schools, both public and private, and to the adoption, very widely, of the methods described. The personal animosities which this controversy engendered, we trust, are allayed or forgotten; and we have no disposition to revive or perpetuate them by any further notice, except to remark that, in its progress, this controversy absorbed much time, and occasioned much wear and tear of spirits—but did not diminish the amount or variety of Mr. Mann's official labors. We are not sure but a good, sharp controversy is necessary to get the largest amount of work out of all the faculties of a mind constituted like that of Mr. Mann.

In retiring from his post, as secretary of the Board of Education, in the autumn of 1848, Mr. Mann can justly claim that his labors, during the twelve years he held the office, had more than realized all the promises of good to the common schools which their friends ever made, to induce the legislature to establish the policy of state supervision. If we turn to the "*Memorial of the Directors of the American Institute of Instruction*,"* praying for the appointment of a superintendent of common schools, drawn up by Mr. George B. Emerson, and presented to the legislature of Massachusetts, in 1836, we find that, in every way in which it was claimed an officer might act for the good of the schools, Mr. Mann did act with wonderful efficiency, and the largest results.

* We append this Memorial.

Of Mr. Mann's political career, this Journal is not the place to speak in detail. On the 23d of February, John Quincy Adams, who was the representative from the congressional district in which Mr. Mann resided, died in the United States House of Representatives, at Washington, and Mr. Mann had the great honor of being selected for two terms, by his constituents, as the most suitable person to succeed him. But great as was the urgency, and powerful as were the motives which led Mr. Mann to accept the nomination, and, on his election, to enter again the arena of political life, we, in common with many other personal and educational friends, regretted then, and regret now, his decision. It took him from a field purely beneficent, in which he was more widely known, and more highly appreciated, than any man living, and where he was every day gaining the willing attention of a larger audience, from all creeds and parties in every part of the country. By throwing himself, with his usual earnestness, and universally acknowledged ability, into the discussion of questions on which the country was already bitterly and widely divided, he cut himself off from the sympathy of a large portion of the people, even on questions which involve no party issues; and he soon became immersed in personal controversy, which exhausts the energies of the best minds, without accomplishing large and permanent results in the way of beneficent legislation. Whoever wishes to exert a powerful and permanent influence in the great field of school and educational improvement, must be able to command the attention and sympathy of large portions of all the great political parties into which the country, and every section of the country, is divided and sub-divided. Whatever hopes Mr. Mann, or his friends, entertained, as to his ability to induce the general government to aid, directly or indirectly, the establishment of an educational bureau, in connection with one of the departments at Washington, or with the Smithsonian Institution, were disappointed; and, after an experience of five years, during which time Mr. Mann was a candidate for the office of governor of Massachusetts, he returned again to the educational field, by accepting the presidency of Antioch College, at Yellow Springs, Ohio.

Antioch College was established under the auspices, and by the patronage, of a religious body, designated by themselves "Christians," because the "disciples were first called Christians in Antioch." Mr. Mann, since his residence at Yellow Springs, has united himself in ecclesiastical fellowship with this denomination, officiates for them on the Sabbath, and acts with them in the associations or conventions of their churches and congregations. In the administration and instruction of the college, Mr. Mann claims to stand on an unsectarian, al-

though christian, platform; but this claim has not shielded him, or the institution, from the assaults of other denominations—not even from the sect, whose charity in founding the college was not broad enough to tolerate such teaching in ethics and morals only, as would satisfy all professed believers in the New Testament.

The college was founded mainly on the "scholarship" principle—and as all the funds collected on this basis, and many thousand dollars more, were converted, not into a permanent fund to pay professors, and meet the annual expenses of the institution, but into buildings which yield no pecuniary income, it was soon ascertained that the larger the number of students sent up on scholarship certificates, the sooner would come the utter bankruptcy of the enterprise. Hence it has come to pass that, between the assaults of sectarian enemies—enemies from within and without the "Christian" church—and the importunate claims of creditors, Mr. Mann has been again involved in unprofitable controversy, and has been compelled to expend energies, needed to realize his large educational plans, in saving the college, as a literary institution, from the wreck of its financial policy.

In the original organization, and through Mr. Mann's entire management of Antioch College, thus far, he has aimed to secure three points, beyond the ordinary scope of American college discipline.

1. To secure for the female sex equal opportunities of education with the male, and to extend those opportunities in the same studies, and classes, and by the same instructors, after the manner of many academic institutions in different parts of the country.

2. To confer the college degrees only upon persons who have not only sustained the requisite literary and scientific character, but who, during their college course, have not been addicted to low and mean associations, nor branded with the stigma of any flagrant vice.

3. To establish, within the walls of the college, a common law, which shall abrogate and banish the now recognized "*Code of Honor*," and exhibit the true relation of students and Faculty to be that of a large family, in which each member regards the honor of others, and of the whole, as sacredly as his own, and does not withhold from the Faculty any knowledge of the transactions of students, which the best good of each student, and of the college, require to be known.

It is too early yet to speak of the success or failure of these plans, so far as they are new, and so far as they challenge comparison with older colleges. If they fail, it will not be from the want of ability, earnestness, and industry, on the part of HORACE MANN.

We should have mentioned that Mr. Mann received the degree of LL.D., from Harvard College, and from Brown University.

It is not the aim of this Journal, in its record of the activity and services of living teachers, and promoters of education, to pronounce a final judgment on the character of the subject of each memoir, or the comparative value of the services rendered. In this instance we copy from the "*American Phrenological Journal*" the following analysis of Mr. Mann's character and life, as dictated from a cast of his head, by a manipulator in the office of Messrs. Fowler, in New York. As Mr. Mann is a believer in the philosophy of Phrenology, he can not object that the record which nature has written "to be read of all men" is transcribed for the edification of our readers.

He has, naturally, great physical and mental activity, and a kind of wiryness of body without sufficient vital force to give the sustaining power necessary for long-continued physical or mental action. His body is slim and slight, yet very well proportioned in its parts. His lungs are not large, the digestive system is moderately developed, and the muscles are proportioned to the lack of vitality; hence he has not a high order of physical power, nor sufficient vitality to sustain such power did he possess it. His chief care in regard to the body should be to combine with his rigid temperance in gustatory matters, an equal amount of temperance in regard to labor, exposure of body, and labor of mind. He has, doubtless, already learned by experience, that physical activity and labor, within due bounds, are essential to clearness and strength of mind, as well as to health of body. He can not, at his age, by muscular labor in the open air, give hardness and great power to his physical system, yet he can in this way accumulate an apparent surplus of physical energy for a given mental effort that may tax the system to an unusual degree.

His brain is large for his body, and although the head in circumference is only of full size, the hight of it is unusually great. The head may be denominated a "three-story one," which gives elevation to his character, and an aspiring disposition. His power is moral and intellectual, rather than physical. We seldom find so large a brain in the tophead, in the region of the organs of reason, imagination, sympathy, dignity, perseverance, wit, and moral sentiment, joined with so little basilar brain in the region of the animal and selfish organs.

There are several peculiarities of development which deserve notice. The higher portion of the organ of combativeness is much larger than the lower; the latter being small, giving a disinclination for physical combat and a lack of animal courage, while the former being rather large, gives a tendency to intellectual conflict and moral courage. His destructiveness never leads to the infliction of unnecessary physical pain,—he dreads it, even upon an oyster, yet the anterior and upper part of the organ appears to be sharp and fully developed, which gives efficiency and severity of an intellectual and moral cast, as in criticism and reviews of opinions, character, and conduct, and imparts general thoroughness of disposition.

Secretiveness is insufficient to produce more than ordinary policy and cunning, but the anterior part of the organ, which works with intellect and the elements of taste, imparts an elevated and intellectual policy, which acts in the adjustment of thoughts in such a way that they sting error without offending delicacy. His cautiousness is large in the anterior part, which leads to watchfulness, and that care and painstaking which plans for prospective dangers and emergencies, and guards against accidents, while the posterior part of the organ is not large enough to produce timidity; hence he frequently appears more courageous and brave than the development of the organs of combativeness and destructiveness could inspire him to be. Having planned a course of action, he proceeds among dangers with a full consciousness of their position and character, and, to an observer, seems reckless of them; as a pilot, who knows well where the rocks and bars lie about the channel, steers among them under full sail, to the terror of those who know there are rocks, but are not certain that the pilot knows their locality.

His constructiveness is largely developed, especially in its upper portion, giving

planning talent and engineering ability, and greatly aids him in the construction of a subject and arrangement of thoughts, so as to produce the desired effect with the least friction. The lower, or tool-using part of the organ, is sufficiently developed to give fair practical mechanical talent, but his power in respect to mechanism is less as an executor than as a designer. Were he to devote himself to mechanism, his tendency would be upward toward the artistic, as in fine cutlery, mathematical instruments, and the like.

Ideality is large, which gives not only good taste in respect to the beauties of nature and art, but acts with the moral sentiments and intellect to give polish, refinement, and elevation to thought, sentiment, and expression. Whatever is rude, unbalanced, and imperfect, displeases him; hence he seeks to refine and polish whatever he says and does.

His sublimity is large, and, in conjunction with veneration and firmness, gives a passion for mountain scenery, and whatever is grand in the machinery of the universe; hence he would pursue astronomy with passionate fondness as a field for the range of sentiment, as well as for mathematical study.

If he has any one moral sentiment that overmasters all the rest, and in any sense warps his judgment, it is benevolence, and he will more frequently be called radical and infatuated when following its instincts than from any other cause. It stimulates his conscientiousness, fortifies his pride and ambition, strengthens perseverance, arouses energy, invokes logic, and awakens wit to do its bidding and minister to its ends, and it may therefore be called the "team" of his mind, the central mental element of his nature.

He has a remarkable development of firmness. That organ is both very large and sharp, indicating that it has been unusually stimulated to activity by circumstances, as if his course of life had been a pioneering one,—breaking new ground, enforcing new modes of thought, and running counter to opposition, and the opinions and customs of ages.

In respect to self-esteem, he has more of that portion of it that gives dignity and manliness than of that which imparts a dictatorial, domineering spirit. In early life he was inclined to defer to others, to shrink from responsibility, to feel that others could do more and better than he; at the same time he had no lack of personal self-respect. That part of self-esteem that produces the dictating spirit, and the disposition to take responsibility, has been developed along with firmness, and doubtless from the same cause and course of life.

His conscientiousness is very large, and particularly so in the outer part of it, joining cautiousness, which gives him moral circumspection, carefulness to *do* right, as well as to entertain just principles; hence he feels its binding force just as much in the details of life, in the practical duties of the day, as in respect to fundamental moral principles; hence the law of expediency, as such, when brought in conflict with the law of right, becomes nugatory.

His hope stretches forward prophetically,—he works for the future. He hopes for little in the present, except that which he, by dint of care and effort, can bring to pass; and he is less inclined to trust his business or interests in other hands than most men. He feels that he must be in his affairs personally, and have an eye over and a hand in the matter, or it will in some way go wrong. His hope inspires to effort, but not to expect success from luck, chance, or fortune, without labor and vigilance. He is not a man to lie quietly on the sunny side of present prosperity, expecting that "to-morrow shall be as this day, and much more abundant," but to plow and sow, in the storm if need be; yet he looks confidently for the harvest, however remote it may be. This is as true of him in morals as in business.

He has not a high degree of credulity. That part of the organ of marvelousness or spirituality which most influences his character, is the inner or higher part of it, which gives spiritual or religious faith, reliance upon truth and first principles; and, although he is radical and progressive, he is by no means credulous. His mind is very critical, and rather skeptical, so much so that he takes little upon trust, and feels impelled to a thorough, rigid examination of whatever may be presented for his adoption; nor is his large causality satisfied with any thing short of this, for it leads him to seek "a base line" for every thing in business, in propositions, or in morals, as well as in mathematics.

Imitation and agreeableness are large, which give him the power of mental

assimulation and harmony. He can reconcile apparently discordant things, or meet those who think differently from himself, without making manifest, in a high degree, the real difference that may exist between them, and he will so far conform to an opponent as not to seem in opposition, until, by asking questions and quoting particulars, he can show good reasons for a counter belief thus, and lead his adversary into his own mode of thought.

He has the organ called human nature large, which leads him instinctively to the study of mind, whether appertaining to men, to childhood, or to animals He sees at a glance the general drift of a man's intellect and character; is strongly impressed with the truth of those inferences, and acts upon them, and generally with safety. If he takes a dislike to, or forms a favorable opinion of, a stranger at first sight, subsequent acquaintance generally corroborates the judgment thus formed; hence, as a teacher, as a lawyer, or as a trader, he would, as it were, recognize a man's mental sphere, and know what to say to impress a sentiment or exert a given influence upon his mind. This faculty, joined with agreeableness or suavitiveness, enables him to make palatable, and accepted without hesitation, truths which, uttered harshly and in disregard of the tone of mind of the one addressed, would be at once rejected.

Intellectually, he has some peculiarities. His reasoning organs are greatly superior to his perceptives and memory. He has a remarkably critical and logical cast of mind. He has the power to sift, dissect, and essay propositions and principles with great celerity and exactitude, while his large causality enables him to see the propriety and logical congruity of facts and propositions, and to present those views to others in a clear, concise, and forcible manner. In juxtaposition with causality he has very large mirthfulness, which gives him equal facility to recognize and show up whatever is incongruous, ridiculous, or witty, in such contrast with truth and propriety as not only to amuse the mind of the hearer, but to brand error and immortalize truth.

His faculties of memory and perception are doubtless active, appertaining as they do to such an active temperament, and because his sentiments and his reasoning intellect urge them to effort, to furnish data on which the higher mental forces may act. He finds it necessary to trust to memoranda for facts and statistics, but when thus obtained, he knows well how to work them up into arguments. His mind has much more to do with principles and elements than with facts, hence he is much more a philosopher than a historian.

His language, instead of being copious, has this peculiar quality, viz., precision, nice distinction, and ready appreciation of synonyms; and, in speaking or writing, his faculty of tune, in connection with language and ideality, leads him to seek euphony of expression, and a smooth, mellifluent style; and in this combination, with mirthfulness, ideality, and agreeableness added, consists his power of expressing stern, cutting truth, in a poetical and pleasing manner.

It requires more effort for him than for most men to individualize his ideas, and to concentrate his powers on a given mental effort. He wants time and quiet, and a convenient opportunity. He can never bring out his full power of thought on a subject instantaneously. He must survey the whole ground, and converge his mind upon it logically; hence, in off-hand, extemporaneous speaking, he rarely does himself or his subject full justice.

In moral and social dispositions he is strongly developed, and bears the marks of special resemblance to his mother. He has large adhesiveness, which makes him eminently friendly. The upper part of philoprogenitiveness is large, which leads him to regard the moral and intellectual good of children much more than to look upon them as mere pets and playthings; and he rarely plays with children without holding virtue, intelligence, and morality up to them as the goal of their hopes and efforts; hence he seldom flatters them, or ministers to their animal gratification. His love for female society is strong, yet delicate, and he is much more interested in woman as relates to her refinement, and elevation, and purity of character, than passionally.

The home, the family, and its elevated endearments, is the scene of his highest hopes and fondest attachments.

REMARKS

AT THE DEDICATION OF THE STATE NORMAL SCHOOL-HOUSE AT BRIDGEWATER.

August 19, 1846.

The completion of a new edifice to accommodate the State Normal School at Bridgewater was signalized by appropriate exercises, on the 19th of August, 1846. Addresses were made during the day by His Excellency, Governor Briggs, Hon. William G. Bates, of Westfield, Amasa Walker, Esq., of Brookfield, at the church, and in the new school-room. After these addresses the company partook of a collation in the Town Hall, on which occasion the health of the Secretary of the Board of Education was given by the president of the day, and received by the company with enthusiastic applause. To this sentiment Mr. Mann responded as follows, as reported in the Boston Mercantile Journal.

Mr. President: Among all the lights and shadows that have ever crossed my path, this day's radiance is the brightest. Two years ago, I would have been willing to compromise for ten years' work, as hard as any I had ever performed, to have been insured that, at the end of that period, I should see what our eyes this day behold. We now witness the completion of a new and beautiful Normal School-house for the State Normal School at Bridgewater. One fortnight from to-morrow, another house, as beautiful as this, is to be dedicated at Westfield, for the State Normal School at that place. West Newton was already provided for by private munificence. Each Normal School then will occupy a house, neat, commodious, and well adapted to its wants; and the Principals of the schools will be relieved from the annoyance of keeping a Normal School in an *ab*-Normal house.

I shall not even advert to the painful causes which have hastened this most desirable consummation,—since what was meant for evil has resulted in so much good. Let me, however, say to you, as the moral of this result, that it strengthens in my own mind what I have always felt; and I hope it will strengthen, or create, in all *your* minds, a repugnance to that sickly and cowardly sentiment of the poet, which made him long

> "For a lodge in some vast wilderness,
> Some boundless contiguity of shade,
> Where rumor of oppression and deceit,
> Of unsuccessful or successful wars,
> Might never reach him more."

There is oppression in the world which almost crushes the life out of humanity. There is deceit, which not only ensnares the unwary, but almost abolishes the security, and confidence, and delight, which rational and social beings ought to enjoy in their intercourse with each other. There are wars, and the question whether they are right or wrong tortures the good man a thousand times more than any successes or defeats of either belligerent. But the feeling which springs up spontaneously in my mind, and which I hope springs up spontaneously in your minds, my friends, in view of the errors, and calamities, and iniquities of the race, is, *not* to flee from the world, but to remain in it; *not* to hie away to forest solitudes or hermit cells, but to confront selfishness, and wickedness, and ignorance, at whatever personal peril, and to subdue and extirpate them, or to die in the attempt. Had it not been for a feeling like this among your friends, and the friends of the sacred cause of education in which you have enlisted, you well know that the Normal Schools of Massachusetts would have been put down, and that this day never would have shone to gladden our hearts and to reward our

toils and sacrifices. Let no man who knows not what has been suffered, what has been borne and forborne, to bring to pass the present event, accuse me of an extravagance of joy.

Mr. President, I consider this event as marking an era in the progress of education,—which, as we all know, is the progress of civilization,—on this western continent and throughout the world. It is the completion of the first Normal School-house ever erected in Massachusetts,—in the Union,—in this hemisphere. It belongs to that class of events which may happen once, but are incapable of being repeated.

I believe Normal Schools to be a new instrumentality in the advancement of the race. I believe that, without them, Free Schools themselves would be shorn of their strength and their healing power, and would at length become mere charity schools, and thus die out in fact and in form. Neither the art of printing, nor the trial by jury, nor a free press, nor free suffrage, can long exist, to any beneficial and salutary purpose, without schools for the training of teachers; for, if the character and qualifications of teachers be allowed to degenerate, the Free Schools will become pauper schools, and the pauper schools will produce pauper souls, and the free press will become a false and licentious press, and ignorant voters will become venal voters, and through the medium and guise of republican forms, an oligarchy of profligate and flagitious men will govern the land; nay, the universal diffusion and ultimate triumph of all-glorious Christianity itself must await the time when knowledge shall be diffused among men through the instrumentality of good schools. Coiled up in this institution, as in a spring, there is a vigor whose uncoiling may wheel the spheres.

But this occasion brings to mind the past history of these schools, not less than it awakens our hopes and convinces our judgment respecting their future success.

I hold, sir, in my hand, a paper, which contains the origin, the source, the *punctum saliens*, of the Normal Schools of Massachusetts. [Here Mr. Mann read a note from the Hon. Edmund Dwight, dated March 10th, 1838, authorizing him. Mr. Mann, to say to the Legislature, that the sum of ten thousand dollars would be given by an individual for the preparation of teachers of Common Schools, provided the Legislature would give an equal sum. The reading was received with great applause.]

It will be observed, resumed Mr. Mann, that this note refers to a conversation held on the evening previous to its date. The time, the spot, the words of that conversation can never be erased from my soul. This day, triumphant over the past, auspicious for the future, then rose to my sight. By the auroral light of hope, I saw company after company go forth from the bosom of these institutions, like angel ministers, to spread abroad, over waste spiritual realms, the power of knowledge and the delights of virtue. Thank God, the enemies who have since risen up to oppose and malign us, did not cast their hideous shadows across that beautiful scene.

The proposition made to the Legislature was accepted, almost without opposition, in both branches; and on the third day of July, 1839, the first Normal School, consisting of only *three* pupils, was opened at Lexington, under the care of a gentleman who now sits before me,—Mr. Cyrus Pierce, of Nantucket,—then of island, but now of continental fame.

[This called forth great cheering, and Mr. Mann said he should sit down to give Mr. Pierce an opportunity to respond. Mr. Pierce arose under great embarrassment; starting at the sound of his name, and half doubting whether the eloquent Secretary had not intended to name some other person. He soon recovered, however, and in a very happy manner extricated himself from the "fix" in which the Secretary had placed him. He spoke of his children, the pupils of the first Normal School, and of the honorable competition which ought to exist between the several schools; and to the surprise, as well as regret, of all who heard him, he spoke of being admonished by infirmities which he could not mistake, that it was time for him to retire from the profession. The audience felt as if, for once in his life, this excellent teacher had threatened to do wrong. He then told an amusing anecdote of a professor who retained his office too long, and was toasted by the students in the words of Dr. Watts,—"The Rev. Dr. ——, Hush, my babe, lie still and slumber." And then he sat down amidst the sincere plaudits of the company, who seemed to think he was not "so plaguy old" as he wished to appear.]

I say, said Mr. Mann, on resuming, that, though the average number of Mr. Pierce's school is now from sixty to eighty; and though this school, at the present term, consists of one hundred pupils, yet the first term of the first school opened with *three* pupils only. The truth is, though it may seem a paradox to

say so, the Norman Schools had to come to prepare a way for themselves, and to show, by practical demonstration, what they were able to accomplish. Like Christianity itself, had they waited till the world at large called for them, or was ready to receive them, they would never have come.

In September, 1839, two other Normal Schools were established: one at Barre, in the county of Worcester, since removed to Westfield, in the county of Hampden; and the other at this place, whose only removal has been a constant moving onward and upward, to higher and higher degrees of prosperity and usefulness.

In tracing down the history of these schools to the present time, I prefer to bring into view, rather the agencies that have helped, than the obstacles which have opposed them.

I say, then, that I believe Massachusetts to have been the only State in the Union where Normal Schools could have been established; or where, if established, they would have been allowed to continue. At the time they were established, five or six thousand teachers were annually engaged in our Common Schools; and probably nearly as many more were looking forward to the same occupation. These incumbents and expectants, together with their families and circles of relatives and acquaintances, would probably have constituted the greater portion of active influence on school affairs in the State; and had they, as a body, yielded to the invidious appeals that were made to them by a few agents and emissaries of evil, they might have extinguished the Normal Schools, as a whirlwind puts out a taper. I honor the great body of Common School teachers in Massachusetts for the magnanimity they have displayed on this subject. I know that many of them have said, almost in so many words, and, what is nobler, they have acted as they have said:—"We are conscious of our deficiencies; we are grateful for any means that will supply them,—nay, we are ready to retire from our places when better teachers can be found to fill them. We derive, it is true, our daily bread from school-keeping, but it is better that our bodies should be pinched with hunger than that the souls of children should starve for want of mental nourishment; and we should be unworthy of the husks which the swine do eat, if we could prefer our own emolument or comfort to the intellectual and moral culture of the rising generation. We give you our hand and our heart for the glorious work of improving the schools of Massachusetts, while we scorn the baseness of the men who would appeal to our love of gain, or of ease, to seduce us from the path of duty." This statement does no more than justice to the noble conduct of the great body of teachers in Massachusetts. To be sure, there always have been some who have opposed the Normal Schools, and who will, probably, continue to oppose them as long as they live, lest they themselves should be superseded by a class of competent teachers. These are they who would arrest education where it is; because they cannot keep up with it, or overtake it in its onward progress. But the wheels of education are rolling on, and they who will not go with them must go under them.

The Normal Schools were supposed by some to stand in an antagonistic relation to academies and select schools; and some teachers of academies and select schools have opposed them. They declare that they can make as good teachers as Normal Schools can. But, sir, academies and select schools have existed in this State, in great numbers, for more than half a century. A generation of school-teachers does not last, at the extent, more than three or four years; so that a dozen generations of teachers have passed through our Public Schools within the last fifty years. Now, if the academies and high schools can supply an adequate number of school-teachers, why have they not done it? We have waited half a century for them. Let them not complain of us, because we are unwilling to wait half a century more. Academies are good in their place; colleges are good in their place. Both have done invaluable service to the cause of education. The standard of intelligence is vastly higher now than it would have been without their aid; but they have not provided a sufficiency of competent teachers; and if they perform their appropriate duties hereafter, as they have done heretofore, they cannot supply them; and I cannot forbear, Mr. President, to express my firm conviction, that if the work is to be left in their hands, we never can have a supply of competent teachers for our Common Schools, without a perpetual Pentecost of miraculous endowments.

But if any teacher of an academy had a right to be jealous of the Normal Schools, it was a gentleman now before me, who, at the time when the Bridgewater Normal School came into his town, and planted itself by the path which led to his door, and offered to teach gratuitously such of the young men and women attending his school, as had proposed to become teachers of Common Schools, instead of opposing it, acted with a high and magnanimous regard to the great interests of humanity. So far from opposing, he gave his voice, his vote, and his purse, for the establishment of the school, whose benefits, you, my young friends, have since enjoyed. (Great applause.) Don't applaud yet, said Mr. Mann, for I have better things to tell of him than this. In the winter session of the Legislature of 1840, it is well known that a powerful attack was made, in the House of Representatives, upon the Board of Education, the Normal Schools, and all the improvements which had then been commenced, and which have since produced such beneficent and abundant fruits. It was proposed to abolish the Board of Education, and to go back to the condition of things in 1837. It was proposed to abolish the Normal Schools, and to throw back with indignity, into the hands of Mr. Dwight, the money he had given for their support.

That attack combined all the elements of opposition which selfishness and intolerance had created,—whether latent or patent. It availed itself of the argument of expense. It appealed invidiously to the pride of teachers. It menaced Prussian despotism as the natural consequence of imitating Prussia in preparing teachers for schools. It fomented political partisanship. It invoked religious bigotry. It united them all into one phalanx, animated by various motives, but intent upon a single object. The gentleman to whom I have referred was then a member of the House of Representatives, and Chairman of the Committee on Education, and he, in company with Mr. Thomas A. Greene, of New Bedford, made a minority report, and during the debate which followed, he defended the Board of Education so ably, and vindicated the necessity of Normal Schools and other improvements so convincingly, that their adversaries were foiled, and these institutions were saved. The gentleman to whom I refer is the Hon. JOHN A. SHAW, now Superintendent of schools in New Orleans.

[Prolonged cheers;—and the pause made by Mr. Mann, afforded an opportunity to Mr. Shaw, in his modest and unpretending manner, to disclaim the active and efficient agency which he had had in rescuing the Normal Schools from destruction before they had had an opportunity to commend themselves to the public by their works;—but all this only increased the animation of the company, who appeared never before to have had a chance to pay off any portion of their debt of gratitude. After silence was restored, Mr. Shaw said that every passing year enforced upon him the lesson of the importance and value of experience in school-keeping. Long as he had taught, he felt himself improved by the teachings of observation and practice; and he must therefore express his joy and gratitude at the establishment and the prosperity of the school at that place, whatever might be the personal consequences to himself.]

Nor, continued Mr. Mann, is this the only instance of noble and generous conduct which we are bound this day to acknowledge. I see before me a gentleman who, though occupying a station in the educational world far above any of the calamities or the vicissitudes that can befall the Common Schools,—though, pecuniarily considered, it is a matter of entire indifference to him whether the Common Schools flourish or decline,—yet, from the beginning, and especially in the crisis to which I have just adverted, came to our rescue, and gave all his influence, as a citizen and as a teacher, to the promotion of our cause; and whom those who may resort hither, from year to year, so long as this building shall stand, will have occasion to remember, not only with warm emotions of the heart, but, during the wintry season of the year, with warm sensations of the body also.* I refer to Mr. GEO. B. EMERSON.

[Mr. Emerson was now warmly cheered, until he rose, and in a heartfelt address of a few moments, expressed his interest in the school, and in the cause of education, which he begged the young teachers not to consider as limited to this imperfect stage of our being.]

These, said Mr. Mann, are some of the incidents of our early history. The late events which have resulted in the generous donations of individuals, and in the patronage of the Legislature, for the erection of this, and another edifice at Westfield, as a residence and a home for the Normal Schools,—these events, I shall

* Mr. Emerson has furnished, at his own expense, the furnace by which the new school-house is to be warmed.

consult my own feelings, and perhaps I may add, the dignity and forbearance which belong to a day of triumph, in passing by without remark.

[This part of the history, however, was not allowed to be lost. As soon as the Secretary had taken his seat, the Rev. Mr. Waterston, who had been instrumental in getting up the subscription to erect the two school-houses, arose, and eloquently completed the history. He stated, in brief, that the idea of providing suitable buildings for the Normal Schools originated with some thirty or forty friends of popular education, who, without distinction of sect or party, had met, in Boston, in the winter of 1844–5, to express their sympathy with Mr. Mann in the vexatious conflict which he had so successfully maintained; and who desired, in some suitable way, to express their approbation of his course in the conduct of the great and difficult work of reforming our Common Schools. At this meeting, it was at first proposed to bestow upon Mr. Mann some token evincive of the personal and public regard of its members; but, at a subsequent meeting, it was suggested that it would be far more grateful and acceptable to him to furnish some substantial and efficient aid in carrying forward the great work in which he had engaged, and in removing those obstacles and hinderances both to his own success and to the progress of the cause, which nothing but an expenditure of money could effect. No way seemed so well adapted to this purpose as the placing of the Normal Schools upon a firm and lasting basis, by furnishing them with suitable and permanent buildings; and the persons present thereupon pledged themselves to furnish $5000, and to ask the Legislature to furnish a like sum for this important purpose. The grant was cheerfully made by the Legislature, whose good-will has since been further expressed by a liberal grant, to meet the expenses of those temporary Normal Schools, called Teachers' Institutes. Mr. Mann, who had not yet taken his seat, then continued as follows:]

I have, my young friends, former and present pupils of the school, but a single word more to say to you on this occasion. It is a word of caution and admonition. You have enjoyed, or are enjoying, advantages superior to most of those engaged in our Common Schools. Never pride yourselves upon these advantages. Think of them often, but always as motives to greater diligence and exertion, not as points of superiority. As you go forth, after having enjoyed the bounty of the State, you will probably be subjected to a rigid examination. Submit to it without complaint. More will sometimes be demanded of you than is reasonable. Bear it meekly, and exhaust your time and strength in performing your duties, rather than in vindicating your rights. Be silent, even when you are misrepresented. Turn aside when opposed, rather than confront opposition with resistance. Bear and forbear, not defending yourselves, so much as trusting to your works to defend you. Yet, in counseling you thus, I would not be understood to be a total non-resistant,—a perfectly passive, non-elastic sand-bag, in society; but I would not have you resist until the blow be aimed, not so much at you, as, through you, at the sacred cause of human improvement, in which you are engaged,—a point at which forbearance would be allied to crime.

To the young ladies who are here—teachers and those who are preparing themselves to become teachers,—I would say, that, if there be any human being whom I ever envied, it is they. As I have seen them go, day after day, and month after month, with inexhaustible cheerfulness and gentleness, to their obscure, unobserved, and I might almost say, unrequited labors, I have thought that I would rather fill their place, than be one in the proudest triumphal procession that ever received the acclamations of a city, though I myself were the crowned victor of the ceremonies. May heaven forgive them for the only sin which, as I hope, they ever commit,—that of tempting me to break the commandment, by coveting the blissfulness and purity of their quiet and secluded virtues.