

THE NEED FOR AN INFORMED CITIZENRY



"I know of no country in which there is so little true independence of mind and freedom of discussion as in America."

— Alexis de Tocqueville



1500

February 24, Saturday: The future [Holy Roman Emperor Charles V](#), son of Joanna the Mad and Philip the Handsome, was born.

There would begin to grow, during this century, out of a notion that certain ruling-caste white males of considerable educational background, the citizenry, needed to be informed on some issues of public affairs, there would be slow, hesitant movement toward a point at which persons other than these propertied men of the educated élite would come to be considered, at least in the USA, as needing not only to be informed of but also to be able to speak upon such issues, and eventually, even — to vote upon them. In other words, our present beliefs in the freedoms of speech and of the press have not arisen out of nothing with no preparation, but instead, they have a definite prehistory. We had to go through a prior stage during which our present assumptions about an informed citizenry had an opportunity to develop. It would be during the Tudor and Stuart periods, in the England of the 16th and 17th Centuries, that gentlemen would first come to define and assert these non-selfevident, quasi-republican principles of citizenship. While the conceit that nobles and gentry, because of the leisure and education their wealth provided, were suitable participants in politics, is a conceit that goes at least as far back as Aristotle, subsequent developments have been linked to the growth of printing in Europe and the consequent gradual spread of education. Though the Protestant Reformation would help spread literacy, the division between the élite on the one hand, termed citizens because ordinarily they were the inhabitants of cities, and mere subjects on the other hand, ordinarily rustic, remained powerful in Tudor England. Under [King Henry VIII](#) the British Parliament would be enacting laws abolishing diversity of opinion, prohibiting the reading of the BIBLE in English in churches, and forbidding mere husbandmen, artificers, apprentices, journeymen, yeomen, lesser serving men, common laborers, and women from any reading of Scripture. Such reading seemed during these centuries to lead only to opinions, opinions which



PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

might tend toward contentiousness, contentiousness which would have been considered essentially sedition. We were going to need, eventually, to be in transit away from this point at which it would have been presumed to be treasonous for anyone to have been going around plumping either for freedom of speech or for freedom of the press.

AN INFORMED CITIZENRY

Although plate armor was proving vulnerable to both gunfire and crossbow bolts on the battlefield, it was continuing to have its place on the jousting field. Some of the finest suits of armor ever made date to this period, and now stand about as decorative items in museums, castles, and palaces. Indeed, the patronage of Maximilian I, who had preceded Charles V as Holy Roman Emperor and dearly loved to joust, is preserved in our modern terminology, in which we refer to the various 16th-Century suits of armor as “Maximilian.”

1547

January 28, Tuesday: [Henry VIII](#) died. Immediately, what this meant was that the [headchopping](#) of [Henry Howard](#), Early of Surrey’s father Thomas Howard, 3d Duke of Norfolk for treason, which had been slotted to occur on the following day, would no longer need to take place. The day’s schedule had been freed up for other things. (GENERAL PRINCIPLE: You cannot betray a monarch who’s dead as a doornail? –Something like that.)

[Jonathan Swift would write this marginalia into one of his books: *“I wish he had been flayed, his skin stuffed and hanged upon a gibbet. His bulky guts and flesh left to be devoured by birds and beasts for a warning to his successors forever. Amen.”*]

This would mean the accession of King Edward VI, ten years of age, under regency. As a sincere [Roman Catholic](#), [John Heywood](#) would get into some trouble during this Church-of-England reign, for making an attempt to deny the monarch’s spiritual supremacy — although in the end he will seem to have been induced to offer a public recantation of his denial.

With the death of this monarch, the English Masters of Defence lost their exclusive control over prices for fencing instruction within the City of London (this would allow the creation of rival schools, the most famous of which would be opened in 1576 by the Italian Rocco Bonnetti).

A pamphlet controversy would be breaking out in England over who should and who should not be informed about political decisions. At this point, however, no one was advocating anything nearly so extreme as that the average person had a right to be –at best– more than cursorily informed about such matters. It was a settled issue, or no issue at all, that the common run of people had no business meddling in politics, that they needed to keep their noses firmly attached to their grindstones. They needed to seem to be uninterested in the affairs of their betters.

AN INFORMED CITIZENRY

PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

1603

July 25, Friday: Queen Elizabeth I having died on March 23rd, on this day [King James VI of Scotland](#) was crowned in



London (he was, not incidentally, alleging his Stuarts to be descended from the King Arthur of British fakelore). In his service [Francis Bacon](#) would flourish. On this day of the new king's coronation Bacon was knighted, becoming Sir Francis. He would rise to become Baron Verulam, Viscount St. Albans and Lord Chancellor of England. His fall would come about in the course of a struggle between King and Parliament. He would be accused of having taken a bribe while a judge, and found guilty as charged. He thus would lose his personal honor, as well as his fortune and his place at court.



By the coronation of James VI of Scotland as [James I, King of England](#) (1603-1625), the idea that the educated, informed, and sometimes conflicting and confused voices of esquires, merchants, lawyers, and

PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

clergymen might be tolerated and even encouraged had received the sanction of decades of experience.



(The portrait above does not reveal a couple of significant things about the person of this scholarly monarch. His tongue was too large for his mouth, and he had some sort of neurological condition in his legs that was causing numerous stumbles, and injuries.)

This monarch would extend and modify the Lieutenant's house at the Tower of London, which had been built in the 1540s and now is referred to as the Queen's House. He would relocate his royal lions to better dens in the west gate barbican. He would come to refer to his kingdom as "Great Britain."

Sir Walter Raleigh, accused of treason against him ("him" = James, not "him" = Arthur), was imprisoned in the Tower. King James's efforts to suppress dissent would alienate many of his citizen-subjects, and then his son, ruling as Charles I, would attempt even greater rigour, reasserting censorship with a comprehensiveness not before experienced in England. Thus, after the English civil war, it would be due not to John Milton's *AEROPAGITICA* but rather to a Hobbesian pragmatism, that the need to inform the general public, if only in a rudimentary manner, would be becoming accepted as an integral part of English politics.

AN INFORMED CITIZENRY

But perhaps at this point we should not be speaking of "a Hobbesian pragmatism," for at this point Master Thomas Hobbes, barely 15 years of age, was just beginning his studies at Magdalen Hall in Oxford:

It is not to be forgotten that before he went to the University,

PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

he had turned [Euripides](#)' *MEDEA* out of Greek into Latin iambics.



[Michael Drayton](#), who had gotten along well with the court of Queen Elizabeth, would address a poem of compliment to James on his accession as King of England — but his effort would be ridiculed and this court would rudely reject his services.

1647

In [Concord](#), Richard Griffin was deputy and representative to the General Court.

The General Court of the Massachusetts Bay Colony required of each town constituted of more than 50 householders that it establish for itself a [Town School](#) (which is to say, a grammar school) adequate to prepare its progeny for matriculation at that colony's [Harvard College](#). The schools would need to be offering instruction in general history, [algebra](#), trigonometry, rhetoric, and logic, in addition of course to Latin and Greek. This act would come to be generally known as the “ye olde deluder Satan” act because in its preamble there was a reference to the design of that old deluder, Satan, to keep laity in ignorance of the BIBLE, the easier to tempt them. Teaching children to read would protect them from becoming Catholics, and keeping them in school would protect them from idleness:

It being one chief project of the old deluder, Satan, to keep men from the knowledge of the Scriptures, as in former times by keeping them in an unknown tongue, it is therefore ordered that every township in this jurisdiction, after the Lord has increased them [in] number to fifty householders, shall then forthwith appoint one within their town to teach all such children as shall resort to him to write and read, whose wages shall be paid either by the parents or masters of such children, or by the inhabitants in general.

It is to be noted that his new requirement would not have been imposed as yet upon the town of [Concord](#), since in this year it had but 55 adult males only 36 of which were freemen.¹

EDUCATION.— Many of the original inhabitants of [Concord](#) were well

1. This percentage, 65%, was a high percentage for the towns of Massachusetts. [Boston](#) was only 53% free at that time, and Salem only 42%.



PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

educated in their native country; and, "to the end that learning be not buried in the graves of the forefathers," schools were provided at an early period for the instruction of their children. In 1647, towns of 50 families were required to have a common school, and of 100 families, a grammar school. Concord had the latter before 1680. An order was sent to this town, requiring "a list of the names of those young persons within the bounds of the town, and adjacent farms, who live from under family government, who do not serve their parents or masters, as children, apprentices, hired servants, or journeymen ought to do, and usually did in our native country"; agreeably to a law, that "all children and youth, under family government, be taught to read perfectly the English tongue, have knowledge in the capital laws, and be taught some orthodox catechism and that they be brought up to some honest employment." On the back of this order is this return: "I have made dillygent inquiry according to this warrant and find no defects to return. Simon Davis, Constable. March 31, 1680." During the 30 years subsequent to this period, which I [Dr. Lemuel Shattuck] have denominated the *dark age* in Massachusetts, few towns escaped a fine for neglecting the wholesome laws for the promotion of education. Though it does not appear that Concord was fined, a committee was appointed in 1692, to petition the General Court, "to ease us in the law relating to the grammar school-master," or to procure one "with prudence for the benefit of learning, and saving the town from fine." From that time, however, this school was constantly maintained. For several years subsequent to 1700, no appropriations were made to any other school. In 1701, grammar scholars paid 4d. and reading scholars 2d. per week towards its support; and from that time to 1712, from £20 to £30 were annually raised. In 1715, it was kept one quarter, in different parts of the town, for £40. The next year £50 were raised for schools; £35 for the centre, and £5 for each of the other three divisions. In 1722, Timothy Minott agreed to keep the school, for ten years, at £45 per year. In 1732, £50 were raised for the centre and £30 for the "out-schools"; and each schoolmaster was obliged to teach the scholars to read, write, and cipher, — all to be free. In 1740, £40 for the centre, and £80 for the others. These grants were in the currency of the times. In 1754, £40 lawful money were granted, £25 of which were for the centre. Teachers in the out-schools usually received 1s. per day for their services. The grammar-school was substituted for all others in 1767, and kept 12 weeks in the centre, and 6 weeks each, in 6 other parts, or "school societies" of the town. There were then 6 schoolhouses, 2 of which were in the present [1835] limits of Carlisle, and the others near where Nos. 1, 2, 4, and 6, now [1835] stand. This system of a *moving school*, as it was termed, was not, however, continued many years. In 1774 the school money was first divided in proportion to the polls and estates.

The districts were regulated, in 1781, nearly as they now [1835] are. The town raised £120, in 1784, for the support of schools, and voted, that "one sixteenth part of the money the several



PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

societies in the out-parts of the town pay towards this sum, should be taken and added to the pay of the middle society for the support of the grammar-school; and the out-parts to have the remainder to be spent in schools only." This method of dividing the school-money was continued till 1817, when the town voted, that it should be distributed to each district, including the centre, according to its proportion of the town taxes.

The appropriations for schools from 1781 to 1783, was £100; from 1784 to 1792, £125; 1793, £145; 1794 and 1795, £200; 1796 to 1801, £250; 1802 to 1806, \$1,000; 1807 to 1810, \$1,300; 1811, \$1,600; 1812 to 1816, \$1,300; 1817 and since, \$1,400. There are 7 districts, among which the money, including the Cuming's donation, has been divided, at different periods, as follows. The last column contains the new division as permanently fixed in 1831. The town then determined the amount that should be paid annually to each district, in the following proportions. The whole school-money being divided into 100 parts, district, No. 1, is to have 52½ of those parts, or \$761.25 out of \$1,550; district, No. 2, 7⁵/₈ parts; district, No. 3, 8¾ parts; district, No. 4, 8⁵/₈ parts; district, No. 5, 8¾ parts; district, No. 6, 7¹/₈ parts; district No. 7, 7¹/₈ parts; and to individuals who pay their money in Lincoln and Acton, ½ a part.

District. Old Names.	1801.	1811.	1821.	1830.	1832.
No. 1. Central	\$382.92	\$791.48	\$646.15	\$789.18	\$761.25
No. 2. East	95.28	155.45	160.26	109.69	110.56¼
No. 3. Corner	68.49	135.48	142.48	117.00	119.62-½
No. 4. Darby	70.53	130.69	123.10	138.23	125.06¼
No. 5. Barrett	107.29	163.51	145.89	125.11	119.62¼
No. 6. Groton Road	64.63	105.41	93.55	79.16	103.31¼
No. 7. Buttrick	67.64	126.68	114.16	84.77	103.31¼
Individuals	22.22	41.30	24.41	6.86	7.25
	<u>\$884.00</u>	<u>1,650.00</u>	<u>1,450.00</u>	<u>1,450.00</u>	<u>1,450.00</u>

At the erection of new school-houses in 1799, the first school committee was chosen, consisting of the Rev. [Ezra Ripley](#), Abiel Heywood, Esq., Deacon [John White](#), Dr. Joseph Hunt, and Deacon George Minott. On their recommendation, the town adopted a uniform system of school regulations, which are distinguished for enlightened views of education, and which, by being generally followed since, under some modification, have rendered our schools among our greatest blessings.

The amount paid for private schools, including the Academy, was estimated, in 1830, at \$600, making the annual expenditure for



PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

education \$2,050. Few towns provide more ample means for acquiring a cheap and competent education. I [Dr. Lemuel Shattuck] have subjoined the names of the teachers of the grammar-school since the Revolution, — the year usually beginning in September.

Nathaniel Bridge	1785,	9 mo.	Isaac Warren	1812,	1 yr.
JOSEPH HUNT	1786,	2½ yr.	JOHN BROWN	1813,	1 yr.
William A. Barron	1788,	3 yr.	Oliver Patten	1814,	1 yr.
Amos Bancroft	1791,	1 yr.	Stevens Everett	1815,	9 mo.
Heber Chase	1792,	1 yr.	Silas Holman	1815,	3 mo.
WILLIAM JONES	1793,	1 yr.	George F. Farley	1816,	1 yr.
Samuel Thatcher	1794,	1 yr.	James Howe	1817,	1 yr.
JAMES TEMPLE	1795,	2 yr.	Samuel Barrett	1818,	1 yr.
Thomas O. Selfridge	1797,	1 yr.	BENJAMIN BARRETT	1819,	1 yr.
THOMAS WHITING	1798,	4 yr.	Abner Forbes	1820,	2 yr.
Levi Frisbie	1802,	1 yr.	Othniel Dinsmore	1822,	3 yr.
Silas Warren	1803,	4 yr.	James Furbish	1825,	1 yr.
Wyman Richardson	1807,	1 yr.	EDWARD JARVIS	1826,	1 yr.
Ralph Sanger	1808,	1 yr.	Horatio Wood	1827,	1 yr.
Benjamin Willard	1809,	1 yr.	David J. Merrill	1828,	1 yr.
Elijah F. Paige	1810,	1 yr.	John Graham	1829,	1 yr.
Simeon Putnam	1811,	1 yr.	John Brown,	1831.	

The *Concord Academy* was established, in 1822, by several gentlemen, who were desirous of providing means for educating their own children and others more thoroughly than they could be at the grammar-school (attended, as it usually is, by a large number of scholars) or by sending them abroad. A neat, commodious building was erected, in a pleasant part of the town, by the proprietors, consisting of the Hon. Samuel Hoar, the Hon. Abiel Heywood, and Mr. Josiah Davis, who own a quarter each, and the Hon. Nathan Brooks and [Colonel William Whiting](#), who own an eighth each. Their intention has always been to make the school equal to any other similar one. It was opened in September, 1823, under the instruction of Mr. George Folsom, who kept it two years. He was succeeded by Mr. Josiah Barnes and Mr. Richard Hildreth, each one year.

PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

Mr. Phineas Allen, son of Mr. Phineas Allen of Medfield, who was born October 15, 1801, and graduated at Harvard College in 1825, has been the preceptor since September, 1827.²

1648

Dedham, Massachusetts began the first public [Town School](#) in America which was free because supported by taxes.



1680

March 1, Friday: By affixing his signature to an official order of inquiry, Constable Simon Davis certified that the young people of [Concord](#) were being instructed in [Town School](#) to the minimal extent actually required in the law of the Bay Colony, for a town to avoid needing to pay a fine.

EDUCATION.— Many of the original inhabitants of [Concord](#) were well educated in their native country; and, "to the end that learning be not buried in the graves of the forefathers," schools were provided at an early period for the instruction of their children. In 1647, towns of 50 families were required to have a

2. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;....](#). Boston MA: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#), 1835
(On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)



PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

common school, and of 100 families, a grammar school. Concord had the latter before 1680. An order was sent to this town, requiring "a list of the names of those young persons within the bounds of the town, and adjacent farms, who live from under family government, who do not serve their parents or masters, as children, apprentices, hired servants, or journeymen ought to do, and usually did in our native country"; agreeably to a law, that "all children and youth, under family government, be taught to read perfectly the English tongue, have knowledge in the capital laws, and be taught some orthodox catechism and that they be brought up to some honest employment." On the back of this order is this return: "I have made dilligent inquiry according to this warrant and find no defects to return. Simon Davis, Constable. March 31, 1680." During the 30 years subsequent to this period, which I [Dr. Lemuel Shattuck] have denominated the *dark age* in Massachusetts, few towns escaped a fine for neglecting the wholesome laws for the promotion of education. Though it does not appear that Concord was fined, a committee was appointed in 1692, to petition the General Court, "to ease us in the law relating to the grammar school-master," or to procure one "with prudence for the benefit of learning, and saving the town from fine." From that time, however, this school was constantly maintained. For several years subsequent to 1700, no appropriations were made to any other school. In 1701, grammar scholars paid 4*d.* and reading scholars 2*d.* per week towards its support; and from that time to 1712, from £20 to £30 were annually raised. In 1715, it was kept one quarter, in different parts of the town, for £40. The next year £50 were raised for schools; £35 for the centre, and £5 for each of the other three divisions. In 1722, Timothy Minott agreed to keep the school, for ten years, at £45 per year. In 1732, £50 were raised for the centre and £30 for the "out-schools"; and each schoolmaster was obliged to teach the scholars to read, write, and cipher, — all to be free. In 1740, £40 for the centre, and £80 for the others. These grants were in the currency of the times. In 1754, £40 lawful money were granted, £25 of which were for the centre. Teachers in the out-schools usually received 1*s.* per day for their services. The grammar-school was substituted for all others in 1767, and kept 12 weeks in the centre, and 6 weeks each, in 6 other parts, or "school societies" of the town. There were then 6 schoolhouses, 2 of which were in the present [1835] limits of Carlisle, and the others near where Nos. 1, 2, 4, and 6, now [1835] stand. This system of a *moving school*, as it was termed, was not, however, continued many years. In 1774 the school money was first divided in proportion to the polls and estates. The districts were regulated, in 1781, nearly as they now [1835] are. The town raised £120, in 1784, for the support of schools, and voted, that "one sixteenth part of the money the several societies in the out-parts of the town pay towards this sum, should be taken and added to the pay of the middle society for the support of the grammar-school; and the out-parts to have the remainder to be spent in schools only." This method of dividing



PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

the school-money was continued till 1817, when the town voted, that it should be distributed to each district, including the centre, according to its proportion of the town taxes.

The appropriations for schools from 1781 to 1783, was £100; from 1784 to 1792, £125; 1793, £145; 1794 and 1795, £200; 1796 to 1801, £250; 1802 to 1806, \$1,000; 1807 to 1810, \$1,300; 1811, \$1,600; 1812 to 1816, \$1,300; 1817 and since, \$1,400. There are 7 districts, among which the money, including the Cuming's donation, has been divided, at different periods, as follows. The last column contains the new division as permanently fixed in 1831. The town then determined the amount that should be paid annually to each district, in the following proportions. The whole school-money being divided into 100 parts, district, No. 1, is to have $52\frac{1}{2}$ of those parts, or \$761.25 out of \$1,550; district, No. 2, $7\frac{5}{8}$ parts; district, No. 3, $8\frac{1}{4}$ parts; district, No. 4, $8\frac{5}{8}$ parts; district, No. 5, $8\frac{1}{4}$ parts; district, No. 6, $7\frac{1}{8}$ parts; district No. 7, $7\frac{1}{8}$ parts; and to individuals who pay their money in Lincoln and Acton, $\frac{1}{2}$ a part.

District. Old Names.	1801	1811	1821	1830	1832
No. 1. Central	\$382.92	\$791.48	\$646.15	\$789.18	\$761.25
No. 2. East	95.28	155.45	160.26	109.69	110.56 $\frac{1}{4}$
No. 3. Corner	68.49	135.48	142.48	117.00	119.62- $\frac{1}{2}$
No. 4. Darby	70.53	130.69	123.10	138.23	125.06 $\frac{1}{4}$
No. 5. Barrett	107.29	163.51	145.89	125.11	119.62 $\frac{1}{4}$
No. 6. Groton Road	64.63	105.41	93.55	79.16	103.31 $\frac{1}{4}$
No. 7. Buttrick	67.64	126.68	114.16	84.77	103.31 $\frac{1}{4}$
Individuals	22.22	41.30	24.41	6.86	7.25
	<u>\$884.00</u>	<u>1,650.00</u>	<u>1,450.00</u>	<u>1,450.00</u>	<u>1,450.00</u>

At the erection of new school-houses in 1799, the first school committee was chosen, consisting of the Rev. [Ezra Ripley](#), Abiel Heywood, Esq., Deacon [John White](#), Dr. Joseph Hunt, and Deacon George Minott. On their recommendation, the town adopted a uniform system of school regulations, which are distinguished for enlightened views of education, and which, by being generally followed since, under some modification, have rendered our schools among our greatest blessings.

The amount paid for private schools, including the Academy, was estimated, in 1830, at \$600, making the annual expenditure for education \$2,050. Few towns provide more ample means for acquiring a cheap and competent education. I [Dr. Lemuel Shattuck] have subjoined the names of the teachers of the grammar-school since the Revolution, — the year usually



PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

beginning in September.

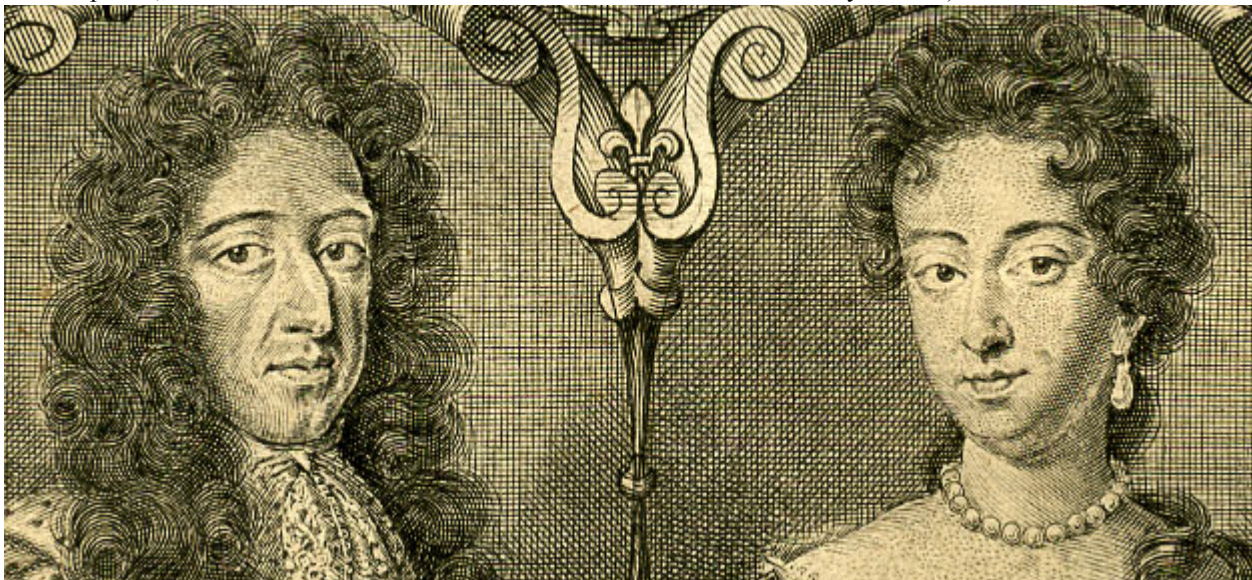
Nathaniel Bridge	1785	9 months	Isaac Warren	1812	1 year
JOSEPH HUNT	1786	2½ years	JOHN BROWN	1813	1 year
William A. Barron	1788	3 years	Oliver Patten	1814	1 year
Amos Bancroft	1791	1 year	Stevens Everett	1815	9 months
Heber Chase	1792	1 year	Silas Holman	1815	3 months
WILLIAM JONES	1793	1 year	George F. Farley	1816	1 year
Samuel Thatcher	1794	1 year	James Howe	1817	1 year
JAMES TEMPLE	1795	2 years	Samuel Barrett	1818	1 year
Thomas O. Selfridge	1797	1 year	BENJAMIN BARRETT	1819	1 year
THOMAS WHITING	1798	4 years	Abner Forbes	1820	2 years
Levi Frisbie	1802	1 year	Othniel Dinsmore	1822	3 years
Silas Warren	1803	4 years	James Furbish	1825	1 year
Wyman Richardson	1807	1 year	EDWARD JARVIS	1826	1 year
Ralph Sanger	1808	1 year	Horatio Wood	1827	1 year
Benjamin Willard	1809	1 year	David J. Merrill	1828	1 year
Elijah F. Paige	1810	1 year	John Graham	1829	1 year
Simeon Putnam	1811	1 year	John Brown,	1831	

The *Concord Academy* was established, in 1822, by several gentlemen, who were desirous of providing means for educating their own children and others more thoroughly than they could be at the grammar-school (attended, as it usually is, by a large number of scholars) or by sending them abroad. A neat, commodious building was erected, in a pleasant part of the town, by the proprietors, consisting of the Hon. Samuel Hoar, the Hon. Abiel Heywood, and Mr. Josiah Davis, who own a quarter each, and the Hon. Nathan Brooks and Colonel William Whiting, who own an eighth each. Their intention has always been to make the school equal to any other similar one. It was opened in September, 1823, under the instruction of Mr. George Folsom, who kept it two years. He was succeeded by Mr. Josiah Barnes and Mr. Richard Hildreth, each one year.

Mr. Phineas Allen, son of Mr. Phineas Allen of Medfield, who was born October 15, 1801, and graduated at Harvard College in 1825, has been the preceptor since September, 1827.³

1688

In what would become known as the Glorious Revolution, during this year and the following one [King James II](#) of England would be being deposed⁴ and Mary II, a daughter of James II, and her spouse [William, Prince of Orange](#) were being declared joint monarchs (only William, of course, would be the bearer of actual regal power, as within such a frame of reference a woman is a mere necessary conduit).



This was quite a setback for [Friend William Penn](#), who had been a supporter of [King James II](#).

James took refuge at the French court, and Louis XIV undertook to restore him. General war in the west of Europe. This kingly personnel substitution would help ease the stranglehold that official censorship had been having on British public life and thought. The new British Bill of Rights, however, would still be lacking in any guarantees of freedom of speech or of freedom of the press.

AN INFORMED CITIZENRY

3. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;...](#) Boston MA: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#), 1835
(On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)
4. This term of art "depose" then had a different meaning from the meaning it has assumed more recently, in connection with Special Prosecutor Kenneth Star and President William Jefferson Clinton. Although Special Prosecutor Star would of course like to depose President Clinton in the manner in which [King James II](#) was deposed, it would come to seem as if only President Clinton might depose himself.

Depose this man!





PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

Here are some [Evelyn](#) diary entries for the start of this year:

January 15 (Old Style): *Was a solemn & particular office used at our, & all the Church[e]s of London, & 10 miles about it, for thanksgiving to God for her Majesties being with child:*

February 12 (Old Style): *... Wednesday before My Daughter Evelyn, going in the Coach to visite in the Citty, a Jolt (the doore being not fast-shut) flung her quite out of the Coach upon her back, in such manner, as the hind-wheles passed over both her Thighes a little above the knees: Yet it pleased God, besides the bruse of the Wheele upon her flesh, she had no other harme: We let her blood, anointed, & made her keepe bed 2 dayes, after which [s]he was able to walke & soone after perfectly well: Through God Almightyes greate mercy to an Excellent Wife & a most dutifull & discreete daughter in Law:*

February 17 (Old Style): *After above 12 Weekes Indisposition, we now returned home much recovered:*

I now receiv'd the sad tidings of my Niepce Montagues death, who died at Woodcot the 15th: There had ben unkindnesses & Injuries don our family by my Sister-in-Law, her mother, which we did not deserve; & it did not thrive to the purposes of those who instigated her, to cause her da[u]ghter to cut-off an Intaile clandestinely: But Gods will be don, she has seene the ill effect of it, & so let it passe:

1692

The publication licensing law of this year would turn out to be basically as restrictive as the one enforced by King Charles II. The Glorious Revolution, however, had produced a realization that it was impossible in England to insist any longer upon uniformity of opinion in religion and politics, that it would be destructive even to pursue such complete uniformity — so this situation would not be one which would endure.

AN INFORMED CITIZENRY

PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

[Concord](#) appointed a committee to petition the General Court of Massachusetts “to ease us in the law relating to the grammar school-master,” or to procure one for their [Town School](#) “with prudence for the benefit of learning, and saving the town from fine.”



In [Concord](#), Thomas Brown continued as Town Clerk.

In [Concord](#), Jonathan Prescott and Henry Woodhouse were deputies and representatives to the General Court.

1695

During this year, renewal of the publication licensing law of 1692 would be blocked by a multitude of self-interested complaints, from printers, booksellers, authors, and even bishops of the church, on account of the inequities and corruptions which had been experienced from the licensing authority. Without fanfare, then, England’s monopolistic censorship system would be allowed to lapse never to return. Between this year and 1713, eight bills aimed at prepublication control of the press would be introduced in Parliament, even though no attempt would be mounted to prevent sedition, blasphemy, and libel from being prosecuted after publication. The censor’s task had simply been rendered so inordinately difficult by the spread of printing technology that prepublication censorship would gradually become first impractical and then unnecessary.

AN INFORMED CITIZENRY



PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

1704

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts opened a formal school of catechism for the blacks of New-York, to prepare them for Christian baptism. One of the things which would have to happen, in order to legitimate such an activity, would be the development of an ideology according to which the slavemasters might be reassured that regardless of conversion, regardless of baptism, regardless of literacy, regardless of whatever, a slave would remain a slave would remain a [slave](#). That new ideology would be difficult to develop, since the rule had always been that Christians might not enslave Christians — yet that new ideology would develop apace, and when it developed it would of course be linked with race — the new ideology would be, it goes without saying, that despite the fact that a Christian is a Christian is a Christian, a nigger is a nigger is a nigger. (Sorry for needing to deploy the N-word, but I am determined that the utter repugnance of such developments accurately be characterized.) One of the white teachers, name of Elias Neau, was found to be extraordinarily effective with his black students. Why was he so effective? He was effective because his black students were aware that their teacher had once himself served in chains, as a galley slave — being as he was a [Huguenot](#).

AN INFORMED CITIZENRY

Mr. Elias Neau, by nation a Frenchman, who, having made a confession of the Protestant religion in France, for which he had been confined several years in prison, and seven years in the gallies.

The blacks could almost trust such a person — and trust does immensely help the learning process along.

1712

In a New-York that at this point had reached a population of 5,840, one of the blacks who had been taught to read and write by the [Huguenot](#) catechism instructor Ellis Neau was charged with involvement in a slave plot. Did this mean that it was demonstrably unwise to teach American [slaves](#) to read and write, even barely enough to be able to receive the gospel of Christ? Defenders of the agenda of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts would be able to point out that although this black had indeed been taught to read and to write up to a certain level as part of their class, in preparation for a baptismal ceremony, in fact after his execution —guess what— he had been discovered to have been quite innocent of any involvement in that slave plot.

SERVILE INSURRECTION

In the year 1712 a considerable number of negroes of the Carmantee and Pappa Nations formed a plot to destroy all the English, *in order to obtain their liberty*; and kept their conspiracy so secret, that there was no suspicion of it till it came to the very execution. However, the plot was by God's Providence happily defeated. The plot was this. The negroes sat fire to a house in York city, and Sunday night in April, about the going down of the moon. The fire alarmed the town, who from



PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

all parts ran to it; the conspirators planted themselves in several streets and lanes leading to the fire, and shot or stabbed the people as they were running to it. Some of the wounded escaped, and acquainted the Government, and presently by the firing of a great gun from the fort, the inhabitants were called under arms and pretty easily scattered the negroes; they had killed about 8 and wounded 12 more. In their flight some of them shot themselves, others their wives, and then themselves; some absconded a few days, and then killed themselves for fear of being taken; but a great many were taken, and 18 of them suffered death. This wicked conspiracy was at first apprehended to be general among all the negroes, and opened the mouths of many to speak against giving the negroes instruction. Mr. Neau durst hardly appear abroad for some days; his school was blamed as the main occasion of this barbarous plot. On examination, only two of all his school were so much as charged with the plot, and on full trial the guilty negroes were found to be such as never came to Mr. Neau's school; and what is very observable, the persons, whose negroes were found to be most guilty, were such as were the declared opposers of making them Christians. However a great jealousy was now raised, and the common cry very loud against instructing the negroes.

Of course, if it were going to be allowed that some slaves might read and write, then it would be necessary to institute some sort of program to ensure that whatever reading materials became available to them would include **nothing having any problematic ideas**. For instance, it would be exceedingly unwise to allow a slave access to such opinion pieces as the [Declaration of Independence](#) (when events would work their way around to that document getting written), with its rank celebration of the notion of personal "freedom.

AN INFORMED CITIZENRY

In the colony of New York in this year, it was being made more difficult for a white slavemaster to legally [manumit](#) his black slaves.

1735

By order of the Massachusetts assembly, if any child (meaning, of course, any white child) were to be found to be ignorant of the alphabet at the age of six, that child was to be taken from its parents and reared in a foster home.⁵

AN INFORMED CITIZENRY

5. A note for the student: It is generally considered a good thing that working-class white people be able to read, to the level of being able to understand most of what appears in their community's daily newspaper, so that their betters have an economical means of keeping them informed of what they should believe.



PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

1742

By this point the overseers of the Pennsylvania public school system had four different types of school in operation in Philadelphia. All were [Quaker](#)-dominated and all were open to the general public. There were primary schools for teaching the trivium — reading, writing, and arithmetic. There was a secondary school teaching English and math. There was a vocational school offering training for business, for surveying, and for carpentry. There was a “Latin School,” preparing young men for college. They operated under a logo that enjoined “Good Instruction is Better than Riches” and “Love One Another

A Moravian Seminary for Women founded in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.

[Friend Anthony Benezet](#), a schoolteacher at Germantown, accepted a position at the Friends’ English School of Philadelphia (this was to become the William Penn Charter School).

1750

By this decade the idea of a politically informed citizenry had become an integral part of the Anglo-American discussion, and would even be turning up occasionally in such respected British periodicals as [Joseph Addison](#) and Steele’s [The Spectator](#), and Bolingbroke’s [Craftsman](#). In the American colonies, Tories believed that white male commoners should not receive more education than was consistent with due subordination, while Whigs believed that more education than this would be necessary for white males, never for the private good of the individual but merely to prevent the populace from being so readily swayed by demagogues. However, the heretical concept of [an informed citizenry](#) would still remain for the time being non-negotiable not only in Britain but also in the American colonies.

1755

A medical school having been established in 1675, in this year the College and Academy of Philadelphia was founded (this would become our 1st nonsectarian college, the University of Pennsylvania).



PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

1763

It had not been until this period of escalating imperial crisis, 1763-1775, that the concept of [an informed citizenry](#) had really acquired much significance in the English colonies. The élite among the colonials were beginning to protest British censorship by centralizing, and displaying as of practical rather than merely theoretical importance, this concept which had hitherto been lurking in the background of Radical Whig thought as merely a last resort for political liberty.

1764

May: Up to this point, Colonial protest had been limited to discussions in legislatures, or to the occasional printed essay available only to the limited audience of leisured and educated gentlemen. Beginning however in this month, at a [Boston](#) town meeting discussion of the latest Revenue Act, élite protesters would begin to call upon a broad array of common citizens in rendering a judgment on imperial policy. This tactical move illustrated the model of political action that would soon dominate the resistance movement and convince revolutionary leaders, who had not previously devoted much attention to the subject, that it would become a vital matter of colonial politics to construct [an informed citizenry](#) for the practical support which this new political entity would be able to provide on local issues.

1765

The idea of informing the citizenry was at this point espoused by John Adams, in DISSERTATION ON THE CANON AND FEUDAL LAW.

AN INFORMED CITIZENRY



PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

1766

Medford, Massachusetts began to allow its girls to attend its [Town School](#) for two hours, after the schoolboys had been dismissed for the day.

FEMINISM



1767

The idea of informing the citizenry was at this point being espoused by John Dickinson in the creative writing entitled LETTERS FROM A FARMER IN PENNSYLVANIA.

AN INFORMED CITIZENRY

1776

January 10: [Thomas Paine](#) wrote out his 50-page pamphlet COMMON SENSE (it would not see publication until February 14th). On this same date an absolutist speech by the British monarch was, by chance, being distributed in the colony. Those Americans who opposed independence from Britain were monarchists, and monarchists were like Jews. Although the British soldiers should be treated decently, as prisoners of war, and incarcerated for the duration, when these traitorous Jew-like Americans were captured and identified they should lose not only their property but also their heads. Paine's anti-Semitism was not limited to Jews, whom God had marked out for punishment, but extended also to Moslems, that is, the followers of "Mahomet." Not to leave anybody out, he also hated Catholics, under the rubric Papists. In fact he condemned virtually every group other than his own sort of patriotic full-blooded American warrior. He believed that we ought to have a truly permanent peace, and he believed that the way to obtain perpetual peace later was through maximal belligerence now. It should come as no surprise that this pamphlet would sell half a million copies within only a few months, for Paine truly had a genius for zeroing in on the lowest common denominator for an audience and then giving this audience precisely what they were eager to receive.




Paine espoused the idea of informing the common citizenry in general. To insure that the populace was adequately informed for responsible participation in political affairs, the American revolutionaries would be concurring on the necessity not only for a free press but also for a national post office. –This would make them in favor, also, as the idea worked out all of its implications, of establishing some vehicle for publicly funded formal education.

AN INFORMED CITIZENRY



PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

 July 9, Tuesday: A provincial congress in the Hudson Valley declares itself to be the legitimate legislature of New York State. New York voted to endorse the [Declaration of Independence](#). Here is the first public reading aloud in Philadelphia, on this day, as imagined by Brumidi on a wall of our federal capitol:



The equestrian statue of King George III in New-York's Bowling Green was toppled by citizens gathered to hear the reading of the Declaration there.

George Washington led an American Independence celebration in New-York, reading the [Declaration of Independence](#) to his troops and sending a copy of it to each of his generals.



Here is one of the earliest broadsides, printed in Salem:



John Beaton, a Scotsman who earned in [Concord](#) both a respectable estate as a merchant and a reputation for personal integrity, died at the age of 47 and left money for the support of the [Town School](#) and of the town poor.

The town of Concord has also a fund of \$833.33 given by John Cuming, Esq., for the benefit of the "private schools," in the language of his Will, which has been distributed in all the districts but the centre one. Another donation now [1835] amounting to \$744.92 was given by John Beaton, Esq., for the support of schools and the poor.⁶

PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

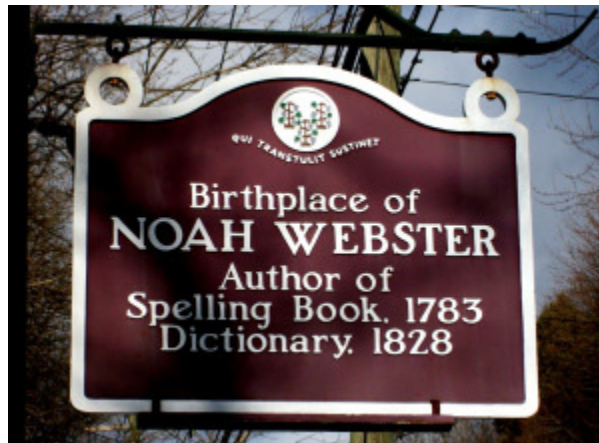


6. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;....](#). Boston MA: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#), 1835
(On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)

1783

Poland ceased [corporal punishment](#) in its public schools.

Schoolmaster [Noah Webster, Jr.](#) put out his first book, A GRAMMATICAL INSTITUTE OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE, or the “Blue-backed Speller” as it was mostly called. This is also sometimes titled THE AMERICAN SPELLING BOOK. Some said that in this volume the poorly done woodcut of the author was such as to frighten children — it looks as if his head was being molested by a porcupine.



During this year this schoolmaster, anticipating [Waldo Emerson's](#) [ΦBK speech of August 31, 1837](#), bloviated to his diary “America must be as independent in literature as she is in politics, as famous for arts as for arms.”

1788

July 3, Thursday: Dr. [John Cuming](#) of [Concord](#) died at the age of 60 after being bled over his objections by the physician of neighboring Chelmsford, and was buried in the Old Hill Burying Ground beneath a headstone carved by Thomas Park (this isn't it).



Dr. Cuming left some clothing and some military equipment to [Waldo Emerson](#)'s father, the Reverend [William Emerson](#) of [Boston](#). He left £300 pounds sterling to [Harvard College](#), the income from which was to endow a chair of physics (medicine), that would be useful as seed money for the establishment of Harvard Medical School with Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse and Surgeon John Warren as its 1st professors. In addition, he left £150 sterling to benefit the [Town School](#) in [Concord](#), and £150 sterling to be distributed among the poor. He also



PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

left behind a small sum to ease the anxieties of the Selectmen, with which they could care for Bristo and Jem, his two former slaves, should they ever become a burden upon the town.

BRISTER FREEMAN

His benevolent and liberal disposition was manifest in the judicious disposition of his estate. Beside many other legacies, he bequeathed "for the use of the town of Concord three hundred pounds sterling, one moiety thereof to be equally distributed for the benefit of the private schools in the town of Concord, and to be especially under the direction of the Selectmen for the time being; the other moiety thereof to be annually disposed of among the poor of said town, at the discretion of the minister and Selectmen of the town of Concord for the time being – the use of the above sum of money to be for the above purposes and for no other under any pretence whatever." He also made it the residuary legatee of one quarter of his real estate undisposed of at the death of his wife. The whole amounted to £500 lawful money or \$1,666.66. He gave "to the church of Concord, fifty pounds sterling, to be laid out in silver vessels to furnish the communion table" and also twenty five pound sterling to be forever kept as a fund to be disposed of by the minister and deacons for the benefit "of the poor communicants"; and also £20 to the Rev. Dr. Ripley.

He bequeathed "to the University in Cambridge three hundred pounds sterling, the income of the same to be appropriated for a professor of physic" and also made it a residuary legatee in the same manner as he did the town of Concord.⁷

Another class of donations has been made to the town for the relief of the *silent* poor, – those individuals who are needy, but do not wish to throw themselves on the town for support. They are as follows; from

Peter Wright ⁸	\$277.42	Abel Barrett ⁹	\$500.00
John Cuming	833.33	Jonathan Wheeler ¹⁰	500.00

The town of Concord has also a fund of \$833.33 given by John Cuming, Esq., for the benefit of the "private schools," in the language of his Will, which has been distributed in all the districts but the centre one. Another donation now amounting to \$744.92 was given by John Beaton, Esq.,¹¹ for the support of

7. [Lemuel Shattuck's 1835 A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;...](#) Boston MA: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#), 1835

8. PETER WRIGHT was a weaver, son of Captain Edward Wright, and died January 15, 1718, aged 53. He bequeathed all his real estate, after the death of his wife and Cousin Elizabeth Hartwell, to the poor of Concord, to be under the direction of the selectmen, and of the minister, who is "to have a double vote to any of the selectmen." What belonged to the town was sold, in 1731, for £500 currency.

9. ABEL BARRETT was brother to Humphrey Barrett just mentioned. He commenced the mercantile business in Concord, but afterwards removed to Boston. He died in Liverpool, England, January 12, 1803.

10. JONATHAN WHEELER was the son of Ephraim Wheeler, and was successively a merchant in Concord, Boston, Baltimore, and England. He died, September 4, 1811, in the city of New York, ten days after his arrival from Europe.

11. JOHN BEATON, Esq. was a native of Scotland, and emigrated to this town, where he acquired a respectable estate as a merchant. He was remarkable for his honesty, integrity, and Christian virtues, and had the unlimited confidence of his fellow citizens. "As honest as John Beaton," was long a current saying, expressive of the character of a strictly honest man. He was Town Treasurer 17 years from 1754, and appointed justice of the peace by the crown, June 6, 1765. He died without issue, June 9, 1776, aged 47.

schools and the poor.¹²

WALDEN: Down the road, on the right hand, on Brister's Hill, lived Brister Freeman, "a handy Negro," slave of Squire Cummings once, -there where grow still the apple-trees which Brister planted and tended; large old trees now, but their fruit still wild and ciderish to my taste. Not long since I read his epitaph in the old Lincoln burying-ground, a little on one side, near the unmarked graves of some British grenadiers who fell in the retreat from Concord, -where he is styled "Sippio Brister,"- Scipio Africanus he had some title to be called, -"a man of color," as if he were discolored. It also told me, with startling emphasis, when he died; which was but an indirect way of informing me that he ever lived. With him dwelt Fenda, his hospitable wife, who told fortunes, yet pleasantly, -large, round, and black, blacker than any of the children of night, such a dusky orb as never rose on Concord before or since.

PEOPLE OF
WALDEN

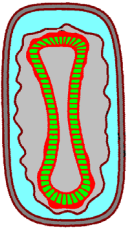
BRISTO FREEMAN
BRISTER FREEMAN

12. Ibid.

PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

(Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse, a [Quaker](#), would later be dismissed as a Professor at the Harvard Medical School on account of his principled opposition to war ([the Quaker Peace Testimony](#)) and because he persisted in administering inoculations against the [small pox](#).)



However, below, in a depiction dating to 1783, is the righteous surviving professor, Surgeon John Warren, no deluded Quaker, who righteously **did** believe in war and righteously **did not** believe in vaccination — and was therefore entitled to teach Harvard men to become physicians.)





PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

1789

The church in Lincoln voted that the reading of the psalm by line, after it has been once distinctly read, be discontinued.

In [Concord](#), Ephraim Wood, Asa Brooks, and Jacob Brown were Selectmen.

Joseph Hosmer of [Concord](#) was a Senator.

In [Concord](#), Elnathan Jones was Town Treasurer.

Duncan Ingraham was [Concord](#)'s deputy and representative to the General Court.

John Merrick practiced law in [Concord](#).

Prior to this year in [Concord](#), the Town Constables acted as Collectors. Subsequently, this would be a separate town office.

The town bell that [Concord](#) had procured from Hanover, weighing 500 pounds, had broken, and in this year another bell was ordered from England. This one would last until 1826.

The seven independent school "societies" in the several "quarters" or neighborhoods of [Concord](#) (East

PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

Quarter, Merriam's Corner, South Quarter, West Quarter and Factory Village, Barrett's Mill, Bateman's Pond, North Quarter and Monument Street) were at this point sanctioned by law and became official [Town School](#) districts.

[William Emerson](#) of [Concord](#), only son of the Reverend [William Emerson](#), graduated from [Harvard College](#). He would become, like his father, a minister.



“Four of his sons, William, Ralph Waldo, Edward Bliss, and Charles Chauncey, would be graduated at [Harvard College](#) with distinguished rank.” (This seems something of an exaggeration, as we know that Waldo was not particularly distinguished in his standing in the Class of 1789. Another error of lesser import in the following account, is that the Reverend William Emerson would die on May 12th, rather than May 11th, in 1811.)

WILLIAM EMERSON [of [Concord](#)], only son of the Rev. William Emerson, was born May 6, 1769, and graduated [at [Harvard College](#)] in 1789. He was ordained at Harvard May 23, 1792, but was dismissed on being called to a greater field of usefulness, and was installed over the First Church in [Boston](#), October 16, 1799, where he obtained a distinguished reputation for talents, literary acquirements and piety. He died May 11, 1811, aged 42. His History of the Church, a posthumous publication, and the Massachusetts Historical Collections, Vol. I. p. 256, (Second Series) contain full notices of his character, to which the reader is referred. Four of his sons, William, Ralph Waldo, Edward Bliss, and Charles Chauncey, were graduated at [Harvard](#)

[College](#) with distinguished rank.¹³Treasurers of Carlisle

ALL CONCORD COLLEGE GRADS

Samuel Heald	1780-1785
Simon Blood, Jr.	1786-1788
Samuel Green	1789-1803
Nathan Green	1804-1819
Nathan Green	1820-1828
John Nelson	1829—

1790

The schoolboys and schoolgirls of the Medford MA [Town School](#) were being allowed to study together — but only during the months of the summer holiday, of course.

FEMINISM



13. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)’s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;....](#). Boston MA: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#), 1835
(On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry David Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)



PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

1799

[Concord](#) erected a schoolhouse structure in each of its seven town school districts (the outlying East Quarter, Merriam's Corner, South Quarter, West Quarter and Factory Village, Barrett's Mill, Bateman's Pond, and North Quarter, plus one on downtown Monument Street). In this year the educational effort would cost the town £250.

In [Concord](#), xxxx, Reuben Hunt, and Roger Brown were Selectmen.

William Jones practiced law in [Concord](#).

Joseph Chandler was [Concord](#)'s deputy and representative to the General Court.

Town Clerks of Lincoln¹⁴

Ephraim Flint	1746-1752, 1754, 1756-1757	Grosvenor Tarbell	1799-1803
Ebenezer Cutler	1753, 1755, 1759	Thomas Wheeler	1804-1806
Samuel Farrar	1758, 1760-1766	Elijah Fiske	1810-1821
John Adams	1767-1777	Stephen Patch	1822-1827
Abijah Pierce	1778-1779, 1781	Charles Wheeler	1828-1830
Samuel Hoar	1780, 1782, 1787-1798, 1807-1809	Elijah Fiske	1831
Richard Russell	1783-1786		

14. Ibid.



PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

1800



Whereas during the Revolutionary period those who championed the idea of an informed American citizenry had done so out of a belief that a local politically knowledgeable citizenry was necessary to prevent a lapse into remote tyranny, early in the 19th Century this notion would be being overshadowed by attention to private virtue and personal advancement. Although some would already be advocating government financial support for education, many still would be trusting that market forces and volunteerism would be adequate to attain the necessary economic and social mobility, and offer entertainment as well. Aside from looking to schools and to publishers of books and magazines, these Americans would also be gaining education and entertainment from political parties and from the inexpensive tracts distributed by various evangelical or philanthropic societies, from lectures at lyceums and other locations, from commercial libraries and also, by the 1840s and 1850s, public libraries, and from museums and circuses. Ironically, the rhetorical triumph of the informed-citizenry ideal and its expanding institutional foundations in public culture would be accompanied by a polyphony of criticism directed at the remnants of the freeholder concept of citizenship, which continued to exclude the majority of American-born adults from the civil rights routinely proclaimed to be quintessentially American. The process of extending the franchise to less wealthy adult white males, to adult males of color, and eventually even to adult females, would be, at best, halting.

AN INFORMED CITIZENRY

SMITH SCHOOL

The [Rhode Island](#) General Assembly mandated that each town in the state establish a public school system. Noncompliance with this directive would be massive — but to give a little credit where a little credit is due, in this year [Providence](#) itself did begin public elementary schools. (This tiny state, with income taxes higher than those of any other state in the nation —even “Taxachusetts”!— has during the 20th and so far into the 21st Centuries become renowned for the inadequacy of the educational opportunity it provides its local children.)



READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT

Initially, the city of Providence would be offering this free public education in the old brick schoolhouse at the foot of Meeting Street, that had been lately been used for such activities as the manufacture of cartridges for firearms, and for munitions storage.¹⁵

15. Subsequent to this use for free public education, the Old Brick Schoolhouse would be used in sequence as:
- 1.) a school for children of color
 - 2.) a cooking school
 - 3.) a school for tubercular children
 - 4.) a school for the crippled, both children and adults
 - 5.) the Providence Preservation Society (as of 1960)

PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

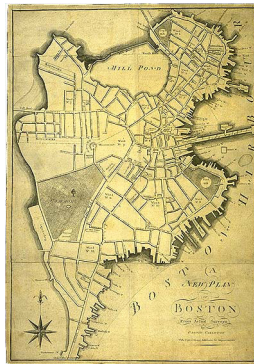
 A grammar school was constructed at what is since 1820 the site of the [Concord](#) Masonic Temple. Of similar dimensions to the present brick structure, it was of wood and would burn down on December 31, 1819. 

Was this [Town School](#) structure intended for the education of children of all races and genders? At this time the population of [Boston](#) was 24,937, almost 6% of the population of Massachusetts, and of the city's budget, 20% was being spent on its system of free schools, but nevertheless the educational system was reaching only 12% of all town children. This was because children who did not already know how to read and write in English were not being admitted to the educational system. The effect of this, of course, intentionally, would have been to neglect the education of children of color and of the children of immigrants. In addition, in this year, in order to focus the town's poor relief effort on white people, 240 poor blacks were being expelled from Boston.

AN INFORMED CITIZENRY

Before the turn of the century in [Boston](#), few black children had been attending public school, and those who did, although at least nominally free to do so, were forced to eat antagonism and hardship. At this point some parents asked the city for a racially segregated facility in which their children would not have to deal constantly with the psychic trauma induced by the persecution they were encountering from the white children.

SMITH SCHOOL



1808



Schoolmaster Benjamin Tappan beat a student so severely that he was obliged to summon a physician.

In upstate New York, [Friend](#) Lucretia Coffin became an assistant teacher at the Nine Partners school.

[LUCRETIA MOTT](#)



1815



In Vermont in about this year, [William Allen](#) ([Henry Thoreau](#)'s classmate in Harvard College's Class of 1837 who would take over the teaching duties in [Concord](#)'s Centre School when Henry resigned) was born.

The Middlesex Bar commenced the formation of a law library in [Concord](#), to be maintained by the Treasurer of Middlesex County.

[Noah Webster, Esq.](#) continued as a member of the Massachusetts General Court (he would serve also in 1817).

Tilly Merrick was [Concord](#)'s deputy and representative to the Massachusetts General Court.

In [Concord](#), John Buttrick continued as Town Treasurer.

In [Concord](#), Nathan Barrett was a Selectman.

In [Concord](#), Thomas Wheeler was a Selectman.

These were the appropriations made by the town of Lincoln:¹⁶

Date.	1755.	1765.	1775.	1785.	1795.	1805.	1815.	1825.
Minister	£56	£69 ² / ₃	£70 ² / ₃	£85	£105	\$—	\$600	\$460.
Schools	13 ¹ / ₂	20	13 ¹ / ₂	50	85	—	480	520.
Highways	25	50	40	80	80	\$450	600	400.
Incidental charges	24 ¹ / ₂	19	37	250	125	830	1450	500.

16. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;...](#). Boston MA: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#), 1835
(On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study. On July 16, 1859 he would correct a date mistake buried in the body of the text.)



PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

Representatives of Carlisle to the General court of Massachusetts:

Deacon Ephraim Robbins	1807-1808
Reverend Paul Litchfield	1808-1811
Captain Timothy Heald	1812-1813
Captain Thomas Heald	1815
Jonathan Heald, Jr., Esq.	1816
John Heald, Esq.	1818, 1821, 1823
Dr. John Nelson	1824
John Heald, Esq.	1826-1827, 1830

Representatives of Lincoln¹⁷

Chambers Russell	'54-'57, '59, '62, '63, '5.	Joshua Brooks	1809-1811.
Samuel Farrer	1766-1768.	Leonard Hoar	1812-1814.
Eleazer Brooks	'74-'78, '80, '5, '7, '90-'2.	William Hayden	1815, 1816.
Chambers Russell	1788.	Elijah Fiske	1820-1822.
Samuel Hoar	'94, '95, '97, '98, 1801, '3-'8.	Joel Smith	1824.
Samuel Farrar, Jr.	1800.	Silas P. Tarbell	1827, 1828.
Not represented 1758, '60, '62, '69-'73, '79, '81, '82, '86, '89, '93, '96, '99, 1802, '17, '23, '25, '26.			

Appropriations made by the town of Carlisle

	1785	1790	1795	1800	1805	1810	1815	1820	1825	1830
Minister	£91	90	85	\$285	290	280	320	275	320	500
Schools	36	30	60	360	300	360	360	450	360	360
Roads	60	45	60	300	480	350	400	400	350	400
Town Charges	74	60	50	300	500	550	550	700	600	600
County Tax	—	11 ³ / ₄	22	58	—	117	72	99	56	22
State Tax	484	48	64	227	—	210	130	180	—	65


17. Ibid

Town Clerks of Carlisle


Zebulon Spaulding	1780-1784
Asa Parlin	1785-1802; 1806-1808
John Jacobs	1803, 1809-1812, 1826
Jonathan Heald	1804-1805
Jonathan Heald, Jr.	1813-1814, 1818-1820
John Heald	1815-1817, 1821-1825, 1827-1829
Cyrus Heald	1829—

[John Keyes](#) leased a house just to the northeast of the Courthouse that [Concord](#) had erected in 1784. (Eventually the family would buy this leased structure; Keyes, working at the nearby Courthouse, would live out his life there. His son [Judge John Shepard Keyes](#) would be born in that house and would reside in it until it would burn during the 1849 Courthouse fire.)

1817

 Fall: In Sterling, Mary Sawyer's 2-year-old pet ewe, its fleece white as snow, one day followed the 11-year-old scholar to her one-room schoolhouse. This was against the rules of the teacher Polly Kimball, and made the other students giggle, and brought about a famous piece of doggerel which has become part of the inviolable heritage of the English language. The first 12 lines of this poem seem to have been authored by John Roulstone, a local 12-year-old who was being tutored there before being sent off to college, and the second set of 12 lines it seems would have waited to be added by Sarah Josepha Hale when she published the poem in her POEMS FOR OUR CHILDREN as of 1830. One of the things we may learn of this incident is that as of 1817 some young white New England females were allowed to obtain some basic education. Neither the earlier nor the later portion of this beloved piece of doggerel alleges the disposal of the sheepish rule-breaker — but it may be noted that in the vicinity of Sterling MA (although there is indeed an inedible copy of this ewe standing on the Sterling Common with a fleece as green as weathering bronze) no ewe's grave has ever been either located or alleged.

1819



 February: The [Rhode Island](#) general assembly appointed a committee to consider the advisability of establishing free schools.

PUBLIC EDUCATION



PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

 December 31, Friday: The belfried wooden [Town School](#) structure on Monument Square in the Center District of [Concord](#), that had been using for 20 years as a grammar schoolhouse,  burned to the ground. It would be replaced during the following year by the brick Masonic Hall, built in part through a contribution from the Corinthian Lodge. School would be taught on the lower level, and the Masons would meet upstairs. (In this schoolhouse [Henry David Thoreau](#) would for a brief period in 1837 teach.) Primary schoolhouses were also constructed in 1820 on sites near the New Hill Burying Ground, opposite the Emerson House, and on Sudbury Road.

Provision Against Fire. – The Fire Society was organized May 5, 1794, and holds its annual meetings on the 2d Monday in January. The Presidents have been, Jonathan Fay, Esq., Dr. Joseph Hunt Tilly Merrick, Esq., Dr. Isaac Hurd, Deacon Francis Jarvis, Hon. Samuel Hoar, and Joseph Barrett, Esq. The Engine Company was formed, and the first engine procured, in 1794. A new engine was obtained in 1818.


A Volunteer Engine Company was organized in 1827, who procured by subscription a new engine in 1831.¹⁸

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*12 M 31 - 1819 / I close this year under an humbling sense that another has fled & that the grave is so much nearer. - May then next be better improved, & may I render unto God the humble tribute of thanksgiving for his many favors & mercys bestow in the past **AMEN.** -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

1820

 February: At the [Rhode Island](#) general assembly, George Field of Cranston introduced a bill for the establishment of a free school system throughout the state. After a brief discussion, the matter was postponed to a future session so that the assemblymen might sound out their political supporters in regard to such an innovation.

PUBLIC EDUCATION

18. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;...](#) Boston MA: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: John Stacy, 1835
(On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study. On July 16, 1859 he would correct a date mistake buried in the body of the text.)



PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION



September 7, Thursday: During a Lake Erie storm two lake vessels were forced to tie up at the new pier being built by Samuel Wilkeson at Buffalo Creek, New York (later the Buffalo River). The pier would hold.

The Attorney-General of England rested His Majesty's case against Lady [Caroline Amelia of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, Princess of Wales](#) in the House of Lords. She responded by sailing down the Thames in her state barge. An estimated 200,000 people viewed the procession.


Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 7th of 9th M / Father Rodman delivered a short testimony at Meeting. – To me it was a season of great poverty. I know not when I have passed a meeting so destitute of good Joseph Sansom of Philadelphia was at Meeting he is a great traveller & published several works. –

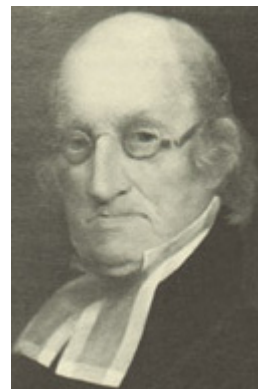
RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

When the wooden [Concord Town School](#) had burned down the previous December 31st,  the Corinthian Lodge of local Freemasons had volunteered to pay \$400 toward the cost of replacing it, on condition that a private staircase would be provided to an upper floor that would be reserved for their activities. The new building, of brick, dedicated on this day by the Reverend [Ezra Ripley](#), sported a bell cupola (two other, outlying, new schoolhouses were also being dedicated on this day).

I wish you to realize that it is your indispensable duty to govern your children.... I do not say you must be severe. There will be no need of severity, if you begin discipline seasonably and pursue it with wisdom and prudence. But they must be made to obey you. If you do not know how to govern your children, and to command their fear and love, it is high time you should learn. And I would there were schools for this purpose. I believe they would be highly beneficial.



Ancient, Free and Accepted Masons

The ground floor of this building would house the town school preparing local students for college until,

PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION



in 1851, it would be moved across the square into the new Town Hall.

The classroom was constructed like an amphitheater. The ceiling was ten feet high and, in the center, running from the door to the master's desk at the opposite end, was an aisle. On either side the floor rose toward the wall on an inclined plane, on which were four rows of benches, ten seats to a row, so that the master was surrounded by students on three sides. The northwest half was the girls' side and the boys sat on the southeast, forty students on each side. The scholars used wooden desks of the classic schoolroom type – lidded, bolted to the floor, and attached to the seat in front. The master's desk stood on a platform sixteen inches high, facing the students. Near this, on the floor, was an old heating stove. The room was lit with oil lamps.

1821



January: A resolution was passed by the general assembly of [Rhode Island](#), requiring the clerks of the various towns to collect and communicate information regarding their schools, and in particular their school costs.

PUBLIC EDUCATION

1822



During this year and the two following ones it would be Othniel Dinsmore, hired from elsewhere, who would be the schoolmaster for [Concord](#)'s grammar students.

1785	Nathaniel Bridge	9 months	1812	Isaac Warren	1 year
1786	JOSEPH HUNT	2½ years	1813	JOHN BROWN	1 year
1788	William A. Barron	3 years	1814	Oliver Patten	1 year
1791	Amos Bancroft	1 year	1815	Stevens Everett	9 months
1792	Heber Chase	1 year	1815	Silas Holman	3 months
1793	WILLIAM JONES	1 year	1816	George F. Farley	1 year
1794	Samuel Thatcher	1 year	1817	James Howe	1 year

PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

1795	JAMES TEMPLE	2 years	1818	Samuel Barrett	1 year
1797	Thomas O. Selfridge	1 year	1819	BENJAMIN BARRETT	1 year
1798	THOMAS WHITING	4 years	1820	Abner Forbes	2 years
1802	Levi Frisbie	1 year	1822	Othniel Dinsmore	3 years
1803	Silas Warren	4 years	1825	James Furbish	1 year
1807	Wyman Richardson	1 year	1826	EDWARD JARVIS	1 year
1808	Ralph Sanger	1 year	1827	Horatio Wood	1 year
1809	Benjamin Willard	1 year	1828	David J. Merrill	1 year
1810	Elijah F. Paige	1 year	1829	John Graham	1 year
1811	Simeon Putnam	1 year	1831	John Brown	

Two public school teachers from outside [Concord](#), we learn, had been beating the students and allowing the older boys to terrorize the younger pupils. (Does that piece of information indicate that the “Abner Forbes” in the chart above prepared by Dr. Lemuel Shattuck in 1835, had been involved?) Therefore Squire Samuel Hoar, Dr. Abiel Heywood, Josiah Davis, Nathan Brooks, and [Colonel William Whiting](#) in this year had built a two-story structure on Academy Lane, at about the location at which Middle Street was eventually positioned, to begin there a private college-preparatory school, the [Concord Academy](#).

The *Academy*, built in 1822, is 40 feet long, 30 wide, and 2 stories high. The grammar schoolhouse is of the same size, the lower story being occupied as a school-room, and the upper one as a masonic hall. It was built in place of one burnt December 31, 1819, and dedicated, with two other new ones, for primary schools, September 7, 1820. In 1799, seven new school-houses, one in each district, including the centre, were built at an expense to the town of about \$4,000.¹⁹

We can compare and contrast the schooling which the Thoreau children would be receiving due to the careful concern of their mother [Cynthia Dunbar Thoreau](#) and father [John Thoreau](#), Senior in a town near Boston on this side the ocean with the lack of concern for such things in another family of the period in a similar town near London as well as in a similar family financial circumstance. Here is how Charles Dickens, in 1845 or 1846, would be describing his plight in this Year of Our Lord 1822 after having been yanked from the William Giles schoolroom in the dock town of Chatham at the age of approximately ten:

[I]n the ease of his [father John Dickens's] temper, and the straitness of his means, he appeared to have utterly lost at this time the idea of educating me at all, and to have utterly put from him the notion that I had any claim upon him in that regard, whatever. So I degenerated into cleaning his boots of a

19. [Lemuel Shattuck's 1835 A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;...](#) Boston MA: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#), 1835
(On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry David Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study. On July 16, 1859 he would correct a date mistake buried in the body of the text.)



PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

morning, and my own; and making myself useful in the work of the little house [on Bayham Street in Camden Town]; and looking after my younger brothers and sisters (we were now six in all); and going on such poor errands as arose out of our poor way of living.

EDUCATION.— Many of the original inhabitants of [Concord](#) were well educated in their native country; and, "to the end that learning be not buried in the graves of the forefathers," schools were provided at an early period for the instruction of their children. In 1647, towns of 50 families were required to have a common school, and of 100 families, a grammar school. Concord had the latter before 1680. An order was sent to this town, requiring "a list of the names of those young persons within the bounds of the town, and adjacent farms, who live from under family government, who do not serve their parents or masters, as children, apprentices, hired servants, or journeymen ought to do, and usually did in our native country"; agreeably to a law, that "all children and youth, under family government, be taught to read perfectly the English tongue, have knowledge in the capital laws, and be taught some orthodox catechism and that they be brought up to some honest employment." On the back of this order is this return: "I have made dillygent inquiry according to this warrant and find no defects to return. Simon Davis, Constable. March 31, 1680." During the 30 years subsequent to this period, which I [Dr. Lemuel Shattuck] have denominated the *dark age* in Massachusetts, few towns escaped a fine for neglecting the wholesome laws for the promotion of education. Though it does not appear that Concord was fined, a committee was appointed in 1692, to petition the General Court, "to ease us in the law relating to the grammar school-master," or to procure one "with prudence for the benefit of learning, and saving the town from fine." From that time, however, this school was constantly maintained. For several years subsequent to 1700, no appropriations were made to any other school. In 1701, grammar scholars paid 4*d.* and reading scholars 2*d.* per week towards its support; and from that time to 1712, from £20 to £30 were annually raised. In 1715, it was kept one quarter, in different parts of the town, for £40. The next year £50 were raised for schools; £35 for the centre, and £5 for each of the other three divisions. In 1722, Timothy Minott agreed to keep the school, for ten years, at £45 per year. In 1732, £50 were raised for the centre and £30 for the "out-schools"; and each schoolmaster was obliged to teach the scholars to read, write, and cipher, — all to be free. In 1740, £40 for the centre, and £80 for the others. These grants were in the currency of the times. In 1754, £40 lawful money were granted, £25 of which were for the centre. Teachers in the out-schools usually received 1*s.* per day for their services. The grammar-school was substituted for all others in 1767, and kept 12 weeks in the centre, and 6 weeks each, in 6 other parts, or "school societies" of the town. There were then 6 schoolhouses, 2 of which were in the present [1835] limits of Carlisle, and the others near where Nos. 1, 2,



PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

4, and 6, now [1835] stand. This system of a *moving school*, as it was termed, was not, however, continued many years. In 1774 the school money was first divided in proportion to the polls and estates.

The districts were regulated, in 1781, nearly as they now [1835] are. The town raised £120, in 1784, for the support of schools, and voted, that "one sixteenth part of the money the several societies in the out-parts of the town pay towards this sum, should be taken and added to the pay of the middle society for the support of the grammar-school; and the out-parts to have the remainder to be spent in schools only." This method of dividing the school-money was continued till 1817, when the town voted, that it should be distributed to each district, including the centre, according to its proportion of the town taxes.

The appropriations for schools from 1781 to 1783, was £100; from 1784 to 1792, £125; 1793, £145; 1794 and 1795, £200; 1796 to 1801, £250; 1802 to 1806, \$1,000; 1807 to 1810, \$1,300; 1811, \$1,600; 1812 to 1816, \$1,300; 1817 and since, \$1,400. There are 7 districts, among which the money, including the Cuming's donation, has been divided, at different periods, as follows. The last column contains the new division as permanently fixed in 1831. The town then determined the amount that should be paid annually to each district, in the following proportions. The whole school-money being divided into 100 parts, district, No. 1, is to have $52\frac{1}{2}$ of those parts, or \$761.25 out of \$1,550; district, No. 2, $7\frac{5}{8}$ parts; district, No. 3, $8\frac{1}{4}$ parts; district, No. 4, $8\frac{5}{8}$ parts; district, No. 5, $8\frac{1}{4}$ parts; district, No. 6, $7\frac{1}{8}$ parts; district No. 7, $7\frac{1}{8}$ parts; and to individuals who pay their money in Lincoln and Acton, $\frac{1}{2}$ a part.

District. Old Names.	1801.	1811.	1821.	1830.	1832.
No. 1. Central	\$382.92	\$791.48	\$646.15	\$789.18	\$761.25
No. 2. East	95.28	155.45	160.26	109.69	110.56 $\frac{1}{4}$
No. 3. Corner	68.49	135.48	142.48	117.00	119.62- $\frac{1}{2}$
No. 4. Darby	70.53	130.69	123.10	138.23	125.06 $\frac{1}{4}$
No. 5. Barrett	107.29	163.51	145.89	125.11	119.62 $\frac{1}{4}$
No. 6. Groton Road	64.63	105.41	93.55	79.16	103.31 $\frac{1}{4}$
No. 7. Buttrick	67.64	126.68	114.16	84.77	103.31 $\frac{1}{4}$
Individuals	22.22	41.30	24.41	6.86	7.25
	<u>\$884.00</u>	<u>1,650.00</u>	<u>1,450.00</u>	<u>1,450.00</u>	<u>1,450.00</u>



PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

At the erection of new school-houses in 1799, the first school committee was chosen, consisting of the Rev. [Ezra Ripley](#), Abiel Heywood, Esq., Deacon John White, Dr. Joseph Hunt, and Deacon George Minott. On their recommendation, the town adopted a uniform system of school regulations, which are distinguished for enlightened views of education, and which, by being generally followed since, under some modification, have rendered our schools among our greatest blessings.

The amount paid for private schools, including the Academy, was estimated, in 1830, at \$600, making the annual expenditure for education \$2,050. Few towns provide more ample means for acquiring a cheap and competent education. I [Dr. Lemuel Shattuck] have subjoined the names of the teachers of the grammar-school since the Revolution, — the year usually beginning in September.

1785	Nathaniel Bridge	9 months	1812	Isaac Warren	1 year
1786	JOSEPH HUNT	2½ years	1813	JOHN BROWN	1 year
1788	William A. Barron	3 years	1814	Oliver Patten	1 year
1791	Amos Bancroft	1 year	1815	Stevens Everett	9 months
1792	Heber Chase	1 year	1815	Silas Holman	3 months
1793	WILLIAM JONES	1 year	1816	George F. Farley	1 year
1794	Samuel Thatcher	1 year	1817	James Howe	1 year
1795	JAMES TEMPLE	2 years	1818	Samuel Barrett	1 year
1797	Thomas O. Selfridge	1 year	1819	BENJAMIN BARRETT	1 year
1798	THOMAS WHITING	4 years	1820	Abner Forbes	2 years
1802	Levi Frisbie	1 year	1822	Othniel Dinsmore	3 years
1803	Silas Warren	4 years	1825	James Furbish	1 year
1807	Wyman Richardson	1 year	1826	EDWARD JARVIS	1 year
1808	Ralph Sanger	1 year	1827	Horatio Wood	1 year
1809	Benjamin Willard	1 year	1828	David J. Merrill	1 year
1810	Elijah F. Paige	1 year	1829	John Graham	1 year
1811	Simeon Putnam	1 year	1831	John Brown	

The *Concord Academy* was established, in 1822, by several gentlemen, who were desirous of providing means for educating their own children and others more thoroughly than they could

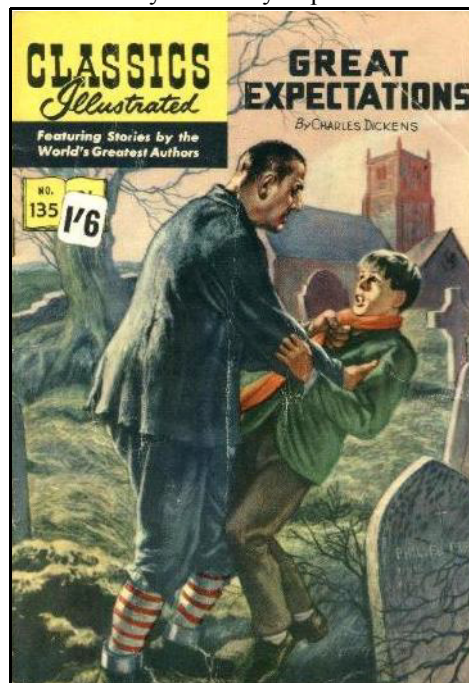
PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

be at the grammar-school (attended, as it usually is, by a large number of scholars) or by sending them abroad. A neat, commodious building was erected, in a pleasant part of the town, by the proprietors, consisting of the Hon. Samuel Hoar, the Hon. Abiel Heywood, and Mr. Josiah Davis, who own a quarter each, and the Hon. Nathan Brooks and Colonel William Whiting, who own an eighth each. Their intention has always been to make the school equal to any other similar one. It was opened in September, 1823, under the instruction of Mr. George Folsom, who kept it two years. He was succeeded by Mr. Josiah Barnes and Mr. Richard Hildreth, each one year.

Mr. Phineas Allen, son of Mr. Phineas Allen of Medfield, who was born October 15, 1801, and graduated at Harvard College in 1825, has been the preceptor since September, 1827.²⁰

And this was **before** his father John Dickens would fall into the Marshalsea debtors' prison south of the river Thames, and **before** Charles himself would be allowed by his father and mother to fall into the child labor of the Warren's shoe-blackening factory off the Strand! It would not be until the author had reached 48 years of age, in his *GREAT EXPECTATIONS*, that he would be able to purge himself of the memories of the helpless child of this period, who had been so victimized by fecklessly improvident loving incompetent parents.



1822/1823 was [David Henry Thoreau](#)'s year five. The Thoreaus moved to Chelmsford MA. Little David Henry first went to infant school while they were living there.

Later on in life, in 1851, Thoreau would write about being deprived, during this period, of "interesting books":

20. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;...](#) Boston MA: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#), 1835
(On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study. On July 16, 1859 he would correct a date mistake buried in the body of the text.)



PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

When I was young and compelled to pass my Sundays in the house without the aid of interesting books, I used to spend many an hour till the wished-for sundown, watching the martins soar, from an attic window; and fortunate indeed did I deem myself when a hawk appeared in the heavens, though far toward the horizon against a downy cloud, and I searched for hours till I had found his mate. They, at least, took my thoughts from earthly things.

Per Professor Walter Roy Harding's THE DAYS OF [HENRY THOREAU](#) (NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 1966):

"A Review From Professor Ross's Seminar"

WALTER HARDING'S BIOGRAPHY

Chapter 1 (1817-1823) -Downing gives a cursory account of the Thoreau and Dunbar heritage and more fully traces the nature and movement of the Thoreau family in the first five years of Henry's life.

Thoreau's father, John, while intellectual, "lived quietly, peacefully and contentedly in the shadow of his wife," Mrs. Cynthia Dunbar Thoreau, who was dynamic and outspoken with a strong love for nature and compassion for the downtrodden.

- 1st Helen -quiet, retiring, eventually a teacher.
- 2nd John Jr. -"his father turned inside out," personable, interested in ornithology, also taught.
- 3rd Henry (born July 12,1817) -speculative but not noticeably precocious.
- 4th Sophia -independent, talkative, ultimately took over father's business and edited Henry's posthumous publications.

The Thoreau's constantly struggled with debt, and in 1818 John Sr. gave up his farm outside Concord and moved into town. Later the same year he moved his family to Chelmsford where he opened a shop which soon failed and sent him packing to Boston to teach school.

(Robert L. Lace, January-March 1986)

1823



[David Henry Thoreau](#) was attending Miss Phœbe Wheeler's dame school in [Concord](#).

PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

➡ [Richard Henry Dana, Jr.](#) began to attend various schools in [Cambridgeport](#), Westford, and Cambridge, in preparation for his entering [Harvard College](#) in 1831.



While “Dickie” was eight years old, a “thoroughly enraged” teacher grabbed him by the ear and “dragged him over the bench on which he was sitting and back again.” The skin tore between ear and head. The Boston attorney Richard Henry Dana, Sr. would protest and the school would respond by specifically prohibiting the pulling of student ears (while retaining the application of the “ferule” to the palms of students).

➡ Samuel Wilderspin’s *ON THE IMPORTANCE OF EDUCATING THE INFANT CHILDREN OF THE POOR* (London: T. Goyder, 184 pages).²¹

➡ A small anonymous volume was produced in London “by a Foreigner, three years resident at Yverdon,” titled *HINTS TO PARENTS ON THE CULTIVATION OF CHILDREN, IN THE SPIRIT OF PESTALOZZI’S METHOD*.

[CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF ENGLISH AND AMERICAN LITERATURE](#)

21. This, Brown’s *ON THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE HUMAN MIND*, and books by David George Goyder, William Wilson, and P.L.H. Higgins, were studied by [Bronson Alcott](#) in preparation for his infant school.



PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

(This would be studied by [Bronson Alcott](#), who was in this year changing his name from “Alcocke” or “Alcox” to Alcott,²² and reviewed by him in 1829. Since it has been suggested²³ that this small volume was Alcott’s primary source for the ideas of [Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi](#), we should definitely include it in our “Stack of the Artist of Kouroo” project.)

22. Perhaps to distance himself from the jest “All-Cocks.” According to Eric Partridge’s THE PENGUIN DICTIONARY OF HISTORICAL SLANG, roosters everywhere have had to cope with innuendo since the 17th Century. Louisa May Alcocke’s LITTLE WOMEN, anyone? I think Partridge’s ascription of this slang name for the penis to the 17th Century must be late, for we know of a medieval lyric:

I have a gentil cok
Croweth me day;
He doth me risen erly,
My matins for to say.

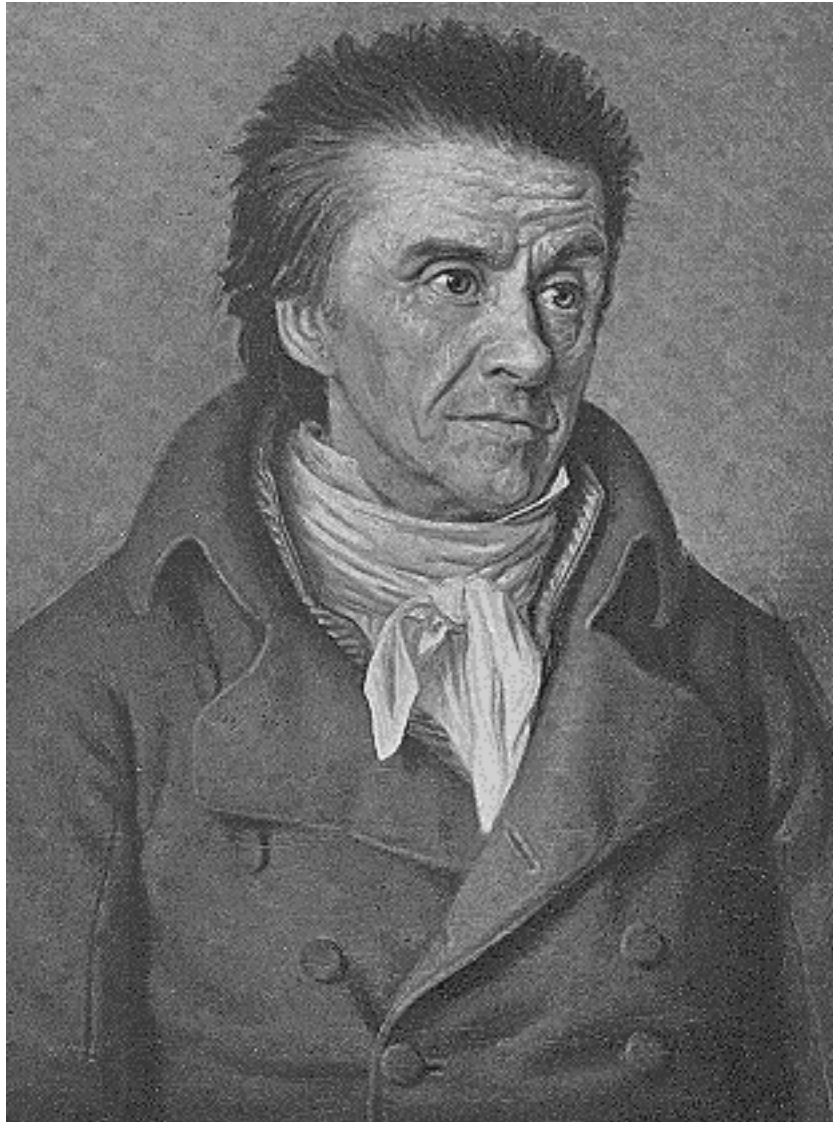
I have a gentil cok,
Comen he is of gret;
His comb is of red corel
His tayel is of jet.

I have a gentil cok
Comen he is of kinde;
His comb is of red corel,
His tail is of inde.

His legges ben of asor
So gentil and so smale;
His spores arn of silver white,
Into the worte-wale.

His eynen are of crystal,
Loken all in amber;
And every night he percheth him
In min ladyes chaumber.

23. McCuskey, Dorothy. BRONSON ALCOTT, TEACHER. New York: Macmillan, 1940.



READ ABOUT PESTALOZZI



A Commentary on Pestalozzian Methods

HINTS TO PARENTS is little more than an anonymous pamphlet of two parts, yet in it are to be found clearly expressed most of Pestalozzi's ideas, and specific illustrations of the method. The only clue to the authorship is found in the first London edition, 1823, which bears these words, "By a Foreigner, three years resident at Yverdon." It is quite evident upon reading the book that it was written by someone who really knew the system, since it is in decided contrast to the more wooden accounts by Americans. There is both external and internal evidence to show that Alcott knew and used this book. In the first place, Alcott's Journal enables us to identify as his a later review of the book in the American Journal of Education. HINTS TO PARENTS contains a number of direct quotations at the bottom of the pages, chiefly from Pestalozzi. The first sentence of one of them is found correctly copied in the manuscript of Alcott's account of the Cheshire School:

The only solid and true foundation of all morality is found in the first relations of Mother and Child.

In a printed account written by Alcott, however, it reappears in a new wording to illustrate Moral Education:

The only solid and true foundation of all morality is laid in the first relations of Instructor and Pupil.

— Pestalozzi.

Since Alcott did not have access to Pestalozzi in the original, it is most probable that HINTS TO PARENTS is the source of the reworded quotation. It is not so easy to draw a direct line of connection between a book like HINTS TO PARENTS which is addressed chiefly to mothers, and a great desire to do something to aid mothers in their proper task of educating their little ones, though the connection is entirely within the realm of possibility. Similarly, Alcott often used the words, "in the spirit of Pestalozzi's method," and that note recurs throughout HINTS TO PARENTS. Though small, the book is surprisingly comprehensible, and vivid, and would appear to be the chief source of Alcott's knowledge of Pestalozzian principles.

— McCuskey, Dorothy. BRONSON ALCOTT, TEACHER. New York: Macmillan, 1940, page 36.



William Henry Furness graduated from [Harvard Divinity School](#), was ordained, and began to serve as a supply minister in [Boston](#) and in [Baltimore](#).

NEW "HARVARD MEN"



[George Barrell Emerson](#) planned a private school for young women in [Boston](#).

[Ebenezer Bailey](#) was appointed master of the Franklin grammar school. He would be at various times a member of the city council of [Boston](#), director of the home of reform, president of the city lyceum, and director of the Boston mechanics' institute.



PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION



June 11, Wednesday: When King Fernando VII of Spain refused to quit Madrid before the invading French, the Cortes deposed him and set up a Council of Regency.

[George Barrell Emerson](#) got married with Olivia Buckminster, who in addition to bearing a child every other year would be his assistant in his new private school for young women.

1824



With the help of his bride Olivia Buckminster Emerson, Dr. [George Barrell Emerson](#) established [Boston](#)'s 1st public high school for girls.

PUBLIC EDUCATION

Washington Street in downtown [Boston](#) extended at this point all the way southwest to the [Rhode Island](#) state line, although the bulk of the road traveled under the rubric "Norfolk and Bristol Turnpike." This was the only road transiting the narrow point of Boston Neck. A traffic count on this Massachusetts thoroughway indicated that for every mounted horseman, there were four persons traveling in chaises. The bulk of these travelers must have been city folk, for at the time only about one rural family in seven owned such a conveyance.

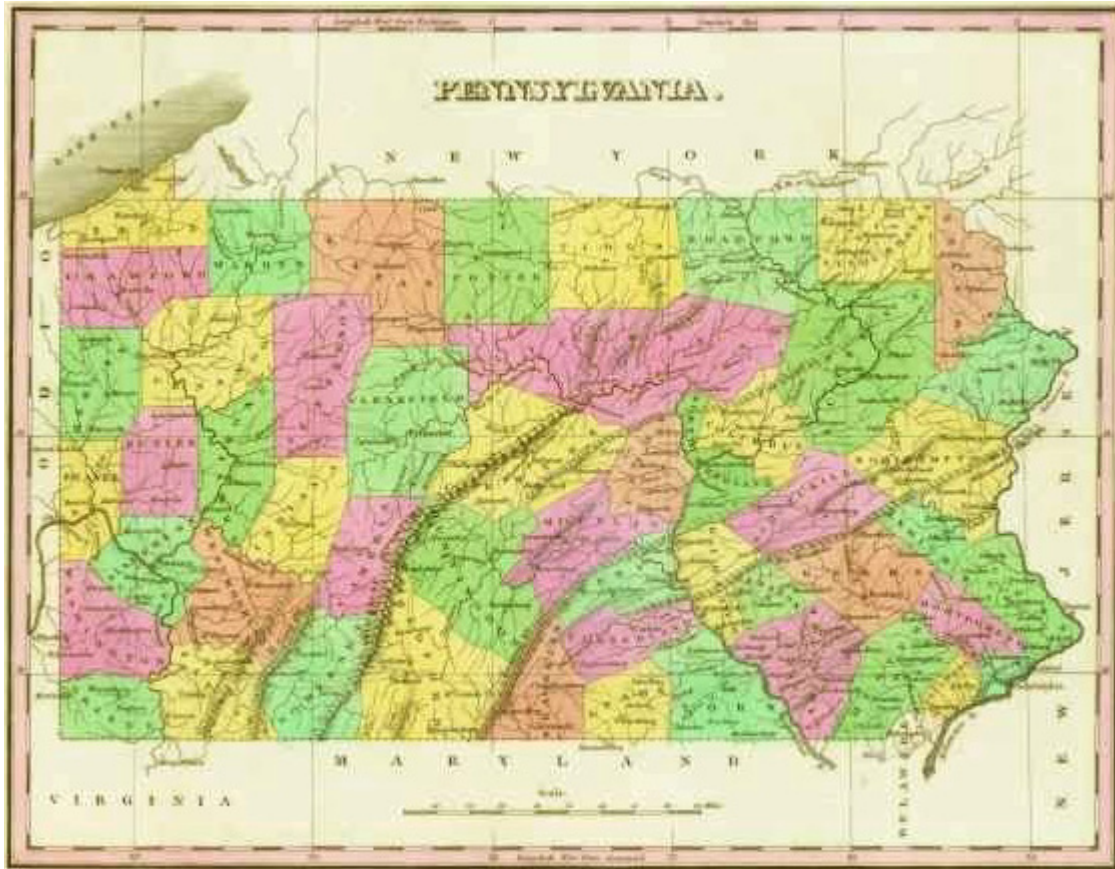
A 22 inch square map of [Boston](#) first engraved in this year by William B. Annin and George G. Smith would be reissued every few years with additions by Smith, for the City Government's Municipal Register, and for School Documents. In this year, also, Abel Bowen engraved a 6 1/2 inch by 4 inch map of the

PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

municipality, for Snow's HISTORY OF BOSTON.

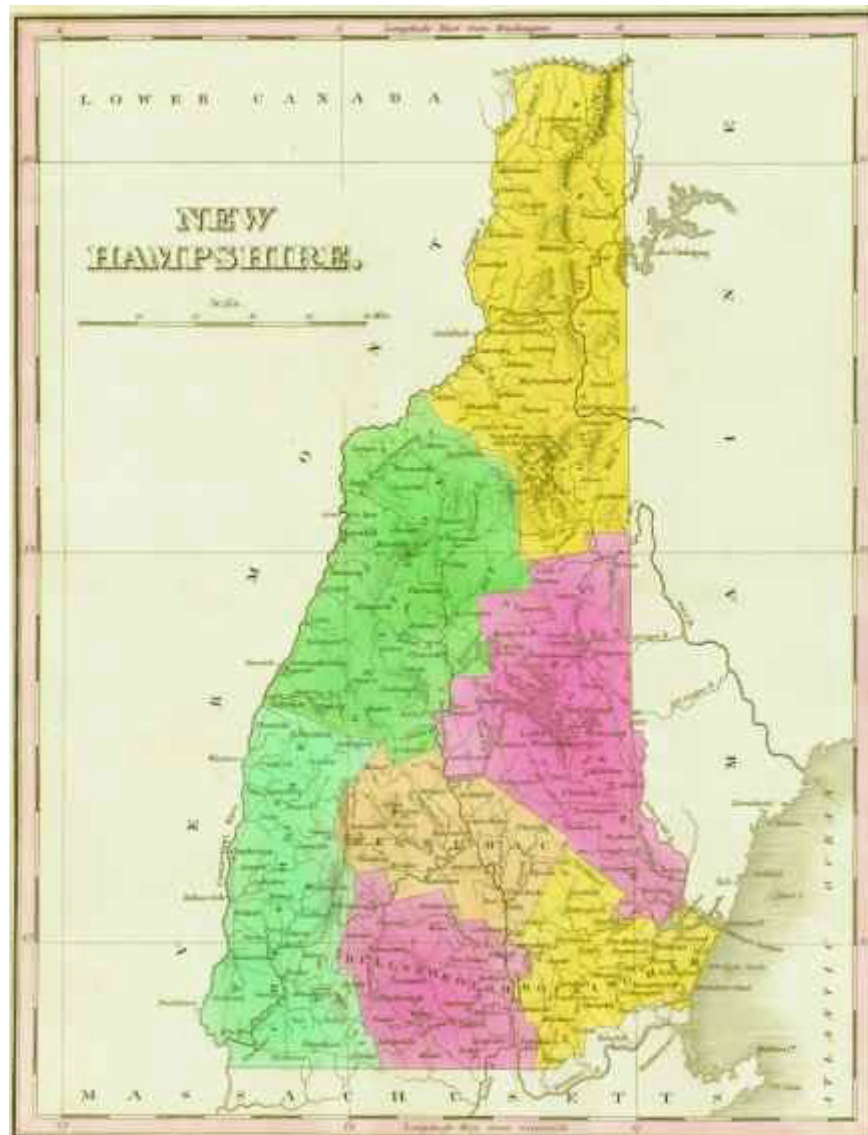
Anthony Finley's and Joseph Perkins's A NEW GENERAL ATLAS: COMPRISING A COMPLETE SET OF MAPS, REPRESENTING THE GRAND DIVISIONS OF THE GLOBE, TOGETHER WITH THE SEVERAL EMPIRES, KINGDOMS AND STATES OF THE WORLD; COMPILED FROM THE BEST AUTHORITIES, AND CORRECTED BY THE MOST RECENT DISCOVERIES (60 pages). A copy of this would be in the personal library of [Henry Thoreau](#).



THE FINLEY ATLAS

David Thompson conducted surveys to locate the “most northwest point of the Lake of the Woods.” Under Article Seven of the Treaty of Ghent, the international boundary ran through the Great Lakes to this point, thence due south to the 49th parallel. Thompson decided that this ill-defined point should be either at the present position of Kenora or at the northern point of an inlet now known as Northwest Angle Inlet.

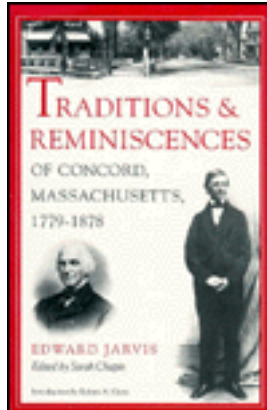
CARTOGRAPHY



PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

➡ Fall: [David Henry Thoreau](#), who had been attending Miss Phœbe Wheeler's dame school, at age 9 was taken by his parents to receive instruction at the [Concord](#) public [Town School](#) run by Edward Jarvis.



There was a revival in the neighborhood of the home of the Smith family of Almyra, New York. This revival would continue into the spring of 1825, involving Methodists, Presbyterians, and Baptists, and [Joseph Smith, Jr.](#)'s mother, sister, and two brothers would become Presbyterians.

1825

➡ The 3d edition of Samuel Wilderspin's INFANT EDUCATION (London: W. Simpkin and R. Marshall, 288 pages).²⁴

24. This, Brown's ON THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE HUMAN MIND, and books by David George Goyder, William Wilson, and P.L.H. Higgins, were studied by [Bronson Alcott](#) in preparation for his infant school.

PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

 This was [Brown University](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#):




When [Newport](#) began to provide free schools, this generated strong opposition, which would eventuate in a petition to the general assembly from former senator Christopher G. Champlin and 150 other signers, seeking that such activity be prevented. In response the state assembly would limit the town's expenditures for public education by instructing the town that in no event were its expenditures for the free education of "white children" to exceed \$800.

PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

 [Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi](#)'s boarding school near Neuchâtel, [Switzerland](#), the “Yverdon Institute,” collapsed during an intense struggle among the members of his teaching staff as to which one was going to become his 2d-in-command and then inherit the mantle of his authority. Pestalozzi had to go back to his earlier establishment at Burgdorf, taking only a few of his pupils with him.



[Pestalozzi](#)'s four-volume novel LEONARD AND GERTRUDE, OR, A BOOK FOR THE PEOPLE, written in the 1780s in German about the ordinary lives of German “people,” with the author’s ideas as to moral, social, and political reform developing out of the inspirational example set by the devoted and self-sacrificing mother, was at this point translated into English and published as two volumes in London by J. Mawman.²⁵

Again [“Dickie” Dana](#), at the age of 10, was subjected to [corporal punishment](#) by a schoolmaster:

He had placed me in the middle of the floor for some offense or other, and my station being near the stove, and the room very hot, I became faint and asked to be allowed to go out and gave my reason, but to no purpose. In a few minutes we had our usual recess of a quarter of an hour, and I went out. Here I came very near fainting again, looked very pale, and asked leave to go home. This was refused. As I was really sick, at the suggestion of the boys, I went home, which was but a few minutes’ walk, to get a written excuse. My father saw that I was ill and kept me at home, and sent me the next morning with a written excuse for my non-appearance, alleging faintness and sickness. Mr. W. was mortified and angry at this and said that the excuse only covered my not returning, while the chief offense was my going home without leave, which he could not excuse, and calling me out, took his ferule and ordered me to put out my left hand. (He also intimated that my sickness was all a sham.) Upon this hand he inflicted six blows with all his strength, and then six upon the right hand. I was in such a frenzy of indignation at his injustice and his insulting insinuations that I could not have uttered a word for my life. I was too small and slender to resist, and could show my spirit only by fortitude. He called for my right hand again, and gave six more blows in the same

25. Bronson Alcott’s signature in these volumes, still in the Alcott Library, is in a hand he used during his early years.

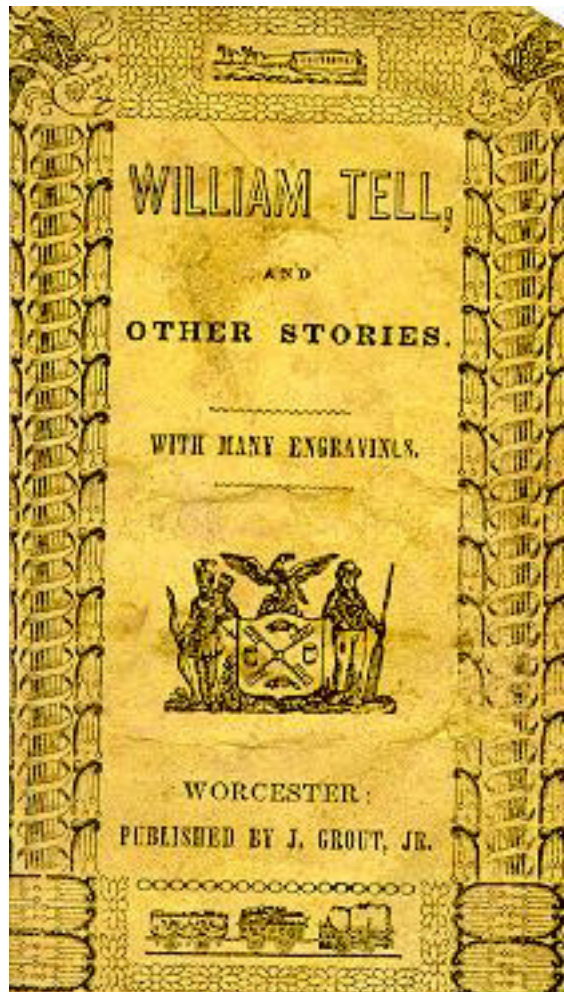
PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

manner and then six more upon the left. My hands were swollen and in acute pain, but I did not flinch nor show a sign of suffering. He was determined to conquer me and gave six more blows upon each hand, with full force. Still there was no sign from me of pain or submission. I could have gone to the stake for what I considered my honor. The school was in an uproar of hissing and scraping and groaning, and the master turned his attention to the other boys and left me alone. He said not another word to me through the day. If he had I could not have answered, for my whole soul was in my throat and not a word could get out.



Fall: [David Henry Thoreau](#) returned for a 2d year of instruction at the [Concord](#) public [Town School](#). The first wave of school reform was beginning to sweep across New England. In this year, in BLAKE'S READER, [William Tell](#) was portrayed as he took careful aim at the apple atop the precious head of his son.




(People still play around with this legend. For instance, on January 16, 2001, at a circus performance in Paris, Mme Cathy Jamet has been shot in the face by a crossbow arrow fired by her husband M Alain Jamet.)



1826

 David George Goyder's A TREATISE ON THE MANAGEMENT OF INFANT SCHOOLS (London: Thomas Goyder).

P.L.H. Higgins's AN EXPOSITION OF THE PRINCIPLES ON WHICH THE INFANT SYSTEM OF EDUCATION IS CONDUCTED (London: Thomas Goyder).²⁶

 [Bronson Alcott](#) expressed his educational ideas in his journals in a series of "maxims" which have now been selected and independently listed as below — some of these musings, we are forced to acknowledge, are astonishingly progressive:

GENERAL MAXIMS
by which to regulate the Instructor's Practice,
in Instruction

To teach, with a sense of the accountableness of the profession.

To teach, with reference to Eternity.

To teach, as an agent of the Great Instructor.

To teach, depending on the Devine blessing for success.

26. These two, plus Brown's ON THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE HUMAN MIND, and books by William Wilson, and Samuel Wilderspin, were studied by [Bronson Alcott](#) in preparation for his infant school.



PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

To teach, as the former of character, and the promoter of the collective happiness of man.

To teach, to subserve the great cause of philanthropy, and benevolence.

To teach, distinctive from all sinister, sectarian, and oppressive principles.

To teach, with charitable feelings toward all rational and animal beings.

To teach, distinct from prejudice, from veneration of Antiquity, and from excess of novelty.

To teach, to improve the Sciences of Instruction, and of the mind.

To teach, duly appreciating the importance of the profession.

To teach, unawed by the clamours of ignorance, yet governed by the dictates of wisdom.

To teach nothing, merely from subservience to custom.

To teach with unremitted solicitude, and faithfulness.

To teach, appreciating the value of the being to whom Instruction is given.

To teach, regarding the matter as well as the manner of Instruction.

To teach that alone, which is useful.

To teach, in imitation of the Savior.

To teach, by exact, uniform, example.

To teach in the Inductive method.

To teach gradually, and understandingly, by the shortest steps, from the more easy and known, to the more difficult and unknown.

Teach by the exercise of Reason.

Teach, illustrating by sensible and tangible objects.

To teach, by clear, and copious Explanation.

To teach, by a strict adherence to System.

To teach, by simple, and plain unambiguous language.

To teach, by short, and perfectly obtained Lessons.

To teach, by Encouragement.

Teach but one thing at the same time.

Teach interestingly.

Teach principally a knowledge of things, not of words: - of ideas, not names.

To teach, by consulting in the arrangement of lessons, that proportion of variety, which is adapted to the genius and habits



PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

of the young mind.

To teach, by keeping curiosity awake.

To teach nothing that pupils can teach themselves.

To teach, as much as possible by Analysis.

To teach, by exciting a laudable ambition for excellence, guarding against its opposite.

To teach, endeavoring to make pupils feel their importance, by the prophetic hope placed in their conduct.

To teach, endeavoring to preserve the understanding from implicit belief, and to secure the habit of independence of thought and feeling.

To teach, endeavoring to invigorate and bring into exercise all the intellectual and moral and physical powers.

To teach, attempting to associate with literature the idea of pleasure.

To teach, attempting to induce the laudable ambition of progressive improvement.

To teach, consulting the feelings of scholars.

To teach with animation and interest.

To teach, by furnishing constant, useful, and as much as possible pleasing employment.

To teach, treating pupils with uniform familiarity, and patience, and with the greatest kindness, tenderness, and respect.

To teach, by cultivation the moral, and sympathize feelings of affections.

Teach, by consulting the collective happiness of the School.

Teach by persuasion, not by coercion.

To teach, by Comparison, and Contrast.

To teach, by allusion to familiar objects and occurrences.

To teach, without Indolence, and Discouragement.

To teach pupils to teach themselves.

Teach, by intermingling Questions with Instruction.

To teach, with relation to the practical business of life.

To teach, endeavoring to fix things in the understanding rather than the words in the memory.

To teach, without bringing pupils in comparison with one another, or touching the spring of personal emulation.


To teach, with reference to Habit.


To teach, with Independence.




PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

 Zadock Lew, well-known musician, died without a will and his property was sold at auction.

 February: William Maclure's "An Epitome of the Improved [Pestalozzian](#) System of Education," The American Journal of Science and Arts [X](#):145-51.

 March: [Bronson Alcott](#)'s "On the Education of Children," in The Churchman's Magazine [IV](#): 369 f.

August: Edward A. Jones, a man of color, received a BA from Amherst College.²⁷

27. He was the 2nd in America. Alexander Lucius Twilight, another man of color, had received a BA from Middlebury College in Vermont in 1823.

PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION



Fall: In the fall, 9-year-old [David Henry Thoreau](#) returned for a 3d year of instruction at [Concord's Town School](#). The master there, Edward Jarvis, was appealing to the self-respect of the students and to their love of propriety rather than seeking to make them fearfully obedient. Jarvis, with [Lemuel Shattuck](#), and with the Reverend Hersey B. Goodwin, was attempting to put into practice locally the new educational principles of which they had been reading.



The schoolmaster for the young [Concord](#) scholars at the [Concord Academy](#), for this school year of 1826/1827, was a recent Harvard graduate, [Mr. Richard Hildreth](#) — whose [HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA](#) a 38-year-old Harvard graduate [Henry David Thoreau](#) would be perusing as of the Year of Our Lord 1855!

HILDRETH'S US, I

HILDRETH'S US, II

HILDRETH'S US, III

(It seems not to be generally understood, that [Richard Hildreth](#) had been one of the predecessor teachers at the [Concord Academy](#), many years before [Henry David Thoreau](#) himself became a teacher there! — Well understanding that Henry would not enter the Academy until 1828 after [Mr. Hildreth](#) had departed, well understanding that it was instead Mr. Phineas Allen who would be Henry's preceptor while boarding at the Thoreau boardinghouse, one may well wonder precisely where this previous preceptor had likewise taken up lodgings there in [Concord](#) during his own season of teaching. We can imagine that since he was a Hildreth, he

PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

would have taken his lodging with Jonathan Hildreth and Benjamin Warren Hildreth in [Concord](#), but we presently have no datapoint with which to corroborate that inference. Might there be a possibility, therefore – as yet unrecorded – that he had like his successor Allen up lodgings in the Thoreau boardinghouse and had like his successor Allen at the dinnertable encountered young scholar [David Henry Thoreau](#)?)

During this year, not nearly so far along as little David Henry, [John Shepard Keyes](#) was attending the private infant school of Miss Phoebe Wheeler, kept in the southwest chamber of the old Peter Wheeler house on the Walden Road. He then also attended a school kept by a Miss Rice, at Deacon Jarvis's bakehouse. He then also would attend for one winter term at town school in the brick schoolhouse, where his teacher would be John Brown (please note that this happens not to have been any of the famous John Browns).



I remember how glad I was when I was kept from school a half a day to pick huckleberries on a neighboring hill all by myself to make a pudding for the family dinner. Ah, they got nothing but the pudding –but I got invaluable experience beside– A half a day of liberty like that –was like the promise of life eternal. It was emancipation in New England. Oh what a day was there my country-man. ...



September 6, Wednesday: John Russworm, the privileged son of a white planter from Virginia in Jamaica with a slave woman, received a BA from Bowdoin College.²⁸



Well, that is not so strange as the fact that in the previous year's graduating class at Bowdoin, each and every senior **seems to have been a black wannabee!** (Peruse the following screen :-)

1827




The first free school for infants opened in New-York under the direction of Joanne Bethune, a disciple of [Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi](#). Pestalozzi's LETTERS ON EARLY EDUCATION, ADDRESSED TO J.P. GREAVES, ESQ., (James Pierrepont Greaves) was published in London by Sherwood, Gilbert, & Piper et al.²⁹

28. He was the 3d person of color to obtain a diploma in America. Alexander Lucius Twilight, another man of color, had obtained a BA from Middlebury College in Vermont in 1823, and in August of this year Edward A. Jones had obtained a BA from Amherst College.

PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

 May: In Brooklyn, Connecticut, the Reverend Samuel Joseph May organized the first ever convention “to improve and bless the Common Schools.”



At this convention attended by over 100 persons he learned of an experiment being conducted in a small town in western Massachusetts about 50 miles (one day’s stagecoach travel) to the north, Cheshire.



29. In the Alcott Manuscript Collection are three bound volumes of miscellaneous printed material:

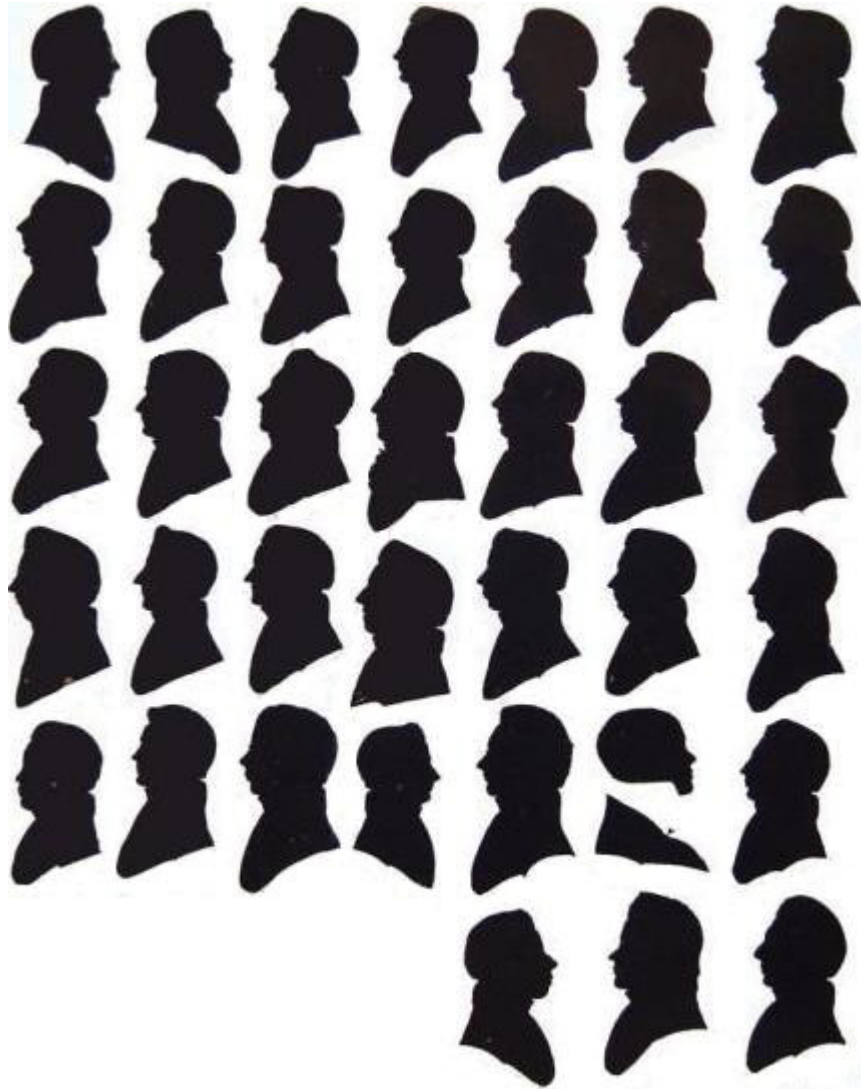
GREAVES PAPERS: (pamphlets relating to Alcott House, England)

ALCOTT HOUSE JOURNALS: ([The Healthian](#) and [The New Age](#))

PAPERS ON EDUCATION: (Pestalozzi’s LETTERS ON EARLY EDUCATION, ADDRESSED TO J.P. GREAVES, ESQ., James Pierrepont Greaves’ “Letters to Campbell,” and many pamphlets relating to [Bronson Alcott](#)’s educational work)

PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION



First Row: Nathaniel Hawthorne, John S.C. Abbott, George W. Pierce, Elisha Bacon, Richmond Bradford, Jeremiah Dummer, Cyrus Hamlin Coolidge.
 Second Row: Henry W. Longfellow, Patrick Henry Greenleaf, Jonathan Cilley, Alden Boynton, Frederic Mellen, Samuel Page Benson, Mark Haskell Newman.
 Third Row: David Shepley, William Hale, David Haley Foster, Alfred Martin, Nathaniel Dunn, Seward Wyman, Gorham Deane.
 Fourth Row: Horatio Bridge, Thomas Ayer, Edward Joseph Vose, Charles Snell, Eugene Weld, John Dafforne Kinsman, George Barrell Cheever.
 Fifth Row: Joseph Jenkins Eveleth, Joseph Stover Little, Hezekiah Packard, Alfred Mason, Charles Jeffrey Abbott, Stephen Longfellow, James Ware Bradbury.
 Sixth Row: Edward Deering Preble, William Stone, Cullen Sawtelle.



PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

The experimental school in Cheshire, Massachusetts was being run by a rural master named [Amos Bronson Alcott](#). The schoolmaster had renamed Primary School #1 as “The Cheshire Pestalozzian School” in honor of the educational theories of the [Swiss](#) innovator [Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi](#), and the school’s motto he selected was “Education’s all.”


*I shall institute a new order of human culture. **Infancy**
I shall invest with a glory – a spirituality, which the
disciples of Jesus, deeply as they entered into his
spirit, and caught the life of his mind, have failed
to bring forth in their records of his sayings and
life.*

May learned of this experiment from a not entirely impartial source, Bronson’s cousin [William Alcott](#), who was just in this year graduating in medicine from Yale College. May wrote to Bronson “urgently to visit me.”

THE ALCOTT FAMILY

PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

 July: Responding to the Reverend Samuel Joseph May's letter of request, [Bronson Alcott](#) appeared at the doorstep of his parsonage in Brooklyn, Connecticut after an all-day stagecoach journey.



His Cheshire, Massachusetts experiment in education had failed –due primarily to the conventionality and hostility of the parents of the children, who had used every weapon at their disposal and among other things had hinted that they might be led to accuse Alcott of fondling their little girls– and therefore Alcott, who had purchased a large library for his school, found himself \$600.⁰⁰ in debt. The reverend was out of the house, but the reverend's vivacious dark³⁰ sister Abba May [Abba Alcott] entertained the unexpected guest. This wasn't exactly what you'd call proper, but then Abba wasn't exactly what you'd call proper — for one thing, she was slightly disfigured by a facial burn and slightly disabled by a hand burn, neither of which do anything at all to enhance one's marketability on the marriage mart.



Some nine years earlier she had been courted, by an older man, Samuel May Frothingham, but this hadn't worked out, or perhaps negotiations had stalled while Abba had studied history, botany, French, Latin, chemistry, geometry, and [astronomy](#) under the scholar Abby Allyn in Duxbury, Massachusetts. And then this

30. May = Maies = Mayes, probably of Portuguese Jewish origin. [Louisa May Alcott](#) inherited the dark eyes and hair and swarthy vivacious Mediterranean look of this branch of the family through her mother, who was also dark complected:

Anna is an Alcott. Louisa is a true blue May, or rather brown.



PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

suitably not-picky elder suitor up and died.³¹

[ABBA'S JOURNAL]

*I found ... an intelligent, philosophic modest man,
whose reserved deportment authorized my showing many
attentions.*

[BRONSON'S JOURNAL]

*There was nothing of artifice, of affectation of
manners; all was openness, simplicity, nature herself.*

So this time around it was love at first sight.

THE ALCOTT FAMILY



August 20, Monday: [Bronson Alcott](#)'s "Morris Academy," [The Connecticut Observer](#).



Fall: In the fall [David Henry Thoreau](#) returned for a 4th year of instruction at [Concord's Town School](#). Clearly, however, he was not receiving all his education within the walls of this school. For instance, at about this point (that is, at about ten years of age) he needed to put his pet chickens in a basket and take them to the local innkeeper to be sold. For convenience, as the innkeeper drew them from the basket one by one he wrung their necks, before young David Henry's eyes.

At this point young [John Shepard Keyes](#) was arriving at the age of six, and was sent to "the Academy then kept by Phineas Allen, the poorest teacher and worst school I ever knew anything about personally," in the lower part of the building on Academy Lane. Although put to the study of Latin and then Greek, he did not learn "anything of either or anything else at that school."³²

Here for schoolmates I had among the older boys William Whiting, Lincoln's Solicitor of the War Dept. E R Hoar, Grants Attorney Gen. William M Prichard of the New York bar, Hiram B Dennis and J. Fay Barrett, of the Boston bar John and Henry D. Thoreau, of the Musketaquid bar, and I think for a term or more Hon William M. Evarts, and many more or less distinguished whom I do not recall. Among the girls were the sisters of all these if they had any, and some of my older school mates from Miss Wheelers & Miss Rices.

31. Do you wonder what relation this old Samuel May Frothingham was to the [Unitarian](#) Reverend Octavius Brooks Frothingham?

32. The difficult plainness of the writing in his autobiography, on file at the Concord Free Public Library, indicates that not only did this young scholar not learn Latin and Greek well, but also, he did not learn English at all well!

J.S. KEYES AUTOBIOGRAPHY



PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

1828



[Bronson Alcott](#)'s anonymous "Maternal Instruction," The Unitarian Advocate I, Boston, pages 304-8.



Per Walter Roy Harding's THE DAYS OF [HENRY THOREAU](#): A BIOGRAPHY (NY: Knopf, 1966):

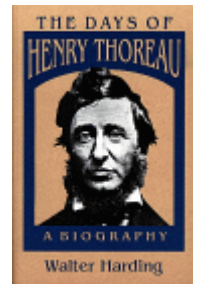
“A Review From Professor Ross’s Seminar”

Chapter 1 (1817–1823) -Downing gives a cursory account of the Thoreau and Dunbar heritage and more fully traces the nature and movement of the Thoreau family in the first five years of Henry’s life.

Thoreau’s father, John, while intellectual, “lived quietly, peacefully and contentedly in the shadow of his wife,” Mrs. Cynthia Dunbar Thoreau, who was dynamic and outspoken with a strong love for nature and compassion for the downtrodden.

- 1st Helen -quiet, retiring, eventually a teacher.
- 2nd John Jr. -“his father turned inside out,” personable, interested in ornithology, also taught.
- 3rd Henry (born July 12,1817) -speculative but not noticeably precocious.
- 4th Sophia -independent, talkative, ultimately took over father’s business and edited Henry’s posthumous publications.

The Thoreau’s constantly struggled with debt, and in 1818 John Sr. gave up his farm outside [Concord](#) and moved into town. Later the same year he moved his family to Chelmsford where he opened a shop which soon failed and sent him packing to Boston to teach school.



“A Review From Professor Ross’s Seminar”

In 1823 uncle [Charles Jones Dunbar](#) discovered [graphite](#) in New Hampshire and invited [John Thoreau](#) to join Dunbar and Stow Pencil Makers back in [Concord](#).

Henry’s [Concord](#) youth was “typical of any small town American boy of the 19th century.”

Henry attended Miss Phœbe Wheeler’s private “infants” school, then the public grammar school, where he studied the Bible and English classics such as [William Shakespeare](#), [John Bunyan](#), Dr. Samuel Johnson and the Essayists.

Henry was considered “stupid” and “unsympathetic” by schoolmates he would not join in play, earning the nicknames “Judge” and “the fine scholar with the big nose.” At school he was withdrawn and anti-social but he loved outdoor excursions.

From 1828–1834 Henry attended [Concord Academy](#) (Phineas Allen, preceptor). Allen taught the classics -[Virgil](#), Sallust, [Caesar](#), [Euripides](#), [Homer](#), Xenophon, [Voltaire](#), Molière and Racine in the original languages- and emphasized composition.

Henry also benefitted from the Concord Lyceum and particularly the natural history lectures presented there.



“A Review From Professor Ross’s Seminar”

WALTER HARDING’S BIOGRAPHY

Chapter 3 (1833-1837) -Thoreau enters Harvard (president Josiah Quincy), having barely squeezed by his entrance exams and rooming with Charles S. Wheeler

Thoreau’s Harvard curriculum: Greek (8 terms under Felton and Dunkin) -composition, grammar, “Greek Antiquities,” Xenophon, Demosthenes, Aeschines, Sophocles, Euripides, Homer. Latin Grammar (8 terms under Beck and McKean) -composition, “Latin Antiquities,” Livy, Horace, Cicero, Seneca, Juvenal. Mathematics (7 terms under Pierce and Lovering) English (8 terms under ET Channing, Giles, W&G Simmons) -grammar, rhetoric, logic, forensics, criticism, elocution, declamations, themes. Mental Philosophy (under Giles) [Paley](#), Stewart. Natural Philosophy (under Lovering) -astronomy. Intellectual Philosophy (under Bowen) Locke, Say, Story. Theology (2 terms under H Ware) -[Paley](#), Butler, New Testament. Modern Languages (voluntary) Italian (5 terms under Bachi) French (4 terms under Surault) German (4 terms under Bokum) Spanish (2 terms under Sales) Attended voluntary lectures on German and Northern literature (Longfellow), mineralogy (Webster), anatomy (Warren), natural history (Harris).

Thoreau was an above average student who made mixed impressions upon his classmates.

In the spring of '36 Thoreau withdrew due to illness -later taught for a brief period in Canton under the Rev. Orestes A. Brownson, a leading New England intellectual who Harding suggests profoundly influenced Thoreau.

(Robert L. Lace, January-March 1986)



Allen, Gay Wilson. "A New Look at Emerson and Science," pages 58-78 in LITERATURE AND IDEAS IN AMERICA: ESSAYS IN MEMORY OF HARRY HAYDEN CLARK. Robert Falk, ed. Athens OH: Ohio UP, 1975

"A Review From Professor Ross's Seminar"

Allen examines NATURE and [Waldo Emerson](#)'s attitudes toward science in the light of four of Emerson's early lectures. These lectures, given in 1833-34, were about science, and were titled "The Uses of Natural History," "On the Relation of Man to the Globe," "Water," and "The Naturalist." Allen's 1975 essay furthers the work done by Harry Hayden Clark in his 1931 essay "Emerson and Science;" Clark did not have access to these lectures.

The first lecture, "The Uses of Natural History," was, Allen says, a "preliminary sketch" for NATURE. In this lecture Emerson elaborated on the uses of nature much as he did in NAATURE: how nature contributes to human health (beauty, rest); to civilization (with due Emersonian skepticism about technology); to knowledge of truth (here Allen discusses the influence of geology on Emerson: how the age of the earth and the slowness of earth's transformative processes confuted traditional religious doctrine); and to self-understanding (nature as language that God speaks to humanity – nature as image or metaphor of mind) (60-64).

Emerson's second lecture, "On the Relation of Man to the Globe," was also a preliminary sketch for NATURE. In this lecture, Allen says,

Emerson drew heavily on his readings in geology, along with some biology and chemistry, and attempted to demonstrate how marvelously the world is adapted for human life. (64)

Emerson's sources included Laplace, Mitscherlich, Cuvier; his arguments echoed Lamarck (evolution, nature adapted to humans) and [the Reverend William] Paley (argument from design) (64-67).

The third lecture, "Water," was Emerson's "most technical" according to Allen, which is, perhaps, why it is not discussed at any length. It is also not assessed for its scientific accuracy. Allen does say that Emerson "read up on the geological effects of water, the laws of thermodynamics, the hydrostatic press, and related subjects" (67).

Allen says that Emerson's fourth lecture, "The Naturalist," "made a strong plea for a recognition of the importance of science in education" (60). Emerson "emphasized particularly the study of nature to promote esthetic and moral growth" (67). Emerson wanted science for the poet and poetry for the scientist; the fundamental search for the *causa causans* (67-69). He was reading Gray and other technical sources, observing nature, and reading philosophers of science, especially Coleridge and Goethe (68).

Allen says that the value of these lectures is not merely the light they shed on Nature but what they reveal about "his reading and thinking about science before he had fused his ideas thus derived with the Neoplatonic and 'transcendental' ideas of Plotinus, Swedenborg, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Carlyle, and seventeenth-century English Platonists" (69).

“A Review From Professor Ross’s Seminar”

Allen concludes that [Waldo Emerson](#)’s theory of nature in NATURE is


derived far more from Neoplatonism than modern scientific knowledge, but Emerson was not turning his back on science; he wanted instead to spiritualize science, to base science on the theory that the physical world is an emanation of spirit, “the apparition of God” (Chapter 6), or “a projection of God in the unconscious.” (70)


Allen contends that Emerson’s theory anticipates Phenomenology in its emphasis on mind/world interactions and correspondences. Science, Allen says, continued to have a “pervasive influence” on Emerson’s thought even after 1836:

Indeed, the two most basic concepts in his philosophy, which he never doubted, were “compensation” and “polarity,” both derived from scientific “laws,” i.e. for every action there is a reaction, and the phenomena of negative and positive poles in electrodynamics. To these might also be added “circularity,” which translated into poetic metaphors the principle of “conservation of energy.” (75)

One could argue, I think, that these scientific laws were themselves “derived from” philosophical and metaphysical speculations (e.g. Kant); their life-long conceptual importance to Emerson, in other words, does not seem precisely described as scientific.

[Cecily F. Brown, March 1992]

 January/February: [Bronson Alcott](#)’s “Primary Education. Account of the Method of Instruction in the Primary School No. 1 of Cheshire, Connecticut,” American Journal of Education III:26-31; III:86-94.


 January: Sufficient moneys having at this point been accumulated by the managers and agents of the state lottery, and through duties obtained from auctioneers, the general assembly of [Rhode Island](#) saw fit to enact a free school law. The law stipulated that \$10,000 was to be divided each year among the several towns for the support of their free schools, and that the division of the funds was to be in proportion to their several school populations. The law also set aside the sum of \$5,000 from the accumulated receipts then in the state treasury as a permanent fund for the use of these free schools, meanwhile to be invested by the general treasurer in good bank stock, and stipulated that any surplus state receipts from lotteries and auctioneers (over and above this \$10,000 to be distributed annually) would go to enlarge this permanent fund. Town meetings in the various towns would be at liberty to appropriate such additional funds as they considered necessary.

PUBLIC EDUCATION





PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

 June-July-November: An anonymous series of articles entitled “Elementary Instruction” began to appear in the American Journal of Education III. These had been submitted by [Bronson Alcott](#) and consisted chiefly of part of the Introduction to John M. Keagy’s PESTALOZZIAN PRIMER. Between April 1825, when he had commenced his journal, and January 1827, Alcott had been studying this work by Keagy.

[JOHANN HEINRICH PESTALOZZI](#)

 July: [Bronson Alcott](#)’s anonymous “Review of Prospectus of Morris Academy, Litchfield, (South Farms), Connecticut,” American Journal of Education III: 420-6.

 July/August: [Bronson Alcott](#)’s anonymous “Education of Infant Children,” American Journal of Education III: 412-5; III: 454-60.³³

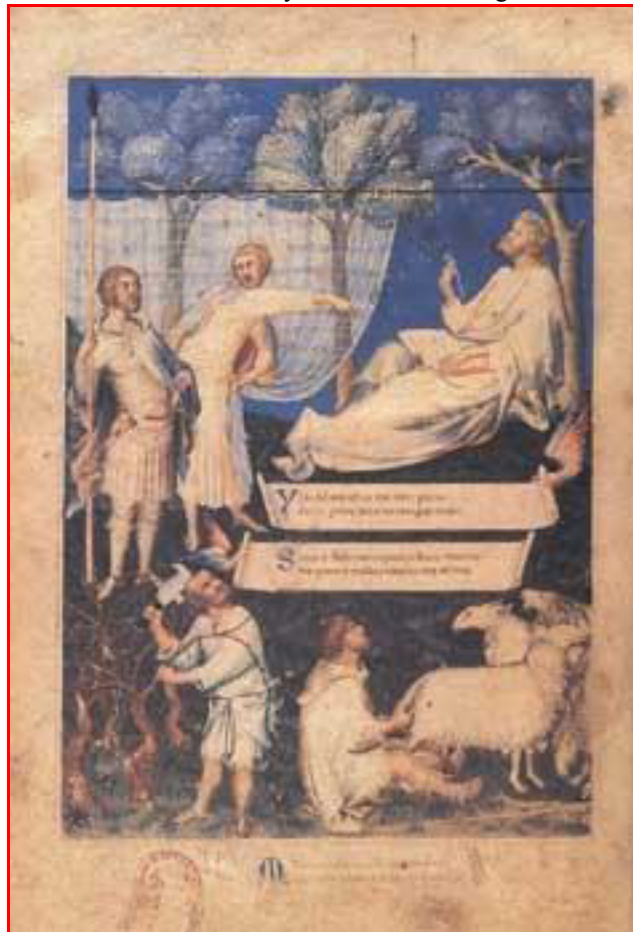
 September: [Bronson Alcott](#)’s anonymous “Infant School Society in Boston,” American Journal of Education III: 561-8.

33. This consists of extracts from “An Exposition of the Principles on which the System of Infant Education is Conducted,” Philadelphia PA: 2d Philadelphia Edition, 1827, a pamphlet by James Pierrepont Greaves which Matthew Carey had provided to Alcott when he visited Philadelphia in 1828.

PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

➡ Fall: This was the end of [David Henry Thoreau](#)'s period of instruction in [Concord](#)'s [Town School](#) in the center district under schoolmaster Edward Jarvis. Apparently at some point during this school term [John Thoreau, Jr.](#) and his 11-year-old brother David Henry were transferred by their parents from the public system to the [Concord Academy](#) at which the fees were \$5.⁰⁰ per student per quarter, to study not only [Virgil](#), [Caesar](#), Sallust, [Marcus Tullius Cicero](#), and Horace, but also botany. According to this new arrangement, the preceptor there, a recent [Harvard College](#) graduate named [Phineas Allen](#), was to board at the Thoreau boardinghouse — presumably in lieu of cash tuition. David Henry would be attending this academy until 1833.



PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION



Since Thoreau's own copy of [Virgil](#), now in the Special Collections department of the Minneapolis Public Library, is signed "D.H. Thoreau, Hollis 20, Sept. 4th," the copy of Virgil from which he studied at this point would likely have been not this volume but instead a school copy.

➡ October: [Bronson Alcott](#)'s anonymous "Review of OBSERVATIONS ON THE ESTABLISHMENT AND DIRECTION OF INFANT SCHOOLS, by the Rev. Charles Mayo, London, 1827," [American Journal of Education III](#): 610-7.

1829

➡ In [Bronson Alcott](#)'s manuscript pile there is conclusive evidence that it was he who submitted the anonymous "Pestalozzi's Principles and Methods of Instruction," [American Journal of Education, IV](#) (March-April, 1829): 97-107. Alcott did not compose this as an article, but rather extracted from, and slightly rearranged, a long series found in Picket's [The Academician I](#), for the years 1818-1819.

JOHANN HEINRICH PESTALOZZI

[Bronson](#)'s salary at [Boston](#)'s Charity Infant School was \$500.⁰⁰ per year, which in this social stratum was considered hardly enough to get married on. He quit to set up a private school for boys.

William Wilson's A MANUAL OF INSTRUCTION FOR INFANTS' SCHOOLS (London: George Wilson, 288 pages).³⁴

34. This, Brown's ON THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE HUMAN MIND, and books by P.L.H. Higgins, William Wilson, and Samuel Wilderspin, were studied by [Alcott](#) in preparation for his infant school.

P. VIRGILII AENEIDOS LIB. III. 160

Nec longo distant curfu: modo Juppiter adfit,
Tertia lux classem Cretæis fistet in oris.

- Sic fatus, meritos aris mactavit honores,
Taurum Neptuno, taurum tibi, pulcher Apollo;
120 Nigram Hiemi pecudem, Zephyris felicibus albam.
Fama volat, pulsum regnis cessisse paternis
Idomenea ducem, desertaque litora Cretæ;
Hoste vacare domos, sedesque astare relictas.
Linquimus Ortygiæ portus, pelagoque volamus:
125 Bacchatamque jugis Naxon, viridemque Donyfam,
Olearon, niveamque Paron, sparsasque per æquor
Cycladas, et crebris legimus freta confita terris.
Nauticus exoritur vario certamine clamor:
Hortantur focii, Cretam, proavosque petamus.
130 Prosequitur surgens a puppi ventus euntes;
Et tandem antiquis Curetum allabimur oris.
Ergo avidus muros optatæ molior urbis;
Pergameamque voco: et lætam cognomine gentem
Hortor amare focos, arcemque attollere tectis.
135 Jamque fere ficco subductæ litore puppes:
Connubiis, arvisque novis operata juvenus:
Jura domosque dabam: subito quum tabida membris,
Corrupto cœli tractu, miserandaque venit
Arboribusque fatisque lues, et lethifer annus.
140 Linquebant dulces animas, aut ægra trahebant
Corpora: tum steriles exurere Sirius agros,
Arebant herbæ, et victum seges ægra negabat.
Rursus ad oraculum Ortygiæ, Phœbumque, remenso
Hortatur pater ire mari, veniamque precari:
145 Quem fessis finem rebus ferat: unde laborum
Tentare auxilium jubeat: quo vertere cursus.

PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

 Josiah Quincy, Sr. was appointed President of [Harvard College](#).



After having taught for a couple of years in the Livingstone High School of Geneseo, New York, [Cornelius Conway Felton](#) became a tutor at [Harvard](#).

PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION



The School Committee of Salem banned [corporal punishment](#) at its high schools, and at the Latin School where Master Daniel Parker has scorned to apply his ferule to student palms, preferring instead to rely for discipline upon a cowhide whip. Master Dodge, at the Northfield Writing School, was not subject to this ban, and continued to rely upon his cowhide whip, which he referred to as the “Red Dragoon” (as an alternative to being flogged a student might opt to lick up a chalk circle drawn on the floor).

[Nathaniel Hawthorne](#), living in his “dismal and squalid chamber” “under the eaves” of the Manning home in Salem while attempting to establish himself as a writer, had burned his manuscript of his first collection SEVEN TALES OF MY NATIVE LAND but in about this year began to prepare another collection, PROVINCIAL TALES. Portions of this collection were beginning to see publication in periodicals as separate tales and sketches. In this year, for instance, his story “The Gentle Boy” which would eventually appear in TWICE-TOLD TALES earned him \$35.⁰⁰ in a magazine called “Token.” Though his mother and sisters lived in the same home reclusively, often taking their meals apart, he was not himself as much a melancholic as he would later enjoy describing himself to have been, for we know that in addition to keeping a notebook record of his encounters, impressions, and literary ideas, he was going on trips from time to time by stagecoach and on foot into the New England countryside.



It was in this year that the “Concord Stagecoach” was designed in Concord, New Hampshire.



January: A bill was introduced in the [Rhode Island](#) general assembly to repeal the 27th section of the law for assessment and collection of taxes that had been in effect since 1769 — the section which had up to this point exempted all property devoted to religious, charitable, and educational purposes from taxation. This bill was approved by a majority of nine votes. Henceforth the tax exemption would extend only to the buildings devoted to such purposes and the land on which they stood.

PUBLIC EDUCATION
 QUAKER EDUCATION

(In 1850, largely in response to the presence of large numbers of Roman Catholics in the state, this tax exemption would be further limited, to three acres of land, so far as such land was used exclusively for religious and educational purposes, but this new stipulation would immediately become a political issue and would be repealed, with all such land “not leased or rented” being again free from taxation, and then in 1852 even this restriction would be removed and all property, whether real or personal, that was used in connection



PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

with religion and education, or the income of which was devoted to religion or education, would be made totally exempt from taxation. In 1870 the political winds would blow in the opposite direction and exemption of the personal property of religious and charitable societies would be again restricted, with any such property having a value greater than \$20,000 became taxable. In 1872 this anti-Catholic prejudice would resurface, and the tax exemption would be restricted again to only “buildings for free public schools or for religious worship” and one acre of the ground upon which they stood, and this only if both the land and the buildings were used for no purpose other than free public schooling plus religious worship. Rented property and invested funds of such institutions, and the school property of the Catholic church and other semi-private education institutions, became taxable. In 1894 the schools of the Catholic church became again free from taxation, and added to that were the buildings of charitable institutions and one acre of the ground on which they stood.)

READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT

➡ January: An anonymous review of the 1823 volume *HINTS TO PARENTS ON THE CULTIVATION OF CHILDREN, IN THE SPIRIT OF PESTALOZZI'S METHOD* appeared in the *American Journal of Education* IV: 53-58, titled “Maternal Instruction.” This review had been written by [Bronson Alcott](#).³⁵

JOHANN HEINRICH PESTALOZZI

➡ March-April: In [Bronson Alcott](#)'s manuscript pile there is conclusive evidence that it was he who submitted the anonymous “Pestalozzi's Principles and Methods of Instruction,” *American Journal of Education* IV: 97-107.³⁶

JOHANN HEINRICH PESTALOZZI

➡ March 6, Friday: An anonymous article appeared in the *Daily Advertiser*, by [Bronson Alcott](#), with prefatory remarks by William Russell: “Account of procedure in the Salem Street Infant School.”

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

6th day 6th of 3 M / This Afternoon the case above alluded too came to trial before the Supreme Court & was ably plead to on my part by R K Randolph who I had employed as my attorney & on the part of the widow by Bridgham & Turner - I sat by the whole time & attended to what was said on both sides, & when the case was submitted I felt well satisfied that I had done what was right for me & let the case go as it would I was clear & well satisfied every way - here I left the subject & spent the remainder of the evening in social visits to my friends & rather late retired to bed. - with the subject of my law suit entirely dismissed from my mind tho the presure if any there had been was entirely taken off - In the Night I awoke from a dream on this wise - I thought I was in Lawtons Gulley at [Portsmouth](#) - tho' it seemed to me the Gulley descended east instead of west as it

35. This anonymous 1823 volume was included in the quit extensive and expensive Library Collection of [Alcott](#)'s Temple School for the Instructor's use in conducting daily studies, and in addition to this was another anonymous volume entitled EPITOME OF PESTALOZZIAN INSTRUCTION.

36. Alcott was extracting from, and slightly rearranging, a long series found in Picket's *The Academician* I for the years 1818-1819.



PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

really does - & as I was walking along a rather larger & fuller stream of water appeared to be running that is[?] commonly seen there - on turning my head round I saw Swimming after me a large Snake but it seemed to be of the common garter kind, but sage in appearance, with it was another & smaller snake which it appeared to me to be of a more dangerous kind than the last & seemed as a kind of waiter to the other my first thought was to kill them both & turned round to throw something at them - but it seemed on a second reflection that my best course was to get out of their way that to come in contact with them I might was more likely to get hurt than to get out of their way so I turned & went on & lost sight of them, [Yet / but] in the same dream I was somehow or another, but now I cannot tell I was transported to Washington Square in [Newport](#), where on the side walk partly in the opening of Meeting Street I saw this great snake which I had seen in Lawtons Gulley laying quite dead & apparently cut & destroyed - I just took a stick & moved him a little to see whether there was any life remaining & found he was quite dead & there left him - I awoke soon after & reflected on the dream but soon fell asleep again In the morning I awoke again with this solid impression that it was a significant dream to me & let the Law Suit go as it would my enemy was dead or at least in no situation to hurt me. - At the Opening of Court I attended & heard the Verdict of the Jury in my favour with costs which put an end to the matter as I had succeeded in both Courts. - My mind was humbled under the consideration. - 7th day I attended the Meeting of the Trustees of Eastons Point & dined with them at Sister Rebecca Rodmans. - First day - Attended Meeting in [Newport](#) which seemed natural & Old fashioned. - 2nd day [Monday] attended to the settlement of my affairs & visited my friends - 3rd day in the Steam boat returned to [Providence](#) & resumed my rounds of Duty with a humble & thankful State of Mind.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



June: The [Rhode Island](#) senate accepted the new statute of the general assembly, repealing the 27th section of the law for assessment and collection of taxes — which previously had exempted all school and religious property from taxation. The Senate, however, stipulated that this tax exemption would be allowed to continue, for any schools and religious properties which were under the protection of a charter.

PUBLIC EDUCATION

QUAKER EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

1830



For an unknown reason [Lemuel Shattuck](#), in his history of [Concord](#), neglected to state the name of the town schoolmaster of the grammar school for this year:

1785	Nathaniel Bridge	9 months	1812	Isaac Warren	1 year
1786	JOSEPH HUNT	2½ years	1813	JOHN BROWN	1 year
1788	William A. Barron	3 years	1814	Oliver Patten	1 year
1791	Amos Bancroft	1 year	1815	Stevens Everett	9 months
1792	Heber Chase	1 year	1815	Silas Holman	3 months
1793	WILLIAM JONES	1 year	1816	George F. Farley	1 year
1794	Samuel Thatcher	1 year	1817	James Howe	1 year
1795	JAMES TEMPLE	2 years	1818	Samuel Barrett	1 year
1797	Thomas O. Selfridge	1 year	1819	BENJAMIN BARRETT	1 year
1798	THOMAS WHITING	4 years	1820	Abner Forbes	2 years
1802	Levi Frisbie	1 year	1822	Othniel Dinsmore	3 years
1803	Silas Warren	4 years	1825	James Furbish	1 year
1807	Wyman Richardson	1 year	1826	EDWARD JARVIS	1 year
1808	Ralph Sanger	1 year	1827	Horatio Wood	1 year
1809	Benjamin Willard	1 year	1828	David J. Merrill	1 year
1810	Elijah F. Paige	1 year	1829	John Graham	1 year
1811	Simeon Putnam	1 year	1831	John Brown	

This was the state of the town's finances:

In consequence of having to maintain *eight* bridges, and the liberal appropriations for schools and other objects, the taxes in [Concord](#) are supposed to be higher, in proportion to its wealth, than in many towns, amounting to about \$3 on every inhabitant. In 1803, the roads and bridges, independent of a highway tax of \$1000, cost \$1,244; in 1805, \$967; in 1807, \$1,290; and on an average, for the last 40 years, about one eighth of all the town expenses. The following table will



PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

exhibit the appropriations for several periods since.

Year.	State Tax.	County Tax.	Minister.	Incidental.	Total.
1785	£711. 6s. 4d.	£25. 3s. 3d.	£100. 10s. 9d.	£748. 8s. 1d.	£1,585. 8s. 5d.
1790	£128. 9s. 4d.	£32. 16s. 6d.	£113. 19s. 6d.	£596. 2s. 11d.	£871. 18s. 3d.
1795	\$613.33	\$233.16	\$646.66	\$2,327.15	\$3,820.31
1800	\$611.33	\$161.56	\$567.26	\$2,763.52	\$4,103.78
1810	\$662.14	\$398.92	\$633.05	\$3,010.47	\$4,704.58
1820	\$568.94	\$331.13	\$794.17	\$4,243.92	\$5,938.16
1830	\$222.00	\$417.17	\$709.00	\$4,072.01	\$4,781.01

The amount of debts due from the town, in 1825, was \$3,284.04, and in 1831, \$5,288.65.³⁷

[Concord](#) paid about \$600 for education during this year, including grammar education at its [Town School](#) and college preparation at its [Concord Academy](#), in [Concord](#), making its annual expenditure for education sum up to \$2,050.

EDUCATION.— Many of the original inhabitants of [Concord](#) were well educated in their native country; and, "to the end that learning be not buried in the graves of the forefathers," schools were provided at an early period for the instruction of their children. In 1647, towns of 50 families were required to have a common school, and of 100 families, a grammar school. Concord had the latter before 1680. An order was sent to this town, requiring "a list of the names of those young persons within the bounds of the town, and adjacent farms, who live from under family government, who do not serve their parents or masters, as children, apprentices, hired servants, or journeymen ought to do, and usually did in our native country"; agreeably to a law, that "all children and youth, under family government, be taught to read perfectly the English tongue, have knowledge in the capital laws, and be taught some orthodox catechism and that they be brought up to some honest employment." On the back of this order is this return: "I have made dillygent inquiry according to this warrant and find no defects to return. Simon Davis, Constable. March 31, 1680." During the 30 years subsequent to this period, which I [Dr. Lemuel Shattuck] have denominated the *dark age* in Massachusetts, few towns escaped a fine for neglecting the wholesome laws for the promotion of education. Though it does not appear that Concord was fined, a

37. [Lemuel Shattuck's 1835 A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;...](#) Boston MA: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#), 1835
(On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry David Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study. On July 16, 1859 he would correct a date mistake buried in the body of the text.)



PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

committee was appointed in 1692, to petition the General Court, "to ease us in the law relating to the grammar school-master," or to procure one "with prudence for the benefit of learning, and saving the town from fine." From that time, however, this school was constantly maintained. For several years subsequent to 1700, no appropriations were made to any other school. In 1701, grammar scholars paid 4*d.* and reading scholars 2*d.* per week towards its support; and from that time to 1712, from £20 to £30 were annually raised. In 1715, it was kept one quarter, in different parts of the town, for £40. The next year £50 were raised for schools; £35 for the centre, and £5 for each of the other three divisions. In 1722, Timothy Minott agreed to keep the school, for ten years, at £45 per year. In 1732, £50 were raised for the centre and £30 for the "out-schools"; and each schoolmaster was obliged to teach the scholars to read, write, and cipher, – all to be free. In 1740, £40 for the centre, and £80 for the others. These grants were in the currency of the times. In 1754, £40 lawful money were granted, £25 of which were for the centre. Teachers in the out-schools usually received 1*s.* per day for their services. The grammar-school was substituted for all others in 1767, and kept 12 weeks in the centre, and 6 weeks each, in 6 other parts, or "school societies" of the town. There were then 6 schoolhouses, 2 of which were in the present [1835] limits of Carlisle, and the others near where Nos. 1, 2, 4, and 6, now [1835] stand. This system of a *moving school*, as it was termed, was not, however, continued many years. In 1774 the school money was first divided in proportion to the polls and estates.

The districts were regulated, in 1781, nearly as they now [1835] are. The town raised £120, in 1784, for the support of schools, and voted, that "one sixteenth part of the money the several societies in the out-parts of the town pay towards this sum, should be taken and added to the pay of the middle society for the support of the grammar-school; and the out-parts to have the remainder to be spent in schools only." This method of dividing the school-money was continued till 1817, when the town voted, that it should be distributed to each district, including the centre, according to its proportion of the town taxes.

The appropriations for schools from 1781 to 1783, was £100; from 1784 to 1792, £125; 1793, £145; 1794 and 1795, £200; 1796 to 1801, £250; 1802 to 1806, \$1,000; 1807 to 1810, \$1,300; 1811, \$1,600; 1812 to 1816, \$1,300; 1817 and since, \$1,400. There are 7 districts, among which the money, including the Cuming's donation, has been divided, at different periods, as follows. The last column contains the new division as permanently fixed in 1831. The town then determined the amount that should be paid annually to each district, in the following proportions. The whole school-money being divided into 100 parts, district, No. 1, is to have 52½ of those parts, or \$761.25 out of \$1,550; district, No. 2, 7⁵/₈ parts; district, No. 3, 8¾ parts; district, No. 4, 8⁵/₈ parts; district, No. 5, 8¾ parts; district, No. 6, 7¹/₈ parts; district No. 7, 7¹/₈ parts; and to individuals who



PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

pay their money in Lincoln and Acton, $\frac{1}{2}$ a part.

District. Old Names.	1801.	1811.	1821.	1830.	1832.
No. 1. Central	\$382-92	\$791-48	\$646-15	\$789-18	\$761-25
No. 2. East	95-28	155-45	160-26	109-69	110-56 $\frac{1}{4}$
No. 3. Corner	68-49	135-48	142-48	117-00	119-62- $\frac{1}{2}$
No. 4. Darby	70-53	130-69	123-10	138-23	125-06 $\frac{1}{4}$
No. 5. Barrett	107-29	163-51	145-89	125-11	119-62 $\frac{1}{4}$
No. 6. Groton Road	64-63	105-41	93-55	79-16	103-31 $\frac{1}{4}$
No. 7. Buttrick	67-64	126-68	114-16	84-77	103-31 $\frac{1}{4}$
Individuals	22-22	41-30	24-41	6-86	7-25
	<u>\$884.00</u>	<u>1,650.00</u>	<u>1,450.00</u>	<u>1,450.00</u>	<u>1,450.00</u>



PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

At the erection of new school-houses in 1799, the first school committee was chosen, consisting of the [Rev. Ezra Ripley](#), Abiel Heywood, Esq., Deacon John White, Dr. Joseph Hunt, and Deacon George Minott. On their recommendation, the town adopted a uniform system of school regulations, which are distinguished for enlightened views of education, and which, by being generally followed since, under some modification, have rendered our schools among our greatest blessings.

The amount paid for private schools, including the Academy, was estimated, in 1830, at \$600, making the annual expenditure for education \$2,050. Few towns provide more ample means for acquiring a cheap and competent education. I [Dr. Lemuel Shattuck] have subjoined the names of the teachers of the grammar-school since the Revolution, – the year usually beginning in September.

1785	Nathaniel Bridge	9 months	1812	Isaac Warren	1 year
1786	JOSEPH HUNT	2½ years	1813	JOHN BROWN	1 year
1788	William A. Barron	3 years	1814	Oliver Patten	1 year
1791	Amos Bancroft	1 year	1815	Stevens Everett	9 months
1792	Heber Chase	1 year	1815	Silas Holman	3 months
1793	WILLIAM JONES	1 year	1816	George F. Farley	1 year
1794	Samuel Thatcher	1 year	1817	James Howe	1 year
1795	JAMES TEMPLE	2 years	1818	Samuel Barrett	1 year
1797	Thomas O. Selfridge	1 year	1819	BENJAMIN BARRETT	1 year
1798	THOMAS WHITING	4 years	1820	Abner Forbes	2 years
1802	Levi Frisbie	1 year	1822	Othniel Dinsmore	3 years
1803	Silas Warren	4 years	1825	James Furbish	1 year
1807	Wyman Richardson	1 year	1826	EDWARD JARVIS	1 year
1808	Ralph Sanger	1 year	1827	Horatio Wood	1 year
1809	Benjamin Willard	1 year	1828	David J. Merrill	1 year
1810	Elijah F. Paige	1 year	1829	John Graham	1 year
1811	Simeon Putnam	1 year	1831	John Brown	



PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

The [Concord Academy](#) had been established, in 1822, by several gentlemen, who were desirous of providing means for educating their own children and others more thoroughly than they could be at the grammar-school (attended, as it usually is, by a large number of scholars) or by sending them abroad. A neat, commodious building had been erected, in a pleasant part of the town, by the proprietors, consisting of the Hon. Samuel Hoar, the Hon. Abiel Heywood, and Mr. Josiah Davis, who owned a quarter each, and the Hon. Nathan Brooks and Colonel William Whiting, who owned an eighth each. Their intention always was to make the school equal to any other similar one. It had been opened during September 1823 under the instruction of Mr. George Folsom, who kept it two years. He had been succeeded by Mr. Josiah Barnes and Mr. Richard Hildreth, each one year.

Mr. [Phineas Allen](#), son of Mr. Phineas Allen of Medfield, born October 15, 1801, who had graduated at Harvard College in 1825, had been the preceptor since September, 1827.³⁸

In [Concord](#), beginning in this year, Cyrus Stow, Daniel Clark, and Elisha Wheeler were Selectmen.

Nathan Brooks of [Concord](#) was of the Council.

Samuel Hoar, Jr. of [Concord](#) was a Senator.

Reuben Brown, Jr. and Daniel Shattuck were [Concord](#)'s deputies and representatives to the General Court.



Fall: The Boston firm of Carter and Hendee published [Bronson Alcott](#)'s OBSERVATIONS ON THE PRINCIPLES AND METHODS OF INFANT INSTRUCTION as a 27-page pamphlet. This publication would attract the attention of the [Quaker](#) financier Reuben Haines of Germantown, a Philadelphia suburb.

Infant happiness should be but another name for infant progress.

THE ALCOTT FAMILY



Spring: In [Concord](#) this spring there was being distributed a booklet of the REGULATIONS OF THE SCHOOL COMMITTEE OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD. REVISED AND ADOPTED MARCH, 1830.

38. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;...](#) Boston MA: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#), 1835
(On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study. On July 16, 1859 he would correct a date mistake buried in the body of the text.)



PUBLIC EDUCATION

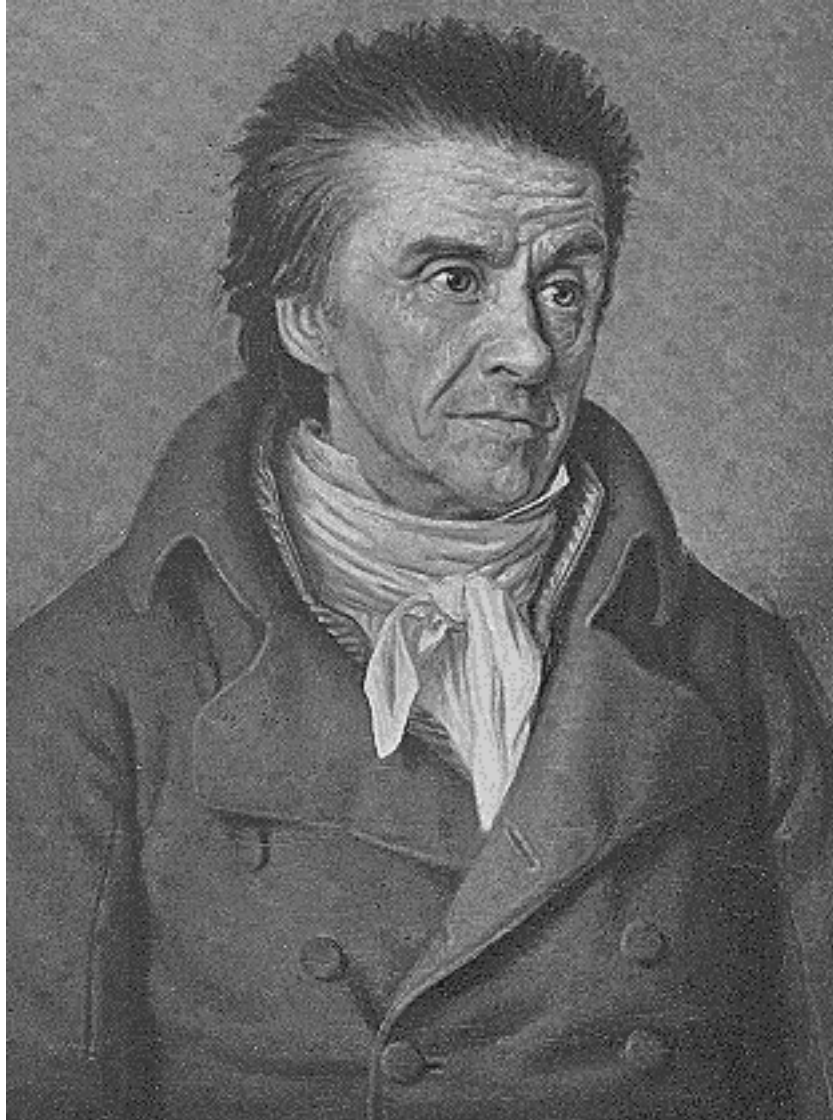
PUBLIC EDUCATION

1831



E. Biber's [HENRY PESTALOZZI](#), AND HIS PLAN OF EDUCATION; BEING AN ACCOUNT OF HIS LIFE AND WRITINGS; WITH COPIOUS EXTRACTS FROM HIS WORKS, AND EXTENSIVE DETAILS ILLUSTRATIVE

OF THE PRACTICAL PARTS OF HIS METHOD, 468 pages, published in London by John Souter.³⁹



JOHANN HEINRICH PESTALOZZI



[Johann Wolfgang von Goethe](#) noticed that:

[I]t is expected that a person who has distinguished himself in one field ... will not ... venture into one entirely unrelated. Should an individual attempt this, no gratitude is shown.



39. A volume still in the [Bronson Alcott](#) Library.

READ ABOUT PESTALOZZI

PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

An individual who failed to follow Goethe's advice, becoming not only a man of literature but also an attorney at law: [Richard Henry Dana, Jr.](#) As a 15-year-old he had been attending a private school in which the teachers frequently and severely flogged the students: "There was never a half-day without a good deal of flogging." During this year he matriculated at [Harvard College](#). Quite unlike [Henry Thoreau](#) in temperament, he would make poor use of his abundant scholarly free time while enrolled. Evidence of this is that in all of this first three-year period of education he would check out from the library only a total of 10 books. Toward the end of this first year he would be rusticated for his part in the Harvard Rebellion, and during this period of rustication he would be tutored by the conservative professor religion at Andover Theological Seminary, the Reverend Leonard Woods (1807-1878).

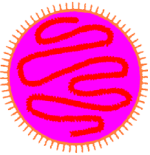


After his dropping out of school in his junior year because his eyesight had been temporarily impaired by [measles](#), and after his famous period of recuperation and adventure in California, he would be significantly older and more disciplined and yet he would do only slightly better in the study department: he would check out only 11 more books from the college library. Although Professor Edward Tyrrell Channing had both Dana (who was his cousin) and Thoreau as students, clearly Thoreau learned better about writing from Professor Channing than did Dana — all his life this sailor/lawyer/author would preserve a sloppy tendency to leave dangles in his prose.

Another individual who failed to follow Goethe's advice, becoming not only a medical doctor but also a man of literature: Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes in this year published a series of essays, in the [New England Magazine](#), entitled "The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table."



(A quarter of a century later, this series would continue, in [The Atlantic Monthly](#).)

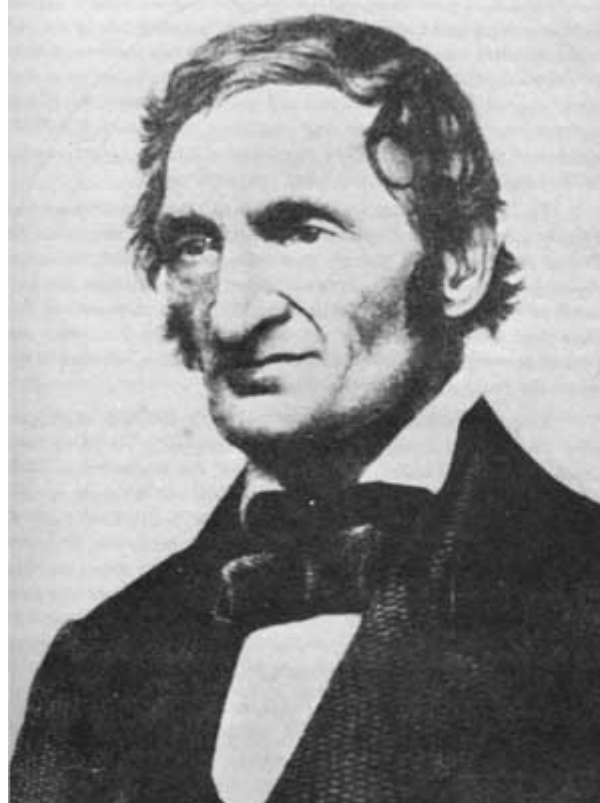


PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION



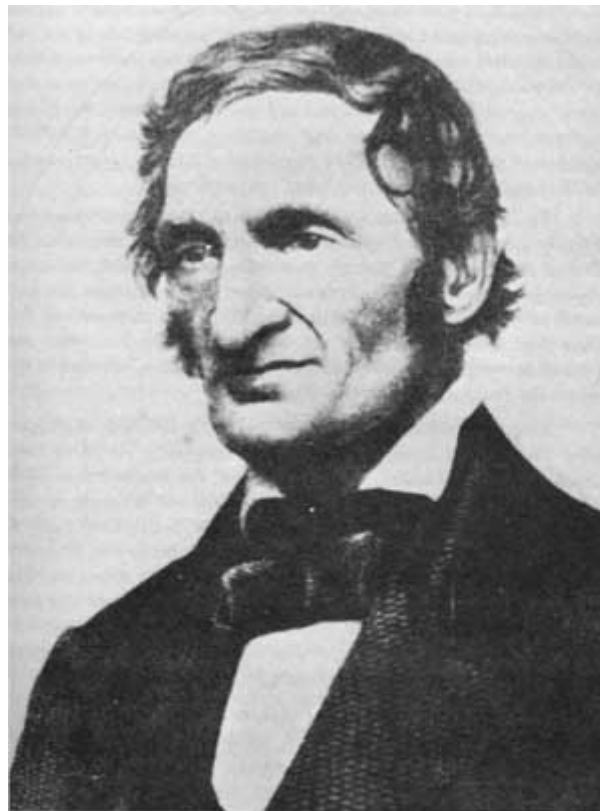
October: [Dr. William Alcott](#)'s "History of a Common School," Annals of Education I: 468-72.



1832



In this year [Dr. William Andrus Alcott](#) relocated to [Boston](#), where his 66-page ESSAY ON THE CONSTRUCTION OF SCHOOL-HOUSES: TO WHICH WAS AWARDED THE PRIZE OFFERED BY THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF INSTRUCTION, AUGUST, 1831 was published in Boston by Hilliard, Gray, Little, and Wilkins, and Richardson, Lord and Holbrook.



DR. WILLIAM A. ALCOTT



PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

1833



There were a number of antislavery movements, which at times made for strange bedfellows. There was a racist anti-black anti-slavery movement, made up primarily of white persons, which sought to do away with slavery in order to benefit the soul of the white owner, and also in order to destroy the economic basis of the black life of the time, and basically these people believed that black people should not exist, or at least, should not exist here where we white people exist, and that white slaveholders should not exist, or at least, should not be a part of the society which we decent white folks inhabit. In distinct opposition to these folks, there was an anti-slavery movement, made up primarily of persons of color, which sought improved conditions of life for persons of color, ameliorations both material and spiritual. To cut across the division created by two such contrasting motivational patterns, there was an anti-slavery movement made up of persons who sought gradual, step-by-step, piecemeal practical improvements, new good amelioration following new good amelioration, a building process, and there was an anti-slavery movement made up of persons like William Lloyd Garrison, [Theodore Dwight Weld](#), Arthur Tappan, and Lewis Tappan who demanded immediate utter freedom and emancipation regardless of the personal or social cost, a tear-it-all-down-and-start-over project, and who were willing to see great harm done to real people if only the result would be some change in the wording of a law, written on paper somewhere. There was an Old Abolitionism which was racist, and an Old Abolitionism which was paternalist. There was a New Abolitionism which was Evangelical and millennialist and sought utter total top-down changes in society, and there was a New Abolitionism which was immanentist and which demanded utter total bottom-up personal transformation, within each individual soul. In Ohio, Shiperd Stewart and Philo Penfield Stewart (a student minister) established Oberlin College (more properly, the Oberlin Collegiate Institute), creating a town of Oberlin, Ohio (one of the last settlements to be created in Lorain County), as our nation's 1st coeducational institution of higher learning (Oberlin College would be in fact the 1st in the US of A to admit either girls or persons of color on an equal basis with the white boys). The first home of the town was a log cabin put up by Peter Pindar Pease just north of the historic elm. The Pease family became the first Oberlin colonists. The first business, a sawmill, was established at what is now the southeast corner of Vine and Main Streets. It would be owned and operated by the college, at first, to forestall any type of greed or cheating that might derive from the profit motive, the college would be owning and operating all local businesses. (However, this sawmill would become such a financial burden to the college that eventually it would be sold to a private individual, thus setting a precedent for more private ownership of businesses in the town.) The first college building was constructed: "Oberlin Hall," a boarding house for 40 students, was located approximately where the Ben Franklin store now stands. This building included classrooms for study — and would function as a church on Sundays. Its basement quarters were reserved for the college's professors. (Oberlin Hall would be used by the college until 1854, when it would be sold to be turned into a retail outlet. It would burn down in 1886.)



PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

1835

➡ April 22, Wednesday: In [Northampton](#), Samuel Whitmarsh announced that he had “embarked in the [silk](#) business on a great scale.” He decided upon a thinly settled region of farmlands and meadows some three miles west of the town along the Mill River south of Bear Hill.

[Wheaton Female Seminary](#) (later, Wheaton College) opened in Norton, Massachusetts, with 50 students and 10 teachers.

➡ September: As [William Whiting \(Junior\)](#) began to attend the Harvard Law School, his replacement as preceptor in the [Concord Academy](#) would be Charles C. Shackford, who had just graduated there as the top scholar in the class and would go on to become a professor of Rhetoric at Cornell University.

NEW “HARVARD MEN”

[John Shepard Keyes](#), one of the pupils, would report:

Mr. C.C. Shackford the first scholar in the class of 1835, succeeded in September of that year Mr Whiting, who began then the study of law Mr S was a very different man, as bright and keen, but without ambition, and bilious, moody, and very unequal in his instruction, at times thrilling and inspiring and at others sour and cross and depressing Our training under the first teacher and the impulse carried the older scholars through the second year, but the newcomers of whom there were several didnt have that help and the school so far ran down that it closed with Mr Shuckfords twelve month. He was a strange compound, and rather an exciting mystery to the older girls, to whom he paid great deference, and soon became blindly in love first with my charmer and then when rejected, by her, with the next prettiest but most wayward of them all. How he fared in this pursuit was the theme of endless discussion of the older scholars and took much time from our studies to watch the traces of success or despair. Some of us thought them engaged definitely others that she refused, and it ended in smoke if there was ever more to it. And he has been married twice, and is a Professor at Cornell, and she a matron of a large family and high position in Concord, of course like a dutiful pupil and the oldest boy in the school I was bound to follow such an example, and did my utmost to plague his life, and make him feel the jealousy from which I suffered, as much as he did. But alas how time cures all wounds.—

J.S. KEYES AUTOBIOGRAPHY



PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

[David Henry Thoreau](#) was back at [Harvard College](#) for his Junior year as of the age of eighteen, living in 31 Hollis Hall. This month his assigned composition was on classroom discipline, “The comparative moral policy of severe and mild punishments.”

The end of all punishment is the welfare of the state – the good of community at large – not the suffering of an individual. It matters not to the lawgiver what a man deserves, for to say nothing of the impossibility of settling this point, it would be absurd to pass laws against prodigality, want of charity, and many other faults of the same nature, as if man was to be frightened into a virtuous life, though these in a great measure constitute a vicious one. We leave this to a higher tribunal. So far only as public interest is concerned, is punishment justifiable – if we overstep this bound our own conduct becomes criminal. Let us observe in the first place the effects of severity.

Does the rigor of the punishment increase the dread operating upon the mind to dissuade us from the act? It certainly does if it be unavoidable. But where death is a general punishment, though some advantage may seem to arise from the severity, yet this will invariably be more than counterbalanced by the uncertainty attending the execution of the law. We find that in England, for instance, where, in Blackstone’s day,⁴⁰ 160 offences were considered capital, between the years 1805 and 1817 of 655 who were indicted for stealing, 113 being capitally convicted, not one was executed; and yet no blame could attach to the conduct of the juries, the fault was in the law. Had death, on the other hand, been certain, the law could have existed but a very short time. Feelings of natural justice, together with public sentiment, would have concurred to abolish it altogether. In fact wherever those crimes which are made capital form a numerous class, and petty thefts and forgeries are raised to a level with murder, burglary, and the like, the law seems to defeat its own ends. The injured influenced, perhaps, by compassion, forbear to prosecute, and thus are numerous frauds allowed to escape with impunity, for want of a penalty proportionate to the offense. Juries too, actuated by the same motives, adopt the course pointed out by their feelings. As long as one crime is more heinous and more offensive than another, it is absolutely necessary that a corresponding distinction be made in punishing them. Otherwise, if the penalty be the same, men will come to regard the guilt as equal in each case.

It is enough that the evil attending conviction exceed the expected advantage. This I say is sufficient, provided the consequences be certain, and the expected benefit be not obtained. For it is the hope of escaping punishment – a hope which never deserts the rogue as long as life itself remains, that renders him blind to the consequences, and enables him to look despair in the face. Take from him this hope, and you will find that certainty is more effectual than severity of

40. Sir William Blackstone’s 1765-1769 COMMENTARIES ON THE LAWS OF ENGLAND.



PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

punishment. No man will deliberately cut his own fingers. The vicious are often led on from one crime to another still more atrocious by the very fault of the law, the penalty being no greater, but the certainty of escaping detection being very much increased. In this case they act up to the old saying, that "one may as well be hung for stealing an old sheep as a lamb." Some have asked, "cannot reward be substituted for punishment? Is hope a less powerful incentive to action than fear? When a political pharmacopoeia has the command of both ingredients, wherefore employ the bitter instead of the sweet?" This reasoning is absurd. Does a man deserve to be rewarded for refraining from murder? Is the greatest virtue merely negative, or does it rather consist in the performance of a thousand everyday duties, hidden from the eye of the world? Would it be good policy to make the most exalted virtue even, a subject of reward here? Nevertheless, I question whether a pardon has not a more salutary effect, on the minds of those not immediately affected by it, vicious as well as honest, than a public execution.

It would seem then, that the welfare of society calls for a certain degree of severity; but this degree must bear some proportion to the offence. If this distinction be lost sight of, punishment becomes unjust as well as useless – we are not to act upon the principle that crime is to be prevented at any rate, cost what it may; this is obviously erroneous.

1836



By this point the Reverend Hersey B. Goodwin had died and Dr. Edward Jarvis and [Lemuel Shattuck](#) had left [Concord](#). The attempt made by these three educators to put the educational principles of [Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi](#) into practice at the [Town School](#) was a thing of the past. The School Committee had fallen into the hands of conservatives who seemed much more interested in their own local internecine political struggles than in the welfare of the students. The cream of the college crop was being skimmed by the private [Concord Academy](#), leaving in the public system the children of the poor, the dullards, and the discipline problems. Too bad. [Phineas Allen](#), the Preceptor at the Concord Academy, who had alienated the Academy Committee through his anti-Masonic activities, ran for Town Clerk, and was elected. In order to understand how such a change of power in the little town of Concord could be related to the torching of the Ursuline Convent near [Boston](#), and in order to understand how rioters who had committed an anti-religious arson could be acquitted in the Middlesex County courts, it is necessary to understand something of the anti-Masonic fervor which was sweeping the nation. Here is the story, in brief: William Morgan, a Mason, had become disaffected in a struggle internal to the fraternity and had published, in defiance of his oath of secrecy, the rites of the order. He had then, in Canandaigua NY, mysteriously disappeared, and it was rumored that the Masons had ordered that he be executed. John Quincy Adams, former president of the US, lost his head and published an attack on this fraternal organization. Then, while visiting Boston, Adams had happened to meet Squire Samuel Hoar of



PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

Concord, and had asked for his opinion. Old Sam had given it to him straight between the headlights:

It seems to me, Mr. Adams, there is but one thing in the world sillier than Masonry. That is Antimasonry.

But in Concord, a 3d-degree Mason and the owner of the Gazette, Hermon Atwill, resigned from the fraternity and **republished** the secrets published by the defector William Morgan. Concord became as bitterly divided as the nation. The sheriff of Middlesex County, Abel Moore, collected and consolidated all the outstanding bills that could be charged against the Gazette, and presented them for immediate payment in cash in an attempt to drive the paper out of existence. The Concord Bank, newly founded, called for payment of its note. John Keyes attempted to foreclose the mortgage. Atwill was no longer the owner of the Gazette, which became the Whig paper, and so he funded the Freeman in order to continue his Antimasonic crusade. With the harmlessness of the Masonic conspiracy and the ridiculousness of the Antimasonic evil-mongering becoming more and more obvious to everyone, Francis Richard Gourgass soon took over this undercapitalized gazette and turned it into a Democratic newspaper.

At the Concord Town Meeting, the citizens were so bitterly divided that it took them four ballots before they could even agree on a presiding officer. In the election of public officials, all the old Masonic affiliates were unseated and replaced with new Antimasonic officials. On the first ballot for the main position, Clerk of the Town of Concord Phineas Allen, representing the Antimasons, tied with Dr. Abiel Heywood, who had been clerk for 38 years and was sympathetic with Masonry. On the second ballot, Allen was elected by a margin of seven votes. The electorate was then persuaded to give Dr. Heywood a vote of thanks for 38 years of uninterrupted service to the town.

EDUCATION.— Many of the original inhabitants of Concord were well educated in their native country; and, "to the end that learning be not buried in the graves of the forefathers," schools were provided at an early period for the instruction of their children. In 1647, towns of 50 families were required to have a common school, and of 100 families, a grammar school. Concord had the latter before 1680. An order was sent to this town, requiring "a list of the names of those young persons within the bounds of the town, and adjacent farms, who live from under family government, who do not serve their parents or masters, as children, apprentices, hired servants, or journeymen ought to do, and usually did in our native country"; agreeably to a law, that "all children and youth, under family government, be taught to read perfectly the English tongue, have knowledge in the capital laws, and be taught some orthodox catechism and that they be brought up to some honest employment." On the back of this order is this return: "I have made dillygent inquiry according to this warrant and find no defects to return. Simon Davis, Constable. March 31, 1680." During the 30 years subsequent to this period, which I [Lemuel Shattuck] have denominated the *dark age* in Massachusetts, few towns escaped a fine for neglecting the wholesome laws for the promotion of education. Though it does not appear that Concord was fined, a committee was appointed in 1692, to petition the General Court, "to ease us in the law relating to the grammar school-master,"



PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

or to procure one "with prudence for the benefit of learning, and saving the town from fine." From that time, however, this school was constantly maintained. For several years subsequent to 1700, no appropriations were made to any other school. In 1701, grammar scholars paid 4d. and reading scholars 2d. per week towards its support; and from that time to 1712, from £20 to £30 were annually raised. In 1715, it was kept one quarter, in different parts of the town, for £40. The next year £50 were raised for schools; £35 for the centre, and £5 for each of the other three divisions. In 1722, Timothy Minott agreed to keep the school, for ten years, at £45 per year. In 1732, £50 were raised for the centre and £30 for the "out-schools"; and each schoolmaster was obliged to teach the scholars to read, write, and cipher, — all to be free. In 1740, £40 for the centre, and £80 for the others. These grants were in the currency of the times. In 1754, £40 lawful money were granted, £25 of which were for the centre. Teachers in the out-schools usually received 1s. per day for their services. The grammar-school was substituted for all others in 1767, and kept 12 weeks in the centre, and 6 weeks each, in 6 other parts, or "school societies" of the town. There were then 6 schoolhouses, 2 of which were in the present [1835] limits of Carlisle, and the others near where Nos. 1, 2, 4, and 6, now [1835] stand. This system of a *moving school*, as it was termed, was not, however, continued many years. In 1774 the school money was first divided in proportion to the polls and estates.

The districts were regulated, in 1781, nearly as they now [1835] are. The town raised £120, in 1784, for the support of schools, and voted, that "one sixteenth part of the money the several societies in the out-parts of the town pay towards this sum, should be taken and added to the pay of the middle society for the support of the grammar-school; and the out-parts to have the remainder to be spent in schools only." This method of dividing the school-money was continued till 1817, when the town voted, that it should be distributed to each district, including the centre, according to its proportion of the town taxes.

The appropriations for schools from 1781 to 1783, was £100; from 1784 to 1792, £125; 1793, £145; 1794 and 1795, £200; 1796 to 1801, £250; 1802 to 1806, \$1,000; 1807 to 1810, \$1,300; 1811, \$1,600; 1812 to 1816, \$1,300; 1817 and since, \$1,400. There are 7 districts, among which the money, including the Cuming's donation, has been divided, at different periods, as follows. The last column contains the new division as permanently fixed in 1831. The town then determined the amount that should be paid annually to each district, in the following proportions. The whole school-money being divided into 100 parts, district, No. 1, is to have $52\frac{1}{2}$ of those parts, or \$761.25 out of \$1,550; district, No. 2, $7\frac{5}{8}$ parts; district, No. 3, $8\frac{1}{4}$ parts; district, No. 4, $8\frac{5}{8}$ parts; district, No. 5, $8\frac{3}{4}$ parts; district, No. 6, $7\frac{1}{8}$ parts; district No. 7, $7\frac{1}{8}$ parts; and to individuals who



PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

pay their money in Lincoln and Acton, $\frac{1}{2}$ a part.

District. Old Names.	1801.	1811.	1821.	1830.	1832.
No. 1. Central	\$382-92	\$791-48	\$646-15	\$789-18	\$761-25
No. 2. East	95-28	155-45	160-26	109-69	110-56 $\frac{1}{4}$
No. 3. Corner	68-49	135-48	142-48	117-00	119-62- $\frac{1}{2}$
No. 4. Darby	70-53	130-69	123-10	138-23	125-06 $\frac{1}{4}$
No. 5. Barrett	107-29	163-51	145-89	125-11	119-62 $\frac{1}{4}$
No. 6. Groton Road	64-63	105-41	93-55	79-16	103-31 $\frac{1}{4}$
No. 7. Buttrick	67-64	126-68	114-16	84-77	103-31 $\frac{1}{4}$
Individuals	22-22	41-30	24-41	6-86	7-25
	<u>\$884.00</u>	<u>1,650.00</u>	<u>1,450.00</u>	<u>1,450.00</u>	<u>1,450.00</u>



PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

At the erection of new school-houses in 1799, the first school committee was chosen, consisting of the [Rev. Ezra Ripley](#), Abiel Heywood, Esq., Deacon John White, Dr. Joseph Hunt, and Deacon George Minott. On their recommendation, the town adopted a uniform system of school regulations, which are distinguished for enlightened views of education, and which, by being generally followed since, under some modification, have rendered our schools among our greatest blessings.

The amount paid for private schools, including the Academy, was estimated, in 1830, at \$600, making the annual expenditure for education \$2,050. Few towns provide more ample means for acquiring a cheap and competent education. I [[Lemuel Shattuck](#)] have subjoined the names of the teachers of the grammar-school since the Revolution, – the year usually beginning in September.

1785	Nathaniel Bridge	9 months	1812	Isaac Warren	1 year
1786	JOSEPH HUNT	2½ years	1813	JOHN BROWN	1 year
1788	William A. Barron	3 years	1814	Oliver Patten	1 year
1791	Amos Bancroft	1 year	1815	Stevens Everett	9 months
1792	Heber Chase	1 year	1815	Silas Holman	3 months
1793	WILLIAM JONES	1 year	1816	George F. Farley	1 year
1794	Samuel Thatcher	1 year	1817	James Howe	1 year
1795	JAMES TEMPLE	2 years	1818	Samuel Barrett	1 year
1797	Thomas O. Selfridge	1 year	1819	BENJAMIN BARRETT	1 year
1798	THOMAS WHITING	4 years	1820	Abner Forbes	2 years
1802	Levi Frisbie	1 year	1822	Othniel Dinsmore	3 years
1803	Silas Warren	4 years	1825	James Furbish	1 year
1807	Wyman Richardson	1 year	1826	EDWARD JARVIS	1 year
1808	Ralph Sanger	1 year	1827	Horatio Wood	1 year
1809	Benjamin Willard	1 year	1828	David J. Merrill	1 year
1810	Elijah F. Paige	1 year	1829	John Graham	1 year
1811	Simeon Putnam	1 year	1831	John Brown	



PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

The *Concord Academy* was established, in 1822, by several gentlemen, who were desirous of providing means for educating their own children and others more thoroughly than they could be at the grammar-school (attended, as it usually is, by a large number of scholars) or by sending them abroad. A neat, commodious building was erected, in a pleasant part of the town, by the proprietors, consisting of the Hon. Samuel Hoar, the Hon. Abiel Heywood, and Mr. Josiah Davis, who own a quarter each, and the Hon. Nathan Brooks and Colonel William Whiting, who own an eighth each. Their intention has always been to make the school equal to any other similar one. It was opened in September, 1823, under the instruction of Mr. George Folsom, who kept it two years. He was succeeded by Mr. Josiah Barnes and Mr. [Richard Hildreth](#), each one year. Mr. Phineas Allen, son of Mr. Phineas Allen of Medfield, who was born October 15, 1801, and graduated at Harvard College in 1825, has been the preceptor since September 1827.⁴¹

I [the young [John Shepard Keyes](#)] had played truant every afternoon that previous winter spending the school hours at the foundry or the shops or the stables with no rebuke from the teacher, report to my parents or effect on my lessons. The nervous irritable Phineas had been worsted in a regular fight with Isaac Fiske a big boy from Weston whom he attempted to ferule, and who took away the ruler and broke it over the teachers head, ruining the gold spectacles, and the little discipline there had been in the school with a single blow.

J.S. KEYES AUTOBIOGRAPHY

41. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;...](#) Boston MA: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#), 1835
(On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study. On July 16, 1859 he would correct a date mistake buried in the body of the text.)



PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

1837



The founding of the Mount Holyoke Female Seminary, the 1st American school for women to have an endowment.

The [Concord](#) school board had as its chair the Reverend Barzillai Frost, as its secretary [Nehemiah Ball](#) (who in this year won election as Town Clerk), and as its 3d member Nehemiah's brother-in-law Sherman Barrett. Money for the school was being raised by a town tax, supplemented by small donations and by some state aid. The budget this year would be \$2,132.⁵⁵, of which the Centre District, the section of the system which occupied the [Town School](#) building and three other more remotely located buildings, would receive \$1,119.⁵⁹. The head of the prudential committee of the Centre District was the owner of the local grocery store, Charles B. Davis (who in this year would become Concord's postmaster), and it would be he who would hire as the new teacher replacing Eliezer J. Marsh a recent local college graduate, [Henry David Thoreau](#). Hiring a recent local [Harvard College](#) grad has been pretty much the tradition since 1700. Davis would agree to pay Thoreau \$500 a year, which, although it would render him by far the highest paid of the more than 16 teachers employed in the system, was \$100 less than had been paid in the previous year to Marsh. After Thoreau would resign the post would pass to his classmate in Harvard College's Class of 1837 [William Allen](#). Here is what happened as it was reconstructed (or invented!) in 1873 by [Ellery Channing](#) in THOREAU THE POET-NATURALIST / WITH MEMORIAL VERSES:

Another school experience was the town school in Concord, which he took after leaving college, announcing that he should not flog, but would talk morals as punishment instead. A fortnight sped glibly along, when a knowing deacon, one of the school committee, [[Nehemiah Ball](#)] walked in and told Mr. Thoreau that he must flog and use the ferule, or the school would spoil. So he did, ferruling six of his pupils after school, one of whom was the maid-servant in his own house. But it did not suit well with his conscience, and he reported to the committee that he should no longer keep their school, as they interfered with his arrangements; and they could keep it.

[Waldo Emerson](#) recorded in his journal having attended a convocation of the [Concord](#) school reform group, at which Horace Mann, Sr. spoke:



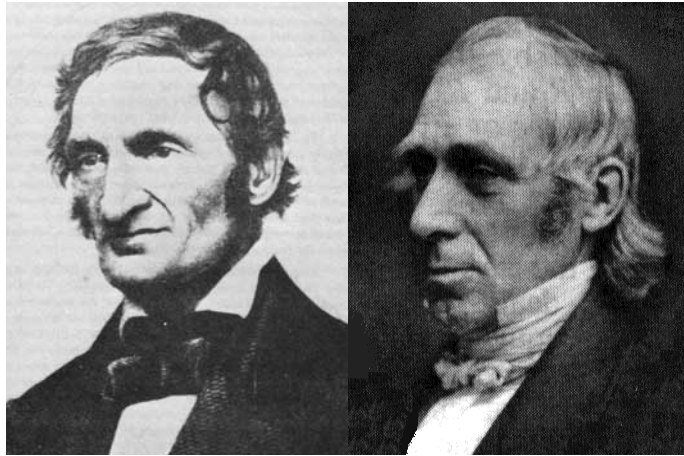
Yesterday Mr Mann's Address on Education. It was full of the modern gloomy view of our democratical institutions, and hence the inference to the importance of Schools.... Sad it was to see the death-cold convention yesterday morning as they sat shivering a handful of pale men & women in a large church, for it seems the Law has touched the business of Education with the point of its pen & instantly it has frozen stiff in the universal congelation of society.

PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

➡ March: [Dr. William Andrus Alcott](#)'s review of RECORD OF CONVERSATIONS ON THE GOSPELS, VOLUME I, Annals of Education VII: 143. In this as in all his mentions of [Bronson Alcott](#)'s school, William manages the difficult stunt of condemning his cousin's religious attitudes while commending his cousin's principle of elevating the spiritual nature of the pupil by development from within.

THE ALCOTT FAMILY



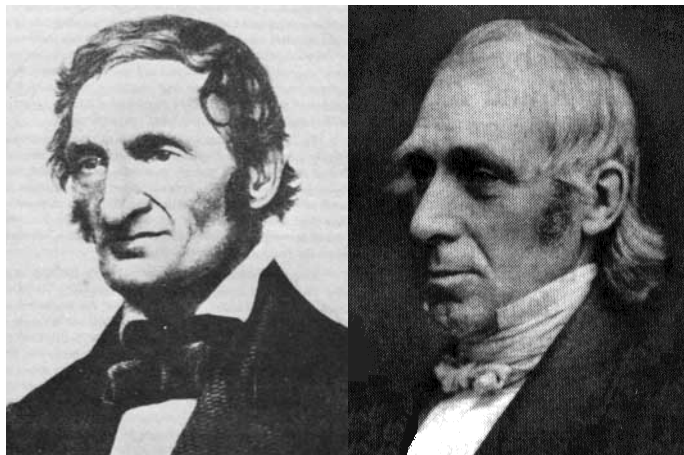
➡ May: [Bronson Alcott](#) visited the [Emersons](#) in Concord.


THE ALCOTT FAMILY

The first locomotive for the Rochester & Tonawanda Railroad Company arrived by boat on the [Erie Canal](#).

➡ May: [Dr. William Andrus Alcott](#)'s "School for Moral Culture," Annals of Education VII: 233. [Bronson Alcott](#)'s plan of studies was used to show the extent of intellectual instruction in his school, but without commendation of the school as a whole.

THE ALCOTT FAMILY



 June 18, Monday: Representative John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts continued his speech before the US House of Representatives, on the expansive topic of [Texas](#), for a 4th day.

Having undergone a total of four blasphemy trials, and Massachusetts Chief Justice Lemuel Shaw having come to the opinion that the Commonwealth was obligated to protect its citizens against “an intended design to calumniate and disparage the Supreme Being, and to destroy the veneration due to him,” the convicted atheist and blasphemer Abner Kneeland was consigned to 60 days in the [Boston](#) lockup. (Presumably while there he was of incredible benefit to other prisoners, by instructing them in the tenets of Universalist doctrine.) Presumably it was while he was there that he prepared A REVIEW OF THE TRIAL, CONVICTION, AND FINAL IMPRISONMENT IN THE COMMON JAIL OF THE COUNTY OF SUFFOLK OF ABNER KNEELAND FOR THE ALLEGED CHARGE OF BLASPHEMY. The Reverend [William Ellery Channing](#) put together a petition for his pardon based upon the principles of freedom of speech and press, which was signed by many prominent people, including Ralph Waldo Emerson, Theodore Parker, George Ripley, William Lloyd Garrison, and Bronson Alcott. The Reverend Hosea Ballou, who did not sign the petition, did visit his old friend in jail. When the jail doors opened, Kneeland relocated to Iowa to initiate a small utopian community that was to be known as Salubria (it was near what is now Farmington).



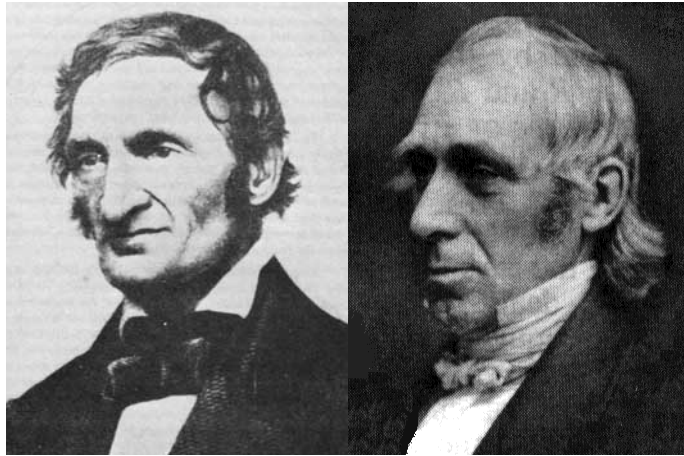
During his childhood in Alton, Illinois, [John Stetson Barry](#) had determined to prepare himself for the ministry. In this year he returned to Massachusetts to study under the Reverend Hosea Ballou in [Boston](#) (there was no Universalist College). After his ordination he would initially serve the Universalist congregation of West Amesbury MA (has become Merrimac), but would begin to serve instead Weymouth in 1839, West Scituate in 1841, [Pawtucket](#), [Rhode Island](#) in 1844, and finally Needham beginning in 1855.

PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

➡ September: [Dr. William Andrus Alcott](#)'s "Moral Education and Instruction," [Annals of Education VII](#): 392-8. This article refers to the necessity for "moral" or rather sex education of parents and children, as opposed to the policy of "concealment." [Bronson Alcott](#)'s CONVERSATIONS ON THE GOSPELS, apart from the religious opinions, are commended as attempts to cultivate the spiritual rather than the animal nature.

THE ALCOTT FAMILY



➡ September 6, Wednesday-September 16, Saturday: The Reverend Hersey B. Goodwin had died, Edward Jarvis had become a physician and left [Concord](#), and [Lemuel Shattuck](#) had also left town, moving to Cambridge and becoming a [Boston](#) public official. The attempt made by these three educators to put the educational principles of [Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi](#) into practice at the [Town School](#) was a thing of the past. The School Committee had fallen into the hands of the Reverend Barzillai Frost (chair), [Nehemiah Ball](#) (secretary), and Sherman Barrett, conservatives who seemed much more interested in their own local internecine political struggles than in the welfare of the students. Ball had a decided interest in the public school system of Concord because of his 7 children, 4 were at the time enrolled:

13	Caroline
11	Augusta
9	Angelina
8	Ephraim

(The 7th child, [Nehemiah Ball, Jr.](#) –the one who really could have benefitted from some disciplining– was at this point still in the Ball home, a rugrat.)

However, it is clear that this father and school board member didn't have a clue as to how best to represent his interest. Perhaps he had paid too much attention to the Reverend Ripley's sermon on the discipline of children. The cream of the college crop was being skimmed by the private [Concord Academy](#), leaving in the public system the children of the poor, the dullards, and the discipline problems. Money for the school was being raised by a town tax, supplemented by small donations and by some state aid. The budget this year would be \$2,132.55, of which the Centre District, the section of the system which occupied the brick building at the town center and three other more remotely located buildings, would receive \$1,119.59. The head of the prudential





PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

committee of the Centre District was the owner of the local grocery store, Charles B. Davis, and it would be he who would hire as the new teacher replacing Eliezer J. Marsh a recent local college graduate, [Henry Thoreau](#). Hiring a recent local graduate of [Harvard College](#) has been pretty much the tradition since 1700. Davis would agree to pay Thoreau \$500 a year, which, although it would render him by far the highest paid of the more than sixteen teachers employed in the system, was \$100 less than had been paid in the previous year to Marsh. After Thoreau resigned the school would close for three days and re-open under Thoreau's classmate [William Allen](#). Here is what happened as it would be reconstructed (or very likely, invented) by [Ellery Channing](#) in his THOREAU THE POET-NATURALIST effort of 1873:

Another school experience was the town school in Concord, which he took after leaving college, announcing that he should not flog, but would talk morals as punishment instead. A fortnight sped glibly along, when a knowing deacon, one of the school committee, [[Nehemiah Ball](#)] walked in and told Mr. Thoreau that he must flog and use the ferule, or the school would spoil. So he did, ferruling six of his pupils after school, one of whom was the maid-servant in his own house [13-year-old Eliza Jane Durant]. But it did not suit well with his conscience, and he reported to the committee that he should no longer keep their school, as they interfered with his arrangements; and they could keep it.

So this is the context in which Thoreau "Kept town school a fortnight."⁴² Upon having attained an enviable new status as College Graduate, in a society in which fewer than one in a thousand were college graduates as opposed to more than fifty in a thousand today, Thoreau had taken up a \$500/year teaching position at Concord's Central Grammar School. He was to supervise two male teachers making \$100/year and two female teachers making \$40/year as well as teach 100 boys in this public school of over 300 students a third of whom were absent on any given day. He was to be not merely teacher but chief teacher, that is, master of the school. Less than two weeks later he walked after his confrontation with Ball: when his teaching style of seeking out the enthusiasms of his students and building upon them was summarily disapproved by this trustee after a monitoring of Thoreau's class, and he was evidently instructed that he would be expected to beat his students for discipline, he deliberately misconstrued the order and caned a number of the students at random, including the Thoreau's own servant girl.⁴³ One can imagine him saying to himself "If there must be innocent victims of this system in which vicious grown-ups have all the power, at least they will know that they are innocent, and victims."⁴⁴

Jonathan Messerli has commented, in exactly the only and solitary reference to [Thoreau](#) in his biography of

42. It is to be noted that this schoolhouse was not equipped with any sort of cowhide whip. The only disciplinary device in the building would have been the schoolmaster's "ferule" or pointer.

43. Would this Ball family have been residing on a farm in the vicinity of Ball's Hill (Gleason D9)? Would [Nehemiah Ball](#) be the father or the grandfather of [Benjamin West Ball](#), whom [Waldo Emerson](#) evidently would take on as his neophyte after the "Pick-brained" Thoreau had been palmed off on his brother, Judge William Emerson, in Staten Island?

44. I wonder what was the relationship between [Thoreau](#)'s action here and [Bronson Alcott](#)'s theory of education, and how much this incident had to do with Alcott's later becoming a leader in the Concord public school system.

Horace Mann, Sr., that



At the very time when Mann was poring over pedagogical writings in Boston, twenty miles to the west in Concord, the young Henry Thoreau, fresh from Harvard, was finding that conditions in his classroom made it impossible to try out his educational ideas. After a two-week trial, he gave up. Believing that “cowhide was a non-conductor,” he refused to whip his charges even though parents expected him to lay it on. Meanwhile at the other end of the state in a country school outside Pittsfield, Herman Melville stuck it out for the winter season, then left, thoroughly disgusted. Clearly, the few able persons who did teach often left the schools, impelled like pawns by an educational version of Gresham’s Law in which the good were replaced by the bad.

Now, there are a number of things wrong here and the first of them is that this is the only consideration given to any Thoreau in a treatment which to be barely adequate should have made repeated mention of the interactions between the Thoreau and the Mann families. I will mention a couple more of the things that are wrong here, and then let it pass. There were no “parents” involved in the [Concord](#) episode, which entirely consisted of Thoreau and his young charges versus the authorities, who were older, virtually elderly, men. Thoreau did **not** cease trying out his educational ideas but merely moved into a private venue where he would not be prevented from implementing these ideas. Most importantly, and directly contrary to what Messerli asserts, [Thoreau](#) did **not** refuse to whip his charges. What he refused to do was pretend that such whipping amounted to “punishment” or “correction” rather than amounting to precisely what it was, a customary torture of the helpless by those in authority over them. When ordered by a member of the school committee to effect this pretense, he instead lined up a number of his pupils, pupils who were not only innocent but also were not even so much as being accused of any wrongdoing—including the maid who worked in his own home— and lashed them all equally and indiscriminately. That his students did not understand why he did this to them, even after they had grown up, even after they had had years to think about it, can be understood and forgiven of them. That the school board did not comprehend why it was that he conducted this little demonstration of the minuscule yet relevant difference between **torture** and **correction** can be attributed to the obtuseness of the members of the school board. That a historian is incapable of understanding something like this, I am overcome, I will be forced to allow to pass without comment.

In regard to the failure of the American dream of progress through progressive education and reform, Messerli offers that “so dazzling was the prospect, that Mann and his countless co-workers could not conceive of the possibility that those who would follow in their footsteps might actually build a suffocating and sometimes mind-numbing establishmentarian bureaucracy.” My response to this is that Messerli is here giving Mann far

PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

too much credit. He is here giving Mann credit for having implemented a situation which Mann merely helped to legitimate and perpetuate. Mann did not create conditions for the emergence of a new mind-numbing establishmentarian bureaucracy in public education, for that mind-numbing establishmentarian bureaucracy already existed long before our great Mann came along. What Horace Mann, Sr. did was merely provide this entrenched bureaucracy with a new lease on life by providing it with a new legitimating ideology of faith in the American dream and faith in progress through the reduction of ignorance. He was not an innovator but a running dog, not a creator but a pitchman. Why is something that is so obvious as this not obvious to our historians?

Are they victims of a Great Mann school of historicism?



"Chaos was the law of nature; Order was the dream of man."

— [Henry Adams](#),
[THE EDUCATION OF HENRY ADAMS](#)



[Later thoughts: One of the prime ways we can insolently sabotage inane instructions that we do not want to obey, is to carry them out quite literally, in a manner that demonstrates how inane we perceive them to be. For instance: if someone were told to clean up their room by emptying their trash can, and felt badly about the manner in which the instruction had been given, they might empty their trash can — onto the floor. That would be obeying the instruction as given, without achieving its intent. It's called sending a message.

That's what Henry did. When told that he was expected to enforce discipline by applying the cowhide, what he did was apply the cowhide precisely in a manner that would destroy, rather than produce, discipline. Instead of punishing discriminately, by punishing specific wrongdoers for specific faults, he punished indiscriminately, irregardless of fault, entirely at random. It's called sending a message.

One thing that causes me to wonder is, that schoolteachers in his era actually had two instruments of punishment, the hickory ferrule and the cowhide lash. There was not one but two levels of punishment. The hickory ferrule was used by the schoolmaster to beat the palm of a student who was not learning quickly enough, or was not paying attention, or was tardy, or did not stack his firearm by the door of the classroom — something slight. The cowhide was used to lash the legs of a student guilty of a more major infraction, such as sassing his teacher, fighting, being obstreperous, threatening the teacher with his gun or his knife, etc. In the story we hear about Thoreau, we find ourselves concerned only with the cowhide lash, with no mention being made of the hickory ferrule. I've always wondered why there is, in this story, no mention of the schoolmaster's ferrule, which he also used as a pointer. Might it be that Henry had no objection to the application of this ferrule, objecting only to the application of the whip? Or, is it possible, might it be that this story originated at a later point in time, after the people who were telling the story, and the people to whom this story was being told, had **quite forgotten** that way back in 1837 and 1838, when this incident was allegedly taking place, there had been two discrete instruments of corporal punishment in the public school classroom?

Incidentally, it appears that this is a story that **did** in fact originate at a later point in time. It is not a story which we first have record of, being first told as of 1837 or 1838, contemporaneous with the supposed actual event, but a story which we first have record of, being recounted at a later date. Such stories are always to some degree suspect.]⁴⁵

45. We may well note that it would not be until 1841 that [Thoreau](#) would consult THE LAWS OF MENU and there discover that it was allowed that "a wife, a son, a slave, a pupil, ... who have committed faults, may be beaten with ropes or split bamboo, but on the back part of the body only, never on noble parts." We may well note also that in his selections from that ancient treatise, he would refrain from excerpting any such materials.

PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

September 14, Thursday: At the direction of [Nehemiah Ball](#), the secretary of the [Concord Town School](#)'s committee, preceptor [Henry Thoreau](#) began to ferule the children.





He did not respond by ferruling any of the four Ball children present in this school system:

13	Caroline
11	Augusta
9	Angelina
8	Ephraim

but six of his pupils “got it” after school, one of whom, 13-year-old Eliza Jane Durant, was a maidservant in his own house. He deliberately attacked these youths without making the usual pretense that this sort of teacherly abuse was any specific punishment for any specific misdeed. One can imagine him saying to himself “If there must be innocent victims of this system in which vicious grown-ups have all the power, at least the young victims will know they are victims.” The school board failed to comprehend why their teacher had offered this demonstration of the minuscule yet relevant difference between **torture** and **correction** — but cannot such noncomprehension be fully explained in terms of the thickness of the board?

PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

September 16, Saturday: This was preceptor [Henry Thoreau](#)'s last day as a public [Town School](#) teacher for the town of [Concord](#), as he had resigned rather than submit to further interference from its governing committee. The classroom of his dreams was more like the school in which he had himself been a pupil, in this very structure in the years 1824  - 1828 , under kindly preceptor Edward Jarvis, and, if he could not restore and recreate **that** classroom, he wanted no part of **this** exercise.

(Many years later a story would be related about the Concord school incident which had precipitated this resignation, by [Ellery Channing](#). This slipshod poet, whatever his credibility otherwise, definitely had no personal knowledge of such an incident since at this point in his life he was as yet a [Harvard](#) dropout hanging around in the [Boston](#) residence of his physician father [Dr. Walter Channing](#). Was this belated tale based on direct testimony to Ellery by Henry himself, or perhaps by one or more of the young scholars who were present, or perhaps by one or more of the three members of the school board — or did the tale amount to mere idle passing-along of idle small-town gossip? Ellery's information must have been confined to what he had been later told but of course he provides no information as to his source — and no other Concord person ever recorded a version of this tale.)

September 21, Thursday: In [Concord](#), at the [Town School](#), [William Allen](#) took over the classroom vacated by [Henry Thoreau](#). Not all the students immediately returned.

Albert Hazlett was born in Pennsylvania. This man would not be one of those to take part in the fight at Harpers Ferry but nevertheless would be belatedly hanged, along with John E. Cook who had escaped from that fight by climbing a tree and who later identified him to the prosecutors. Before the raid he had been working on his brother's farm in western Pennsylvania, and had joined the others at Kennedy Farm in the early part of September 1859. He would be arrested on October 22, 1859 in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, near Chambersburg, where he was using the name "William Harrison," would be extradited to Virginia, would be tried and sentenced at the spring term of the Court, and on March 16, 1860 would be hanged for his complicity with the raiders.



Fall: The [Town School](#) building of [Concord](#) became the venue for the Sunday worship services of the local Methodist and the local Universalist religious organizations, the general penmanship lessons which took place on Monday evenings, the Concord Lyceum meetings which took place on Wednesday nights, plus the local temperance society, the Centre School District Prudential Committee, etc.

1838

March 6, Tuesday: [Waldo Emerson](#) to his journal:

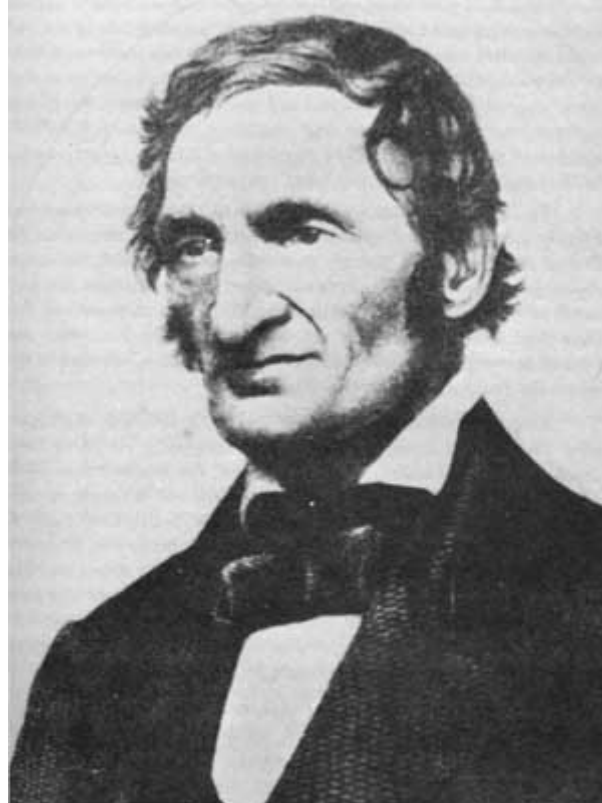
Montaigne is spiced throughout with rebellion as much as Alcott or my young Henry T.

Preparing its annual report, the [Concord](#) School Committee included a comment about their experience with as-rebellious-as-Montaigne teacher [Henry Thoreau](#): “None of Concord’s schools this year has fallen below mediocrity. We would however mention an interruption, in the fall term of the Centre Grammar School, and the winter term of District number 4, which was occasioned by a change in masters and produced the usual evil attendant on that event.”

April 14, Saturday: The [Yeoman’s Gazette](#) included the ANNUAL REPORT OF THE SCHOOL COMMITTEE FOR THE YEAR ENDING 6 MARCH 1838, which carried their comment about their experience with teacher [Henry Thoreau](#): “None of [Concord](#)’s schools this year has fallen below mediocrity. We would however mention an interruption, in the fall term of the Centre Grammar School, and the winter term of District number 4, which was occasioned by a change in masters and produced the usual evil attendant on that event.”

1839

[Dr. William Andrus Alcott](#)'s CONFESSIONS OF A SCHOOL MASTER. Andover, NY: Gould, Newman and Saxton, 316 pages (Illustrative of William's early career as a teacher, and of general conditions as well.)



1850

A new Concord Town House, used later as an insurance office and now the office property at 30 Monument Square, was built on the former [John Shepard Keyes](#) property but closer to Monument Street in [Concord](#). For a time during the 1850s the school for older students, later to be referred to as the “High School,” would be located in this new Town House, but transportation would not be offered and these older students would need to find their own way into the population center from wherever inside the limits of Concord their family happened to be residing.

The outlying schoolhouses that Concord had constructed in 1799 (Schoolhouse #2 for the East Quarter at Merriam’s Corner, Schoolhouse #3 for the South Quarter, Schoolhouse #4 for the West Quarter at Factory Village, Schoolhouse #5 at Barrett’s Mill, Schoolhouse #6 at Bateman’s Pond, and Schoolhouse #7 for the North Quarter on Monument Street) were repaired and improved. If needed, the buildings were moved back from the roads. Each building had its own local advisory committee, and sent a representative to the town’s School Committee. The major portion of the school budget was of course being consumed by the Center District, #1, which occupied multiple schoolbuildings. Here is one of these former District Schools, in its original location at the edge of Sleepy Hollow Cemetery (a structure now being utilized by the workers at the cemetery):



1851

Nathan Henry Barrett, son of a [Concord](#) farmer, Francis Charles Browne, son of a [Concord](#) merchant, and William Watson Goodwin, son of a [Concord](#) minister, graduated from [Harvard College](#). Goodwin would become a professor of Greek.⁴⁶

NEW “HARVARD MEN”

The town of [Concord](#) constructed its present town offices on the square alongside the courthouse (the new building was done in brick in the Italianate style). In 1849, a fire had destroyed the Middlesex County Courthouse on the lot just to the northwest of the present Town House site (22 Monument Square). When that County Courthouse had been rebuilt, the town of Concord found to its surprise that although since 1721 they had been being allowed to hold their annual Town Meeting in the County building’s large courtroom, that tradition was not considered by the County to extend to its new structure. Funds for a larger Concord Town House, one that could house the annual Town Meeting, were therefore allocated in 1850, and the town purchased from John Shepard Keyes for \$1,200 the property on which his law office stood. The older, smaller Concord Town House had been disposed of by auction as superfluous, the high bidder being Keyes (he relocated the structure to what is now 15 Monument Street). John M. Cheney chaired a building committee that retained Boston architect Richard Bond. The plans called for a downstairs devoted to a schoolroom for the high school and another for the intermediate school and for an upstairs floor for town offices, a safe for town records, and a room for Concord’s 1st public library (known as the Town Library). This structure would cost \$30,000. The town school preparing local students for college was therefore relocated in this year from the [Town School](#) building across the square.

COURTHOUSE



TOWN HOUSE



46. LL.D. 1891; Ph. D. Göttingen 1855; Ph.D. (Hon.) Göttingen 1905; LL.D. Amherst 1881, Cambr. 1883, Columbia 1887, Edinb. 1890, Univ. Chicago 1901, Yale 1901; D.C.L. Oxford 1890; Eliot Prof. Greek Literature 1860-1901; Eliot Prof., Emeritus 1901-1912; Overseer 1903-1909; Director Am.S. Class. Studies at Athens 1882-1883; Pres. Am. Acad.; Memb. Am. Philos. Soc., Mass. Hist. Soc.; Hon. Memb. Acad. Sci. (Athens); Kt. Ord. Redeemer (Greece).



PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

The Town Library upstairs at the Concord Town House would prove so popular that in 1860 its space would be expanded into part of the intermediate school room downstairs, with the high school room divided for the use of both classes. The high school would be moved to its own building in the early 1860s, whereupon the downstairs would be used for the armory and a dance hall that could be hired by private parties. In 1879/1880 the Town House would be expanded by adding to its rear. This new space would provide rooms subsidiary to the large open hall upstairs, such “water and other closets” so that for the 1st time the visitors and employees and officials would not need to go to a privy outside, plus a room described as being for the use of “females on social occasions.” In 1888 the armory would be moved into its own building on Walden Street, and the Town House would come to house the Police Department, the water, sewer, and electric light offices, and offices for the Town Clerk and Assessors.



PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

As [Henry Thoreau](#) would report, in “Reading”:

[following screen]



PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

WALDEN: We boast that we belong to the nineteenth century and are making the most rapid strides of any nation. But consider how little this village does for its own culture. I do not wish to flatter my townsmen, nor to be flattered by them, for that will not advance either of us. We need to be provoked, - goaded like oxen, as we are, into a trot. We have a comparatively decent system of common schools, schools for infants only; but excepting the half-starved Lyceum in the winter, and latterly the puny beginning of a library suggested by the state, no school for ourselves. We spend more on almost any article of bodily aliment or ailment than on our mental aliment. It is time that we had uncommon schools, that we did not leave off our education when we begin to be men and women. It is time that villages were universities, and their elder inhabitants the fellows of universities, with leisure - if they are indeed so well off-to pursue liberal studies the rest of their lives. Shall the world be confined to one Paris or one Oxford forever? Cannot students be boarded here and get a liberal education under the skies of Concord? Can we not hire some Abélard to lecture to us? Alas! what with foddering the cattle and tending the store, we are kept from school too long, and our education is sadly neglected. In this country, the village should in some respects take the place of the nobleman of Europe. It should be the patron of the fine arts. It is rich enough. It wants only the magnanimity and refinement. It can spend money enough on such things as farmers and traders value, but it is thought Utopian to propose spending money for things which more intelligent men know to be of far more worth. This town has spent seventeen thousand dollars on a town-house, thank fortune or politics, but probably it will not spend so much on living wit, the true meat to put into that shell, in a hundred years. The one hundred and twenty-five dollars annually subscribed for a Lyceum in the winter is better spent than any other equal sum raised in the town. If we live in the nineteenth century, why should we not enjoy the advantages which the nineteenth century offers? Why should our life be in any respect provincial? If we will read newspapers, why not skip the gossip of Boston and take the best newspaper in the world at once? -not be sucking the pap of "neutral family" papers, or browsing "Olive-Branches" here in New England. Let the reports of all the learned societies come to us, and we will see if they know any thing. Why should we leave it to Harper & Brothers and Redding & Co. to select our reading? As the nobleman of cultivated taste surrounds himself with whatever conduces to his culture, -genius -learning -wit -books -paintings -statuary -music -philosophical instruments, and the like; so let the village do, -not stop short at a pedagogue, a parson, a sexton, a parish library, and three selectmen, because our pilgrim forefathers got through a cold winter once on a bleak rock with these. To act collectively is according to the spirit of our institutions; and I am confident that, as our circumstances are more flourishing, our means are greater than the nobleman's. New England can hire all the wise men in the world to come and teach her, and board them round the while, and not be provincial at all. That is the uncommon school we want. Instead of noblemen, let us have noble villages of men. If it is necessary, omit one bridge over the river, go round a little there, and throw one arch at least over the darker gulf of ignorance which surrounds us.

PEOPLE OF
WALDEN

PETER ABÉLARD

1852

Massachusetts adopted a compulsory school-attendance law, the 1st effective example of such a law in our nation.

Since its older pupils were attending school in the new Concord Town House, [Concord](#) was able to redesignate its older brick [Town School](#) building as storage for an engine of its Fire Department (this would continue until 1882).



1855

December 27, Thursday: English actress Laura Keene reopened New-York's Metropolitan Theatre as "Laura Keene's Varieties."

George Frederick Byron (later the 9th Baron Byron), son of Frederick and Mary Jane Byron and grandson of [the 7th Lord Byron](#), was born.

[Henry Thoreau](#) noted in his journal that he had kept [Town School](#) a fortnight in [Concord](#) in 1837.



Dec 27th 8

Recalled this evening—with the aid of Mother the various houses (& towns) in which I have lived—& some other events of my life.
 Uncle David d. when I was Born July 12th 1817 in the 6 weeks old—I was
 baptized in old M. H. by Dr Ripley when I was 3 months & did not cry



PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

Minott House, on the Virginia Road
Where Father occupied Grandmother's carrying on the farm Si
Merriam next
neighbor 3ds—^The Catherines the other half
Bob. Catherines & John threw up the Turkies
of the house— Lived there about Si Merriam the neighbor 81 months.

We the W side
The Red House, Where Grandmother Lived—^till
Sep or Oct. (?) 1818—hiring of Josiah Davis There were cousin
Charles
agent for Woodards— & (uncle C more or less)
Ac. to *Day Book Father hired of Proctor Oct 16th 1818—& shop of
Spaulding Nov 10th 1818
Chelmsford till March 1821 Last change in Chelmsford
about mid of March '21
Aunt Sarah taught me to walk there when 14

months old.— Lived next the M. H. where they kept the
powder in the garret. Father kept shop—& painted—signs &c
5 or
Popes House at South End in Boston^6 (?) months
Moved from Chelmsford through Concord
a 10 footer & may have tarried in Concord a little while.
Day book says “Moved to Pinkney Street Sep 10th 1821 on Monday”.
Whitwell's House Pinkney St. Boston to Mar. 1823 (?)
Brick House—Concord—to spring of 1826
Davis House—(next to S. Hoars) to May 7th '27

*Day-book 1st used by Grandfather dated 1797. His part cut out & used
by Father in Concord in 1808-9126. & in Chelmsford 1818-19-20-21

236
Shattuck House (now Wm Monroe's) to Spring Hollis Hall Cam.
of 35—(Hollis. Cambridge. '33)
Aunts House to Spring of '37—at Brownson's
Hollis Hall &
Canton. While teaching in winter of 35— Went
to N. York with Father peddling in '36
Parkman House to fall of '44. Was Gradu-
Hollis-Cambridge
ated in '37. Kept Town School
a fortnight in '37 (?)— Began the
Big Red Journal Oct '37— Found
first arrowheads Fall 127 of '37—. Wrote a Lecture
(my first) on Society, May 14th 38 & read
it before the Lyceum in the Mason's Hall—
Ap. 11th '38— Went to Maine for a
May 17
school in Spring of 38 Commenced school in the house in summer of
'38. Wrote an essay on Sound & Silence
Dec '38.— Fall of '39 up Merrimack to
White Mts.— Aulus Persius Flaccus
first printed paper of 128 consequence, Feb 10th
546
1840— The Red Journal of 396 ps
ended June 1840— Journal of 396 ps
R.W.E.'s ended Jan 31st 41 Went to R.W.E's



PUBLIC EDUCATION

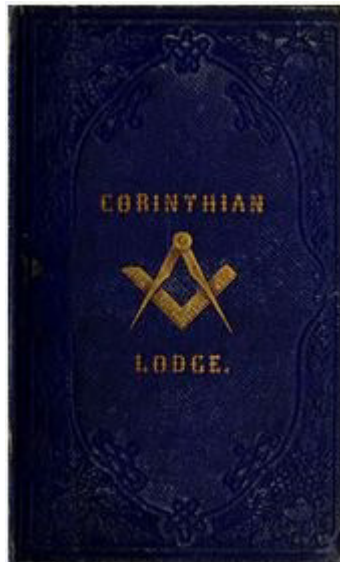
PUBLIC EDUCATION

in Spring of 41 & stayed there to summer of '43
Wm Emersons Went to Staten Island June '43—& returned
Staten Island %or to Thanksgiving%
in Dec%^%'43— Made pencils in '44—
Texas House to Aug 29th '50. At Walden
Walden July 45 to fall of '47—then at R.W.E's to fall
R.W.E's of 48 or while he was in Europe.
Yellow-House reformed till present”

THOREAU RESIDENCES

1859

BY-LAWS OF CORINTHIAN LODGE, OF ANCIENT, FREE AND ACCEPTED MASONS, OF CONCORD, MASS., WITH CHARTER GRANTED JUNE 16, 1797; CATALOGUES OF THE OFFICERS, MEMBERS AND INITIATES OF THE LODGE, FROM ITS ORGANIZATION TO 1859; A SYNOPSIS OF THE WORK OF TWENTY-TWO PAST MASTERS; A LIST OF THE MEMBERS IN 1858; BIOGRAPHIES OF ALL THE PAST MASTERS; AND A HISTORY OF THE LODGE, INCLUDING BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES, AND A RECORD OF THE DEATHS OF ITS MEMBERS AND INITIATES FROM 1797 TO 1859. TO WHICH IS ADDED AN HISTORICAL SKETCH OF MASONRY, BY [LOUIS A. SURETTE](#), MASTER OF CORINTHIAN LODGE FROM OCTOBER, 1851, TO OCTOBER, 1858 was printed up by Benjamin Tolman in [Concord](#).





PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

A copy of this would be in the personal library of [Henry Thoreau](#), very possibly because it contained valuable factual material about the lives a considerable number of [Concord](#) citizens:

Isaac Hurd,
Thomas Heald,
Reuben Bryant,
Francis Jarvis,
William Mercer, Jr.,
John Leighton Tuttle,
Samuel Dakin, Jr.,
John Brown,
Daniel Smith,
Benjamin Ball,
Eli Brown,
John Keyes,
William Whiting,
Ebenezer Wood,
Lemuel Shattuck,
John Nelson,
William Shepherd,
Ephraim H. Bellows,
Joseph Oberlin Skinner,
Micajah Rice,
James Weir,
Louis A. Surette,
George P. How,
Abel Barrett,
Abraham Skinner,
Winthrop Faulkner,
Thomas Oliver Selfridge,
Grosvenor Tarbell,
David Barnard,
Joshua Brooks,
Isaac Hurd, Jr.,
Gershom Fay,
James Fletcher,
Nathan Heald,
Reuben Brown,
John Richardson,
Rufus Hoemer,
Roger Brown,
Simon Hosmer,
Ezra Ripley,
Samuel Ripley,
Abel Moore,
Obediah Kendall,
Hartwell Bigelow,
Calvin Carver Damon,
Thomas Todd,
John Locke,
Hezekiah Cheney,
Samuel P. P. Fay,
Nathan M. Wright,
Thomas Drury Wesson,

1860

CONCORD SCHOOL REPORTS, 1860-1866. REPORTS of the School Committee and the Superintendent of the Schools of the Town of [Concord](#), Massachusetts, for the Year 1859-60, Concord, Benjamin Tolman, 45 pages



PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

1861

Massachusetts Board of Education, TWENTY-FOURTH ANNUAL REPORT, together with the TWENTY-FOURTH ANNUAL REPORT of the Secretary of the Board, Boston, William White. (The General Statutes of Massachusetts regarding public education are included in this report, with explanations by the Secretary of the Board.)

REPORTS OF THE SELECTMEN AND OTHER OFFICERS OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD, FROM MARCH 5, 1860, TO MARCH 4, 1861. INCLUDING THE MARRIAGES, BIRTHS AND DEATHS IN TOWN IN 1860. ALSO, THE REPORT OF THE SCHOOL COMMITTEE FOR THE YEAR ENDING APRIL 1, 1861. Bound with REPORTS OF THE SCHOOL COMMITTEE AND THE SUPERINTENDENT OF THE SCHOOLS, OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD, MASS., WITH A NOTICE OF AN EXHIBITION OF THE SCHOOLS, IN THE TOWN HALL, ON SATURDAY, MARCH 16, 1861. Concord: Printed by Benjamin Tolman, 78 pages. One thousand copies were printed for distribution and one of these copies wound up of course in the personal library of [H.D. Thoreau](#), who was listed in the town's expenses as having been paid \$1.00 before the onset of his illness for "surveying on turnpike."

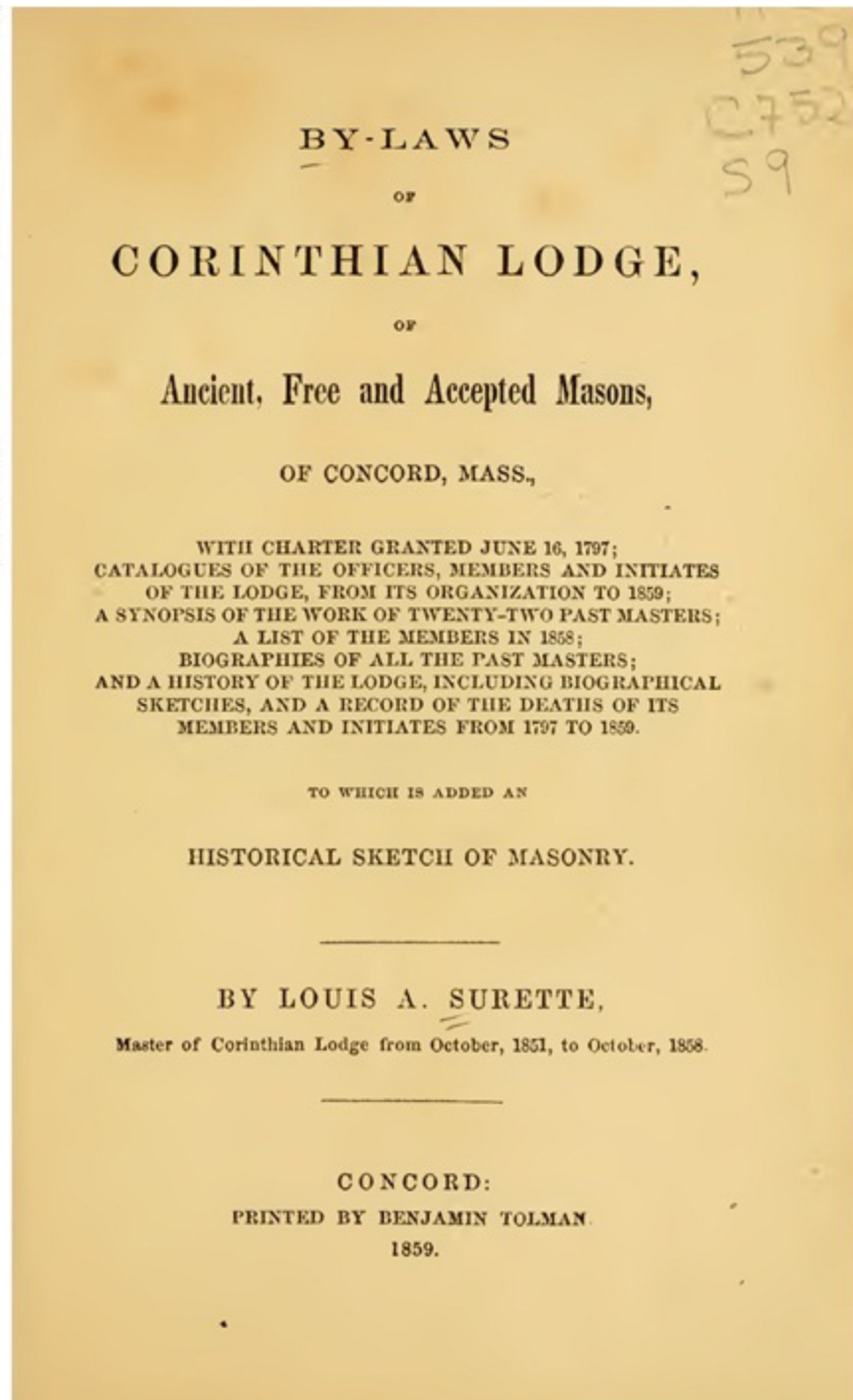
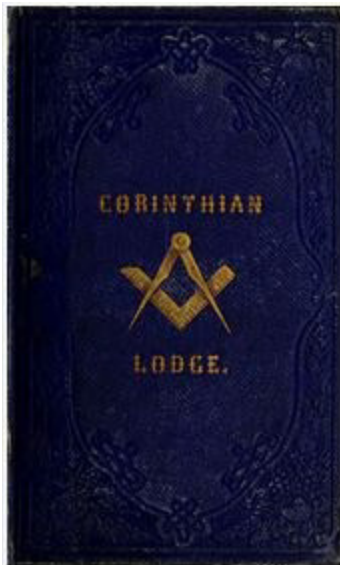
SCHOOL REPORT 1860-61

(We note with interest that the electronic copy hiding behind the above hypertext button turns out to have been



PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION



PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

donated from the library of sometimes-Thoreau-scholar “Dr.” Samuel Arthur Jones,⁴⁷ and that the postage the town of [Concord](#) had needed to mail this book to him at an Ann Arbor, Michigan address had been four newly issued serrated-edge penny stamps featuring [Benjamin Franklin](#) in a greenish ink.⁴⁸)



Superintendent of Schools A. Bronson Alcott’s report instanced that Mr. Emerson had given the school a conversation on persons and books, Mr. Pratt had read a paper on Flowers and Flower Culture, and Mr. Sanborn had read a paper on the History of Numbers, but that Mr. Bull’s engagements had prevented him from delivering his “partly promised” account of the discovery and culture of the Concord grape (since he had lost his entire crop due to an early frost, he may have been disheartened), and that due to health issues [Mr. Thoreau](#) had unfortunately proved unable to deliver a promised discourse upon his favorite theme of Nature as the friend and preceptor of man (a topic on which everyone hoped he was still writing).

Thirty-two persons were reported to have gotten married in Concord during the previous year, 22 of them Concord inhabitants “and 10 from other places,” and this official report took explicit note of the fact that although one of the bridegrooms had been getting married for the 2d time, and another for the 3d time, “Of the females, all were first marriages.” (Count their legs and divide by two, sixteen lovely brides!)

Forty-three births were reported to have occurred in Concord during 1860, and this official report noted that less than a third of those infants were Irish whereas in 1859, fully half had been Irish — and therefore “America will have cause to be hopeful.” (Hopeful that Irish immigrants might not actually be able to swamp America with their relentless fecundity?)

The following persons were officially reported to have succumbed in Concord during 1860:

- George Atcheson, who had lived 1 year, 1 month, 8 days.
- Nehemiah Ball, who had lived 69 years, 2 months, 11 days.
- Martha Tilden Bartlett, who died at the age of 61 years.
- Ruth J. Clark, who died at the age of 75 years.
- Julia Collins, who died at the age of 1 year, 9 months, 16 days.
- Mary Collins, who died at the age of 8 months, 16 days.
- Ephraim Dakin, who had lived 86 years, 1 month, 24 days.
- Mary B. Dakin, who died at the age of 55 years.

47. We note that in this very year “Dr.” Jones, having been awarded a diploma by the Missouri Homoeopathic Medical College in St. Louis, Missouri—although this was an institution of medical education and training at which in fact he had never studied— was attempting to utilize that new document, piling piece of paper atop piece of paper, to build credentials for himself as a physician. (Heaven protect his patients!)

48. Originally so honored had been 1st President George Washington, in black with straight edges at X cents, and 1st Postmaster Franklin, worth precisely one-half X cents, as of 1847.





PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

- James W. Dean, who died at the age of 2 months, 6 days.
- Margaret Fahan, who died at the age of 32 years.
- Roxanna Flint, who died at the age of 55 years.
- John Garrison, who died at the age of 91 years.
- Mary Gleason, who died at the age of 9 months, 6 days.
- Annie W. Goodnow, who died at the age of 4 years.
- John M. Goodwin, who died at the age of 58 years.
- Charles Gordon, who had lived 76 years, 9 months.
- Milly Holden, who died at the age of 86 years.
- Tilly Holden, who died at the age of 76 years.
- Rufus Hosmer, who died at the age of 51 years.
- Sarah L. Hutchinson, who died at the age of 18 years.
- Edward Lamson Kent, who died at the age of 3 months.
- David Murphy, who died at the age of 3 months, 8 days.
- Catherine Murray, who died at the age of 2 years, 3 months.
- Mary Newcomb, who had lived 81 years, 2 months.
- Thomas Nolan, who died at the age of 1 day.
- Jane T. Prichard, who had lived 69 years, 8 months, 27 days.
- Lucia Simmons, who had lived 5 years, 5 months, 24 days.
- Edward Hurd Skinner, who died at the age of 10 months, 2 days.
- Martha W. Smith, who died at the age of 32 years.
- Elizabeth A. Starkey, who had lived 35 years, 2 months, 1 day, with her unnamed day-old infant.
- Evangeline Surette, who died at the age of 3 months, 13 days.
- An unnamed infant, Waldron, who died at the age of 4 days.
- Isaac Watts, who died at the age of 61 years.
- Susan P. Weston, who had lived 27 years, 7 months.
- Frank Wetherbee, who died at the age of 2 months.
- Charles Wheeler, who had lived 49 years, 4 months, 15 days.

In addition the record for 1859 was expanded to include a missed report:

- Theodore Parker Pratt, who had lived 16 years, 8 months, 18 days.

The average length of life was thus computable at thirty-three and three quarters years. Most of the deaths had been due to Cholera Infantum or other infant ailments, to Apoplexy, and to Consumption (TB), and there had been but one suicide in the town.

1862

The [Concord](#) town clerk would record for this year that “[Henry D. Thoreau](#), 44 years, 9 months, 24 days. Natural Historian.”

REPORTS of the School Committee and the Superintendent of the Schools of the Town of Concord, Mass., 1861-62, [Concord](#), Benjamin Tolman, 48 pages.



PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

1863

REPORTS of the School Committee and the Superintendent of the Schools of the Town of Concord, Massachusetts, 1862-63, [Concord](#), Benjamin Tolman, 19 pages.

1864

ANNUAL REPORT of the School Committee of the Town of Concord, Mass., 1863-64, [Concord](#), Benjamin Tolman, 24 pages. Bronson Alcott's report was incorporated with that of the Committee.

1865

REPORTS of the School Committee and the Superintendent of the Schools of the Town of [Concord](#), Mass., 1864-65, Benjamin Tolman, 16 pages.

1866

ANNUAL REPORT of the School Committee of the Town of [Concord](#), 1865-66, Benjamin Tolman, 15 pages. (This report contains an explanation of Bronson Alcott's failure to be reelected.)

Bronson Alcott's "Schoolhouse and School of My Youth" appeared in Barnard's American Journal of Education, XVI (1866), 130-137.

1867

New Jersey made itself the 1st US state to forbid [corporal punishment](#) in its schools, public or private.



PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

1870

Membership in the [Concord](#) School Committee was opened up to women when at the annual town meeting on March 28th [Ellen Emerson](#) was elected to that body for a 3-year term.

FEMINISM

The farmer Ebenezer Hubbard died, and in his will \$1,000 had been bequeathed to the town of [Concord](#) to “build a monument ... on the spot where the Americans fell, on the opposite side of the river from the present Monument.”⁴⁹

BATTLE MONUMENT

Stedman Buttrick, grandson of Major John Buttrick, would donate the land on the west bank of the [Concord River](#) on which to site this monument, albeit with the stipulation that no access to the location would cross his properties.

OLD NORTH BRIDGE

49. Ebenezer Hubbard had inherited land on which the British troops had been active on April 19th, 1774 and took great interest in that event. He therefore had, for many years, hoisted the Stars and Stripes on his own flagstaff on each April 19th and each July 4th. It had been a matter of concern to him that the monument erected by the town in 1836 had been positioned improperly, on ground which the army had controlled during the [Concord](#) Fight rather than on ground which the militia had controlled; and the will provided \$1,000 to erect another monument that would be more properly situated plus \$600 for construction of a footbridge where the Battle Bridge had been. The late Mr. Stedman Buttrick having made available the necessary piece of land on the other side of the river, the town built the bridge and employed [Daniel Chester French](#) to prepare a statue to be erected on the proper spot. Meanwhile the US Congress had made available 10 obsolete bronze cannon to furnish raw material for the statue.



1873

Ellery Channing's THOREAU: THE POET-NATURALIST / WITH MEMORIAL VERSES (Boston: Roberts Brothers) characterized Thoreau as having "the deepest-set blue eyes that could be seen, in certain lights, and in others grey."

READ CHANNING'S TEXT

In regard to those grey-blue eyes, we can inspect a recent colorized image of Thoreau prepared by Ron Koster:

<http://www.psymon.com/art/#new>

(Real-World Information: There is no blue pigment in any human eyes. The eyes we describe as "blue," such as my own eyes, are merely reflecting the blue of the sky. Any and all human eyes, even the darkest jet ones, can be said in certain lights to have a tint of blue in them. However, a hard and fast rule would be that any eyes which can in any lights be seen as grey ones are in fact grey ones, and are not blue ones.) (More Real-World Information: When we want to be able to respect someone's life and ideas, one of the standard tricks we pull is to pretend that this person had been a Nordic hero. This ain't nice, but it is us.) The edition sold out.⁵⁰

- Page 2: Henry retained a peculiar pronunciation of the letter *r*, with a decided French accent. He says, "September is the first month with a *burr* in it;" and his speech always had an emphasis, a *burr* in it.
- Page 3: Once when a follower was done up with a headache and incapable of motion, hoping his associate would comfort him and perhaps afford him a sip of tea, he said, "There are people who are sick in that way every morning, and go about their affairs," and then marched off about his.
- Page 11: He also had the firmness of the Indian, and could repress his pathos; as when he carried (about the age of ten) his pet chickens to an innkeeper for sale in a basket, who thereupon told him "to stop," and for convenience' sake took them out one by one and wrung their several pretty necks before the poor boy's eyes, who did not budge. He had such a seriousness at the same age that he was called "judge."
- Page 11: A pleasing trait of his warm feeling is remembered, when he asked his mother, before leaving college, what profession to choose, and she replied pleasantly, "You can buckle on your knapsack, and roam abroad to seek your fortune." The tears came in his eyes and rolled down his cheeks, when his sister Helen, who was standing by, tenderly put her arm around him and kissed him, saying, "No, Henry, you shall not go: you shall stay at home and live with us."
- Page 12: Being complained of for taking a knife belonging to another boy, Henry said, "I did not take it," — and was believed. In a few days the culprit was found, and Henry then said, "I knew all the time who it was, and the day it was taken I went to Newton with father." "Well, then," of course, was the question, "why did you not say so at the time?" "I did not take it," was his reply.
- Page 12: A school-fellow complained of him because he would not make him a bow and arrow, his skill at whittling being superior. It seems he refused, but it came out after that he had no knife.
- Pages 12-13: An early anecdote remains of his being told at three years that he must die, as well as the men in the catechism. He said he did not want to die, but was reconciled; yet, coming in from

50. When Sophia Elizabeth Thoreau would have a chance to inspect this effort, the experience would be painful, presumably because of its inaccuracies and animadversions, it having more of Ellery in it than of Henry.



coasting, he said he “did not want to die and go to heaven, because he could not carry his sled with him; for the boys said, as it was not shod with iron, it was not worth a cent.”

- Page 24: Another school experience was the town school in Concord, which he took after leaving college, announcing that he should not flog, but would talk morals as a punishment instead. A fortnight sped glibly along, when a knowing deacon, one of the School Committee, walked in and told Mr. Thoreau that he must flog and use the ferule, or the school would spoil. So he did, by feruling six of his pupils after school, one of whom was the maid-servant in his own house. But it did not suit well with his conscience, and he reported to the committee that he should no longer keep their school, as they interfered with his arrangements; and they could keep it.
- Page 25: In height, he was about the average; in his build, spare, with limbs that were rather longer than usual, or of which he made a longer use. His face, once seen, could not be forgotten. The features were quite marked: the nose aquiline or very Roman, like one of the portraits of Caesar (more like a beak, as was said); large, overhanging brows above the deepest set blue eyes that could be seen, in certain lights, and in others gray — eyes expressive of all shades of feeling, but never weak or near-sighted; the forehead not unusually broad or high, full of concentrated energy and purpose; the mouth with prominent lips, pursed up with meaning and thought when silent, and giving out when open a stream of the most varied and unusual and instructive sayings. His hair was a dark brown, exceedingly abundant, fine and soft; and for several years he wore a comely beard. His whole figure had an active earnestness, as if he had no moment to waste. The clenched hand betokened purpose. In walking, he made a short cut if he could, and when sitting in the shade or by the wall-side seemed merely the clearer to look forward into the next piece of activity. Even in the boat he had a wary, transitory air, his eyes on the outlook — perhaps there might be ducks, or the Blondin turtle, or an otter, or sparrow.
- Pages 26-27: Once walking in old Dunstable, he much desired the town history by C.J. Fox; and, knocking as usual at the best house, went in and asked a young lady who made her appearance whether she had the book in question: she had — it was produced. After consulting it somewhat, Thoreau in his sincere way inquired very modestly whether she “would not sell it to him.” I think the plan surprised her, and have heard that she smiled; but he produced his wallet, gave her the pistareen, and went his way rejoicing with the book.
- Pages 249-50: If he needed a box on his walk, he would strip a piece of birch-bark off the tree, fold it when cut straightly together, and put his tender lichen or brittle creature therein. In those irritable thunderclaps which come, he says, “with tender, graceful violence,” he sometimes erected a transitory house by means of his pocketknife, rapidly paring away the white-pine and oak, taking the lower limbs of a large tree and pitching on the cut brush for a roof. Here he sat, pleased with the minute drops from off the eaves, not questioning the love of electricity for trees. If out on the river, haul up your boat, turn it upside-down, and yourself under it. Once he was thus doubled up, when Jove let drop a pattern thunderbolt in the river in front of his boat, while he whistled a lively air as accompaniment. This is noted, as he was much distressed by storms when young, and used to go whining to his father’s room, and say, “I don’t feel well,” and then take shelter in the paternal arms, when his health improved.
- Page 258: When Thoreau laughed, like Shelley, the operation was sufficient to split a pitcher.
- Page 263: As an honorary member, Thoreau appertained to the Boston Society of Natural History, adding to its reports, besides comparing notes with the care-takers or curators of the *mise en scène*. To this body he left his collections of plants, Indian tools, and the like. His latest traffic with it refers to the number of bars or fins upon a pike, which had more or less than was decent. He sat upon his eggs with theirs. His city visit was to their books, and there he made his call, not upon the swift ladies of Spruce Street, and more than once he entered by the window before the janitor had digested his omelet.




PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

- Page 311: When asked whether he knew a young miss, celebrated for her beauty, he inquired, “Is she the one with the goggles?”
- Page 311: As long [*sic*] he could possibly sit up, he insisted on his chair at the family-table, and said, “It would not be social to take my meals alone.” And on hearing an organ in the streets, playing some old tune of his childhood he should never hear again, the tears fell from his eyes, and he said, “Give him some money! give him some money!”

TIMELINE OF JOURNAL

Summer: On Penikese,⁵¹ the farthest of the Elizabeth Islands below Cape Cod, an island donated by the wealthy New York tobacconist John Anderson,⁵² Professor [Louis Agassiz](#), just back from a journey to California sailing around Cape Horn, offered an “Anderson School of Natural History.” His lecture room was a large barn that had been cleaned out for the occasion. There were some fifty students. A schooner yacht, the *Sprite*, donated to the school by a Mr. Galloupe of Boston, was used in dredging for specimens to examine in this barn:

51. The farthest offshore, Penikese, is about half a square mile. The first recorded landing by Europeans was in May 1602, by Bartholomew Gosnold, at which time the island was wooded. The only trees left after the island’s clearing for pasture are a few patches of scrub oak. Most of this island had become grassland sprinkled with glacial rock when in 1867 Anderson bought the place evidently because he had more money than he knew what to do with. Around the turn of the 20th Century, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts took title with a plan to use the island as an isolation unit for smallpox patients, to replace that smallpox isolation hospital on Pine Island in Boston Harbor that had been destroyed by fire in 1872.  Then in 1905 the island became an isolation colony for the approximately 20 persons in Massachusetts who were victims of leprosy. For one reason or another only five of these 20 ever came to Penikese. The patients were initially looked after by Dr. Louis Edmonds of Barnstable, and beginning in 1907 by Dr. Frank Parker and Mrs. Parker. One of the more notable patients was 16 years of age, Archie Thomas and his mother insisted on coming with him, this creating a sensation. Archie set up a wireless and was able to communicate with people off the island. In 1912 the home of Dr. and Mrs. Parker burned and many of the island’s records were lost. By 1921 the treatment of leprosy had advanced and the six patients remaining were relocated to a federal leprosarium in Louisiana. The Parkers moved to Montana and retired while the state burned and dynamited all buildings on the island with the understanding that this would kill off the leprosy germs. The State continued to hold ownership, and 1942 the island would be designated a bird sanctuary. In Summer 1973 George Cadwalader and some of his friends would establish a residential school for troubled boys between the ages of 13 and 18. A culprit would be sometimes given the choice to come to Penikese or serve hard time in a Massachusetts prison, but the Penikese School for Delinquent Youths would not acquire any sort of good track record for turning lives around.

52. No relation to John Anderson the escaped American slave.



The Prayer of Agassiz
by **John Greenleaf Whittier**

ON the isle of Penikese,
Ringed about by sapphire seas,
Fanned by breezes salt and cool,
Stood the Master with his school.
Over sails that not in vain
Woed the west-wind's steady strain,
Line of coast that low and far
Stretched its undulating bar,
Wings aslant across the rim
Of the waves they stooped to skim,
Rock and isle and glistening bay,
Fell the beautiful white day.

Said the Master to the youth :
"We have come in search of truth,
Trying with uncertain key
Door by door of mystery ;
We are reaching, through His laws,
To the garment-hem of Cause,
Him, the endless, unbegun,
The Unnamable, the One
Light of all our light the Source
Life of life, and Force of force.

As with fingers of the blind,
We are groping here to find
What the hieroglyphics mean
Of the Unseen in the seen,
What the Thought which underlies
Nature's masking and disguise,
What it is that hides beneath
Blight and bloom and birth and death.
By past efforts unavailing,
Doubt and error, loss and failing,
Of our weakness made aware,
On the threshold of our task
Let us light and guidance ask,
Let us pause in silent prayer !"

Then the Master in his place
Bowed his head a little space,
And the leaves by soft airs stirred,
Lapse of wave and cry of bird,
Left the solemn hush unbroken
Of that wordless prayer unspoken,
While its wish, on earth unsaid,
Rose to heaven interpreted.
As, in life's best hours, we hear
By the spirit's finer ear
His low voice within us, thus
The All-Father heareth us ;
And His holy ear we pain
With our noisy words and vain.
Not for Him our violence
Storming at the gates of sense,
His the primal language, His
The eternal silences !

Even the careless heart was moved,
And the doubting gave assent,



PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

With a gesture reverent,
To the Master well-beloved.
As thin mists are glorified
By the light they cannot hide,
All who gazed upon him saw,
Through its veil of tender awe,
How his face was still uplift
By the old sweet look of it,
Hopeful, trustful, full of cheer,
And the love that casts out fear.
Who the secret may declare
Of that brief, unuttered prayer ?
Did the shade before him come
Of th' inevitable doom,
Of the end of earth so near,
And Eternity's new year ?

In the lap of sheltering seas
Rests the isle of Penikese ;
But the lord of the domain
Comes not to his own again :
Where the eyes that follow fail,
On a vaster sea his sail
Drifts beyond our beck and hail.
Other lips within its bound
Shall the laws of life expound ;
Other eyes from rock and shell
Read the world's old riddles well :
But when breezes light and bland
Blow from Summer's blossomed land,
When the air is glad with wings,
And the blithe song-sparrow sings,
Many an eye with his still face
Shall the living one displace,
Many an ear the word shall seek
He alone could fitly speak.
And one name forevermore
Shall be uttered o'er and o'er
By the waves that kiss the shore,
By the curlew's whistle sent
Down the cool, sea-scented air ;
In all voices known to her,
Nature owns her worshipper,
Half in triumph, half lament.
Thither Love shall tearful turn,
Friendship pause uncovered there,
And the wisest reverence learn
From the Master's silent prayer.



PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

1875

In Michigan and Minnesota, women obtained the franchise to vote in school elections.

FEMINISM

May Alcott opened an art gallery and workshop on the 2d floor of the [Town School](#) building, above the [Concord](#) fire engines.

The new public school establishment had no clue that the 1st Amendment might be used to rule out government aid for the religious schools they sought to destroy, so what they worked toward was a new, separate constitutional amendment that would prohibit public funds, tax money, from being used for such independent schools. This was known as the Blaine Amendment, and in this year it fell short by four votes of the necessary 2/3ds margin needed for passage in the US Senate. The [nativist Know-Nothing](#) Party enrolled in the struggle, and in addition the Ku Klux Klan. The campaign for the new constitutional amendment was taken to the legislatures of the various states. Eventually, 29 state legislatures, including the state legislature of New York, would add Blaine Amendments to their state constitutions in order to destroy the [Catholic](#) school system.

SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE

1876

At the completion of Ellen Emerson's 3-year term, Abby Hosmer, a former teacher, and Anne Damon, were elected to the [Concord](#) School Committee.

FEMINISM

1880

Bronson Alcott, who had been [Concord's](#) School Superintendent from 1859 to 1865, had described the various schoolhouses that were situated away from the town center as “little hives of industry and mischief.” Teaching in these outlying schools was mostly done by local young women, except that during the winter term, when there was an upsurge of male students occasioned by the slack labor season on the farms during the winter, often a male teacher would be sent out in order to ensure discipline.

In this year, to create greater centralization of the school system, Emerson School, an 8-classroom edifice, was constructed on the corner of Stow and Hubbard Streets in Concord center. Soon, School Committee discussion arose over the issue of closing the district schools. Were these boys and girls to be transported to and from the town center? The outlying districts would initially resist centralization, but until the process would go to completion in 1887, there would be a series of individual petitions that pupils from an outlying school be absorbed into Emerson School.

In this year the [Concord School of Philosophy](#) also achieved its own building, designed by Bronson Alcott and erected in his back yard with funds donated by a generous woman from New York.





PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

1882

July 17, Monday: The [Town School](#) building which had been used since 1852 as an engine house by the [Concord](#) Fire Department would no longer be utilized for this purpose.

Franklin Benjamin Sanborn read an ode by Bronson Alcott, “The Poet’s Countersign,” at the opening of Concord School:

“I grant, sweet soul, thy lovely argument
Deserves the travail of a worthier pen;
Yet what of thee thy poet doth invent,
He robs thee of, and pays it thee again;
He lends thee virtue, — and he stole that word
From thy behavior; beauty doth he give,
And found it on thy cheek; he can afford
No praise to thee but what in thee doth live.”

I.

Across these meadows, o’er the hills,
Beside our sleeping waters, hurrying rills,
Through many a woodland dark, and many a bright arcade,
Where out and in the shifting sunbeams braid
An Indian mat of checquered light and shade, —
The sister seasons in their maze,
Since last we wakened here
From hot siesta the still drowsy year,
Have led the fourfold dance along our quiet ways, —
Autumn apparelled sadly gay,
Winter’s white furs and shortened day,
Spring’s loitering footstep, quickened at the last,
And half the affluent summer went and came,
As for uncounted years the same —
Ah me! another unreturning spring hath passed.

II.

“When the young die,” the Grecian mourner said,
“The springtime from the year hath vanished;”
The gray-haired poet, in unfailing youth,
Sits by the shrine of Truth,
Her oracles to spell,
And their deep meaning tell;
Or else he chants a bird-like note
From that thick-bearded throat
Which warbled forth the songs of smooth-cheeked May
Beside Youth’s sunny fountain all the day;
Sweetly the echoes ring
As in the flush of spring;
At last the poet dies,
The sunny fountain dries, —
The oracles are dumb, no more the wood-birds sing.

III.

Homer forsakes the billowy round
Of sailors circling o’er the island-sea;
Pindar, from Theban fountains and the mound
Built in love and woe by doomed Antigone,



PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

Must pass beneath the ground;
Stout Æschylus that slew the deep-haired Mede
At Marathon, at Salamis, and freed
Athens from Persian thrall,
Then sung the battle call, —
Must yield to that one foe he could not quell;
In Gela's flowery plain he slumbers well.
 Sicilian roses bloom
 Above his nameless tomb;
And there the nightingale doth mourn in vain
For [Bion](#), too, who sung the Dorian strain;
By Arethusa's tide,
His brother swains might flute in Dorian mood, —
The bird of love in thickets of the wood
Sing for a thousand years his grave beside —
Yet Bion still was mute — the Dorian lay had died.

IV.

The Attic poet at approach of age
Laid by his garland, took the staff and scrip,
For singing robes the mantle of the sage, —
And taught gray wisdom with the same grave lip
That once had carolled gay
Where silver flutes breathed soft and festal harps did play;
Young Plato sang of love and beauty's charm,
While he that from Stagira came to hear
In lyric measures bade his princely pupil arm,
And strike the Persian tyrant mute with fear.
High thought doth well accord with melody,
Brave deed with Poesy,
And song is prelude fair to sweet Philosophy.
But wiser English Shakspeare's noble choice,
Poet and sage at once, whose varied voice
Taught beyond Plato's ken, yet charming every ear; —
A kindred choice was his, whose spirit hovers here.

V.

Now Avon glides through Severn to the sea,
And murmurs that her Shakspeare sings no more;
Thames bears the freight of many a tribute shore,
But on those banks her poet bold and free,
That stooped in blindness at his humble door,
Yet never bowed to priest or prince the knee,
Wanders no more by those sad sisters led;
Herbert and Spenser dead
Have left their names alone to him whose scheme
Stiffly endeavors to supplant the dream
Of seer and poet, with mechanic rule
Learned from the chemist's closet, from the surgeon's tool.
With us Philosophy still spreads her wing,
And soars to seek Heaven's King —
Nor creeps through charnels, prying with the glass
That makes the little big, — while gods unseen may pass.

VI.

Along the marge of these slow-gliding streams,
Our winding Concord and the wider flow
Of Charles by Cambridge, walks and dreams
A throng of poets, — tearfully they go;
For each bright river misses from its band
The keenest eye, the truest heart, the surest minstrel hand, —



PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

They sleep each on his wooded hill above the sorrowing land.
Duly each mound with garlands we adorn
Of violet, lily, laurel, and the flowering thorn, —
Sadly above them wave
The wailing pine-trees of their native strand;
Sadly the distant billows smite the shore,
Plash in the sunlight, or at midnight roar;
All sounds of melody, all things sweet and fair,
On earth, in sea or air,
Droop and grow silent by the poet's grave.

VII.

Yet wherefore weep? Old age is but a tomb,
A living hearse, slow creeping to the gloom
And utter silence. He from age is freed
Who meets the stroke of Death and rises thence
Victor o'er every woe; his sure defence
Is swift defeat; by that he doth succeed.
Death is the poet's friend — I speak it sooth;
Death shall restore him to his golden youth,
Unlock for him the portal of renown,
And on Fame's tablet write his verses down,
For every age in endless time to read.
With us Death's quarrel is: he takes away
Joy from our eyes — from this dark world the day —
When other skies he opens to the poet's ray.

VIII.

Lonely these meadows green,
Silent these warbling woodlands must appear
To us, by whom our poet-sage was seen
Wandering among their beauties, year by year, —
Listening with delicate ear
To each fine note that fell from tree or sky,
Or rose from earth on high:
Glancing that falcon eye,
In kindly radiance as of some young star,
At all the shows of Nature near and far,
Or on the tame procession plodding by,
Of daily toil and care, — and all life's pageantry;
Then darting forth warm beams of wit and love,
Wide as the sun's great orbit, and as high above
These paths wherein our lowly tasks we ply.

IX.

His was the task and his the lordly gift
Our eyes, our hearts, bent earthward, to uplift;
He found us chained in Plato's fabled cave,
Our faces long averted from the blaze
Of Heaven's broad light, and idly turned to gaze
On shadows, flitting ceaseless as the wave
That dashes ever idly on some isle enchanted;
By shadows haunted
We sat, — amused in youth, in manhood daunted,
In vacant age forlorn, — then slipped within the grave,
The same dull chain still clasped around our shroud;
These captives, bound and bowed,
He from their dungeon like that angel led
Who softly to imprisoned Peter said,
"Arise up quickly! gird thyself and flee!"



PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

We wist not whose the thrilling voice, we knew our souls were free.

X.

Ah! blest those years of youthful hope,
When every breeze was Zephyr, every morning May!
Then was we bravely climbed the slope
Of life's steep mount, we gained a wider scope
At every stair, and could with joy survey
The track beneath us, and the upward way;
Both lay in light — round both the breath of love
Fragrant and warm from Heaven's own tropic blew;
Beside us what glad comrades smiled and strove!
Beyond us what dim visions rose to view!
With thee, dear Master! through that morning land
We journeyed happy: thine the guiding hand,
Thine the far-looking eye, the dauntless smile;
Thy lofty song of hope did the long march beguile.

XI.

Now scattered wide and lost to loving sight
The gallant train
That heard thy strain;
'T is May no longer, — shadows of the night
Beset the downward pathway; thou art gone,
And with thee vanished that perpetual dawn
Of which thou wert the harbinger and seer.
Yet courage! comrades, — though no more we hear
Each other's voices, lost within this cloud
That time and chance about our way have cast,
Still his brave music haunts the hearkening ear,
As 'mid bold cliffs and dewy passes of the Past.
Be that our countersign! for chanting loud
His magic song, though far apart we go,
Best shall we thus discern both friend and foe.

1909

Edward Emerson pulled together, from a number of commencement and similar addresses his father had made, a piece on [education](#) for THE COMPLETE WRITINGS OF RALPH WALDO EMERSON.

EMERSON ON EDUCATION

A new degree of intellectual power seems cheap at any price. The use of the world is that man may learn its laws. And the human race have wisely signified their sense of this, by calling wealth, means — Man being the end. Language is always wise.

Therefore I praise New England because it is the country in the world where is the freest expenditure for education. We have already taken, at the planting of the Colonies (for aught I know for the first time in the world), the initial step, which for its importance might have been resisted as the most radical of revolutions, thus deciding at the start the destiny of this country — this, namely, that the poor man, whom the law does not



PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

allow to take an ear of corn when starving, nor a pair of shoes for his freezing feet, is allowed to put his hand into the pocket of the rich, and say, You shall educate me, not as you will, but as I will: not alone in the elements, but, by further provision, in the languages, in sciences, in the useful and in elegant arts. The child shall be taken up by the State, and taught, at the public cost, the rudiments of knowledge, and, at last, the ripest results of art and science.

Humanly speaking, the school, the college, society, make the difference between men. All the fairy tales of Aladdin or the invisible Gyges or the talisman that opens kings' palaces or the enchanted halls underground or in the sea, are any fictions to indicate the one miracle of intellectual enlargement. When a man stupid becomes a man inspired, when one and the same man passes out of the torpid into the perceiving state, leaves the din of trifles, the stupor of the senses, to enter into the quasi-omniscience of high thought – up and down, around, all limits disappear. No horizon shuts down. He sees things in their causes, all facts in their connection.

One of the problems of history is the beginning of civilization. The animals that accompany and serve man make no progress as races. Those called domestic are capable of learning of man a few tricks of utility or amusement, but they cannot communicate the skill to their race. Each individual must be taught anew. The trained dog cannot train another dog. And Man himself in many faces retains almost the unteachableness of the beast. For a thousand years the islands and forests of a great part of the world have been led with savages who made no steps of advance in art or skill beyond the necessity of being fed and warmed. Certain nations with a better brain and usually in more temperate climates have made such progress as to compare with these as these compare with the bear and the wolf.

Victory over things is the office of man. Of course, until it is accomplished, it is the war and insult of things over him. His continual tendency, his great danger, is to overlook the fact that the world is only his teacher, and the nature of sun and moon, plant and animal only means of arousing his interior activity. Enamored of their beauty, comforted by their convenience, he seeks them as ends, and fast loses sight of the fact that they have worse than no values, that they become noxious, when he becomes their slave.

This apparatus of wants and faculties, this craving body, whose organs ask all the elements and all the functions of Nature for their satisfaction, educate the wondrous creature which they satisfy with light, with heat, with water, with wood, with bread, with wool. The necessities imposed by his most irritable and all-related texture have taught Man hunting, pasturage, agriculture, commerce, weaving, joining, masonry, geometry, astronomy. Here is a world pierced and belted with natural laws, and fenced and planted with civil partitions and properties, which all put new restraints on the young inhabitant. He too



PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

must come into this magic circle of relations, and know health and sickness, the fear of injury, the desire of external good, the charm of riches, the charm of power. The household is a school of power. There, within the door, learn the tragicomedy of human life. Here is the sincere thing, the wondrous composition for which day and night go round. In that routine are the sacred relations, the passions that bind and sever. Here is poverty and all the wisdom its hated necessities can teach, here labor drudges, here affections glow, here the secrets of character are told, the guards of man, the guards of woman, the compensations which, like angels of justice, pay every debt: the opium of custom, whereof all drink and many go mad. Here is Economy, and Glee, and Hospitality, and Ceremony, and Frankness, and Calamity, and Death, and Hope.

Every man has a trust of power – every man, every boy a jurisdiction, whether it be over a cow or a rood of a potato-field, or a fleet of ships, or the laws of a state. And what activity the desire of power inspires! What toils it sustains! How it sharpens the perceptions and stores the memory with facts. Thus a man may well spend many years of life in trade. It is a constant teaching of the laws of matter and of mind, No dollar of property can be created without some direct communication with nature, and of course some acquisition of knowledge and practical force. It is a constant contest with the active faculties of men, a study of the issues of one and another course of action, an accumulation of power, and, if the higher faculties of the individual be from time to time quickened, he will gain wisdom and virtue from his business.

As every wind draws music out of the Aeolian harp, so doth every object in Nature draw music out of his mind. Is it not true that every landscape I behold, every friend I meet, every act I perform, every pain I suffer, leaves me a different being from that they found me? That poverty, love, authority, anger, sickness, sorrow, success, all work actively upon our being and unlock for us the concealed faculties of the mind? Whatever private or petty ends are frustrated, this end is always answered. Whatever the man does, or whatever befalls him, opens another chamber in his soul – that is, he has got a new feeling, a new thought, a new organ. Do we not see how amazingly for this end man is fitted to the world?

What leads him to science? Why does he track in the midnight heaven a pure spark, a luminous patch wandering from age to age, but because he acquires thereby a majestic sense of power; learning that in his own constitution he can set the shining maze in order, and finding and carrying their law in his mind, can, as it were, see his simple idea realized up yonder in giddy distances and frightful periods of duration. If Newton come and first of men perceive that not alone certain bodies fall to the ground at a certain rate, but that all bodies in the Universe, the universe of bodies, fall always, and at one rate; that every atom in nature draws to every other atom – he extends the power



PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

of his mind not only over every cubic atom of his native planet, but he reports the condition of millions of worlds which his eye never saw. And what is the charm which every ore, every new plant, every new fact touching winds, clouds, ocean currents, the secrets of chemical composition and decomposition possess for Humboldt. What but that much revolving of similar facts in his mind has shown him that always the mind contains in its transparent chambers the means of classifying the most refractory phenomena, of depriving, them of all casual and chaotic aspect, and subordinating them to a bright reason of its own, and so giving to man a sort of property – yea, the very highest property in every district and particle of the globe

By the permanence of Nature, minds are trained alike, and made intelligible to each other. In our condition are the roots of language and communication, and these instructions we never exhaust.

In some sort the end of life is that the man should take up the universe into himself, or out of that quarry leave nothing unrepresented. Yonder mountain must migrate into his mind. Yonder magnificent astronomy he is at last to import, fetching away moon, and planet, solstice, period, comet and binal star, by comprehending their relation and law. Instead of the timid stripling he was, he is to be the stalwart Archimedes, Pythagoras, Columbus, Newton, of the physic, metaphysic and ethics of the design of the world.

For truly the population of the globe has its origin in the aims which their existence is to serve; and so with every portion of them. The truth takes flesh in forms that can express it; and thus in history an idea always overhangs, like the moon, and rules the tide which rises simultaneously in all the souls of a generation.

Whilst thus the world exists for the mind; whilst thus the man is ever invited inward into shining realms of knowledge and power by the shows of the world, which interpret to him the infinitude of his own consciousness – it becomes the office of a just education to awaken him to the knowledge of this fact.

We learn nothing rightly until we learn the symbolical character of life. Day creeps after day, each full of facts, dull, strange, despised things, that we cannot enough despise – call heavy, prosaic, and desert. The time we seek to kill: the attention it is elegant to divert from things around us. And presently the aroused intellect finds gold and gems in one of these scorned facts – then finds that the day of facts is a rock of diamonds; that a fact is an Epiphany of God.

We have our theory of life, our religion, our philosophy; and the event of each moment, the shower, the steamboat disaster the passing of a beautiful face, the apoplexy of our neighbor, are all tests to try our theory, the approximate result we call truth, and reveal its defects. If I have renounced the search of truth, if I have come into the port of some pretending



PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

dogmatism, some new church or old church, some Schelling or Cousin, I have died to all use of these new events that are born out of prolific time into multitude of life every hour. I am as a bankrupt to whom brilliant opportunities offer in vain. He has just foreclosed his freedom, tied his hands, locked himself up and given the key to another to keep.

When I see the doors by which God enters into the mind; that there is no sot or fop, ruffian or pedant into whom thoughts do not enter by passages which the individual never left open, I can expect any revolution in character. "I have hope," said the great Leibnitz, "that society may be reformed, when I see how much education may be reformed."

It is ominous, a presumption of crime, that this word Education has so cold, so hopeless a sound. A treatise on education, a convention for education, a lecture, a system, affects us with slight paralysis and a certain yawning of the jaws. We are not encouraged when the law touches it with its fingers. Education should be as broad as man. Whatever elements are in him that should foster and demonstrate. If he be dexterous, his tuition should make it appear; if he be capable of dividing men by the trenchant sword of his thought, education should unsheathe and sharpen it; if he is one to cement society by his all-reconciling affinities, oh! hasten their action! If he is jovial, if he is mercurial, if he is a great-hearted, a cunning artificer, a strong commander, a potent ally, ingenious, useful, elegant, witty, prophet, diviner – society has need of all these. The imagination must be addressed. Why always coast on the surface and never open the interior of nature, not by science, which is surface still, but by poetry? Is not the Vast an element of the mind? Yet what teaching, what book of this day appeals to the Vast?

Our culture has truckled to the times – to the senses. It is not manworthy. If the vast and the spiritual are omitted, so are the practical and the moral. It does not make us brave or free. We teach boys to be such men as we are. We do not teach them to aspire to be all they can. We do not give them a training as if we believed in their noble nature. We scarce educate their bodies. We do not train the eye and the hand. We exercise their understandings to the apprehension and: comparison of some facts, to a skill in numbers, in words; we aim to make accountants, attorneys, engineers; but not to make able, earnest, great-hearted men. The great object of Education should be commensurate with the object of life. It should be a moral one; to teach self-trust; to inspire the youthful man with an interest in himself; with a curiosity touching his own nature; to acquaint him with the resources of his mind, and to teach him that there is all his strength, and to inflame him with a piety towards the Grand Mind in which he lives. Thus would education conspired with the Divine Providence. A man is a little thing whilst he works by and for himself, but, when he gives voice to the rules of love and justice, is godlike, this word is current



PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

in all countries; and all men, though his enemies, are made his friends and obey it as their own.

In affirming that the moral nature of man is the predominant element and should therefore be mainly consulted in the arrangements of a school, I am very far from wishing that it should swallow up all the other instincts and faculties of man. It should be enthroned in his mind, but if it monopolize the man he is not yet sound, he does not yet know his wealth. He is in danger of becoming merely devout, and wearisome through the monotony of his thought. It is not less necessary that the intellectual and the active faculties should be nourished and matured. Let us apply to this subject the light of the same torch by which we have looked at all the phenomena of the time; the infinitude, namely, of every man. Everything teaches that.

One fact constitutes all my satisfaction, inspires all my trust, viz., this perpetual youth, which, as long as there is any good in us, we cannot get rid of. It is very certain that the coming age and the departing age seldom understand each other. The old man thinks the young man has no distinct purpose, for he could never get any thing intelligible and earnest out of him. Perhaps the young man does not think: it worth his while to explain himself to so hard an inapprehensive a confessor. Let him be led up with a longsighted forbearance, and let not the sallies of his petulance or folly be checked with disgust or indignation or despair.

I call our system a system of despair, and I find all the correction, all the revolution that is needed and that the best spirits of this age promise, in one word, in Hope. Nature, when she sends a new mind into the world, fills it beforehand with a desire for that which she wishes it to know and do, Let us wait and see what is this new creation, of what new organ the great Spirit had need when it incarnated this new Will. A new Adam in the garden, he is to name all the beasts in the field, all the gods in the sky. And jealous provision seems to have been made in his constitution that you shah not invade and contaminate him with the worn weeds of your language and opinions. The charm of life is this variety of genius, these contrasts, and flavors by which Heaven has modulated the identity of truth, and there is a perpetual hankering to violate this individuality, to warp his ways of thinking and behavior to resemble or reflect your thinking and behavior. A low self-love in the parent desires that his child should repeat his character and fortune; an expectation which the child, if justice is done him, will nobly disappoint. By working on the theory that this resemblance exists, we shall do what in us lies to defeat his proper promise and produce the ordinary and mediocre. I suffer whenever I see that common sight of a parent or senior imposing his opinion and way of thinking and being on a young soul to which they are totally unfit. Cannot we let people be themselves, and enjoy life in their own way? You are trying to make that man another you. One's enough.



PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

Or we sacrifice the genius of the pupil, the unknown possibilities of his nature, to a neat and safe uniformity, as the Turks whitewash the costly mosaics of ancient art which the Greeks left on their temple walls. Rather let us have men whose manhood is only the continuation of their boyhood, natural characters still; such are able and fertile for heroic action; and not that sad spectacle with which we are too familiar, educated eyes in uneducated bodies.

I like boys, the masters of the playground and of the street – boys, who have the same liberal ticket of admission to all shops, factories, armories, town-meetings, caucuses, mobs, target – shootings, as flies have; quite unsuspected, coming in as naturally as the janitor – known to have no money in their pockets, and themselves not suspecting the value of this poverty; putting nobody on his guard, but seeing the inside of the show – hearing all the asides. There are no secrets from them, they know everything that befalls in the fire company, the merits of every engine and of every man at the brakes, how to work it, and are swift to try their hand at every part; so too the merits of every locomotive on the rails, and will coax the engineer to let them ride with him and pull the handles when it goes to the engine-house. They are there only for fun, and not knowing that they are at school, in the court-house, or the cattle-show, quite as much and more than they were, an hour ago, in the arithmetic class.

They know truth from counterfeit as quick as the chemist does. They detect weakness in your eye and behavior a week before you open your mouth, and have given you the benefit of their opinion quick as a wink. They make no mistakes, have no pedantry, but entire belief on experience. Their elections at baseball or cricket are founded on merit, and are right. They don't pass for swimmers until they can swim, nor for stroke-oar until they can row: and I desire to be saved from their contempt. If I can pass with them, I can manage well enough with their fathers.

Everybody delights in the energy with which boys deal and talk with each other; the mixture of fun and earnest, reproach and coaxing, love and wrath, with which the game is played – the good-natured yet defiant independence of a leading boy's behavior in the schoolyard. How we envy in later life the happy youths to whom their boisterous games and rough exercise furnish the precise element which frames and sets off their school and college tasks, and teaches them, when least they think it, the use and meaning of these. In their fun and extreme freak they hit on the topmost sense of Horace. The young giant, brown from his hunting tramp, tells his story well, interlarded with lucky allusions to Homer, to Virgil, to college songs, to Walter Scott; and Jove and Achilles, partridge and trout, opera and binomial theorem, Caesar in Gaul, Sherman in Savannah, and hazing in Holworthy, dance through the narrative in merry confusion, yet the logic is good. If he can turn his books to such picturesque account in his fishing and hunting, it is easy



PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

to see how his reading and experience, as he has more of both, will interpenetrate each other. And every one desires that this pure vigor of action and wealth of narrative, cheered with so much humor and street rhetoric, should be carried: into the habit of the young man, purged of its uproar and rudeness, but, with all its vivacity entire. His hunting and campings-out have given him an indispensable base: I wish to add a taste for good company; through his impatience of bad. That stormy genius of his needs a little direction to games, charades, verses of society, song, and a correspondence year by year with his wisest and best friends. Friendship is an order of nobility; from its revelations we come more worthily into nature. Society he must have or he is poor indeed; he gladly enters a school which forbids conceit, affectation, emphasis and dullness, and requires of each only the flower of his nature and experience; requires good will, beauty, wit, and select information; teaches by practice the law of conversation, namely, to hear as well as to speak.

Meantime, if circumstances do not permit the high social advantages, solitude has also its lessons. The obscure youth learns there the practice instead of the literature of his virtues; and, because of the disturbing effect of passion and sense, which by a multitude of trifles impede the mind's eye from the quiet search of that fine horizon-line which truth keeps – the way to knowledge and power has ever been an escape from too much engagement with affairs and possessions; a way, not through plenty and superfluity, but by denial and renunciation, into solitude and privation; and, the more is taken away, the more; real and inevitable wealth of being is made known to us. The solitary knows the essence of the thought, the scholar in society only its fair face. There is no want of example of great men, great benefactors, who have been monks and hermits in habit. The bias of mind is sometimes irresistible in that direction. The man is, as it were, born deaf and dumb, and dedicated to a narrow and lonely life. Let him study the art of solitude, yield as gracefully as he can to his destiny. Why cannot he get the good of his doom, and if it is from eternity a settled fact that he and society shall be nothing to each other, why need he blush so, and make wry faces to keep up a freshman's seat in the fine world? Heaven often protects valuable souls charged with great secrets, great ideas, by long shutting them up with their own thoughts. And the most genial and amiable of men must alternate society with solitude, and learn its severe lessons.

There comes the period of the imagination to each, a later youth; the power of beauty, the power of books, of poetry. Culture makes his books realities to him, their characters more brilliant, more effective on his mind, than his actual mates. Do not spare to put novels into the hands of young people as an occasional holiday and experiment but, above all, good poetry in all kinds, epic, tragedy, lyric. If we can touch the imagination, we serve them, they will never forget it. Let him read TOM BROWN AT RUGBY,



PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

read TOM BROWN AT OXFORD, better yet, read HODSON'S LIFE – Hodson who took prisoner the King of Delhi. They teach the same truth – a trust, against all appearances, against all privations, in your own worth, and not in tricks, plotting, or patronage.

I believe that our own experience instructs us that the secret of Education lies in respecting the pupil. It is not for you to choose what he shall know, what he shall do. It is chosen and foreordained, and he only holds the key to his own secret. By your tampering and thwarting and too much governing he may be hindered from his end and kept out of his own. Respect the child. Wait and see the new product of Nature. Nature loves analogies, but not repetitions. Respect the child. Be not too much his parent. Trespass not on his solitude.

But I hear the outcry which replies to this suggestion – Would you verily throw up the reins of public and private discipline; would you leave the young child to the mad career of his own passions and whimsies, and call this anarchy a respect for the child's nature? I answer – Respect the child, respect him to the end, but also respect yourself. Be the companion of his thought, the friend of his friendship, the lover of his virtue – but no kinsman of his sin. Let him find you so true to yourself that you are the irreconcilable hater of his vice and the imperturbable sligher of his trifling.

The two points in a boy's training are, to keep his *naturel* and train off all but that – to keep his *naturel*, but stop off his uproar, fooling, and horseplay – keep his nature and arm it with knowledge in the very direction to which it points. Here are the two capital facts, Genius and Drill. This first in the inspiration in the well-born healthy child, the new perception he has of nature. Somewhat he sees in forms or hears in music or apprehends in mathematics, or believes practicable in mechanics or possible in political society, which no one else sees or hears or believes. This is the perpetual romance of new life, the invasion of God into the old dead world, when he sends into quiet houses a young soul with a thought which is not met, looking for something which is not there, but which ought to be there: the thought is dim but it is sure, and he casts about restless for means and masters to verify it; he makes wild attempts to explain himself and invoke the aid and consent of the by-standers. Baffled for want of language and methods to convey his meaning, not yet clear to himself, he conceives that though not in this house or town, yet in some other house or town is the wise master who can put him in possession of the rules and instruments to execute his will. Happy this child with a bias, with a thought which entrances him, leads him, now into deserts now into cities, the fool of an idea. Let him follow it in good and in evil report, in good or bad company; it will justify itself; it will lead him at last into the illustrious society of the lovers of truth.

In London, in a private company, I became acquainted with a gentleman, Sir Charles Fellowes, who, being at Xanthos, in the



PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

Aegean Sea, had seen a Turk point with his staff to some carved work on the corner of a stone almost buried in the soil. Fellowes scraped away the dirt, was struck with the beauty of the sculptured ornaments, and, looking about him, observed; more blocks and fragments like this. He returned to the spot, procured laborers and uncovered many blocks. He went back to England, bought a Greek grammar and learned the language; he read history and studied, ancient art to explain his stones; he interested Gibson the sculptor; he invoked the assistance of the English Government; he called in the succor of Sir Humphry Davy to analyze the pigments; of experts in coins, of scholars and connoisseurs; and at last: in his third visit brought home to England such statues and marble reliefs and such careful plans that he was able to reconstruct, in the British Museum where it now stands, the perfect model of the Ionic trophy-monument, fifty years older than the Parthenon of Athens, and which had been destroyed by earthquakes, then by iconoclast Christians, then by savage Turks. But mark that in the task he had achieved an excellent education, and become associated with distinguished scholars whom he had interested in his pursuit; in short, had formed a college for himself; the enthusiast had found the master, the masters, whom he sought. Always genius seeks genius, desires nothing so much as to be a pupil and to find those who can lend it aid to perfect itself.

Nor are the two elements, enthusiasm and drill, incompatible. Accuracy is essential to beauty. The very definition of the intellect is Aristotle's: "that by which we know terms or boundaries." Give a boy accurate perceptions. Teach him the difference between the similar and the same. Make him call things by their right names. Pardon in him no blunder. Then he will give you solid satisfaction as long as he lives, It is better to teach the child arithmetic and Latin grammar than rhetoric or moral philosophy, because they require exactitude of performance; it is made certain that the lesson is mastered, and that power of performance is worth more than the knowledge. He can learn anything which is important to him now that the power to learn is secured: as mechanics say, when one has learned the use of tools, it is easy to work at a new craft.

Letter by letter, syllable by syllable, the child learns to read, and in good time can convey to all the domestic circle the sense of Shakespeare. By many steps each just as short, the stammering boy and the hesitating collegian, in the school debates, in college clubs, in mock court, comes at last to full, secure, triumphant unfolding of his thought in the popular assembly, with a fullness of power that makes all the steps forgotten.

But this function of opening and feeding the human mind is not to be fulfilled by any mechanical or military method; is not to be trusted to any skill less large than Nature itself. You must not neglect the form, but you must secure the essentials. It is curious how perverse and intermeddling we are, and what vast



PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

pains and cost we incur to do wrong. Whilst we all know in our own experience and apply natural methods in our own business – in education our common sense fails us, and we are continually trying costly machinery against nature, in patent schools and academies and in great colleges and universities.

The natural method forever confutes our experiments, and we must still come back to it. The whole theory of the school is on the nurse's or mother's knee. The child is as hot to learn as the mother is to impart. There is mutual delight. The joy of our childhood in hearing beautiful stories from some skillful aunt who loves to tell them, must be repeated in youth. The boy wishes to learn to skate; to coast, to catch a fish in the brook, to hit a mark with a snowball or a stone; and a boy a little older is just as well pleased to teach him these sciences. Not less delightful is the mutual pleasure of teaching and learning the secret of algebra, or of chemistry, or of good reading and good recitation of poetry or of prose, or of chosen facts in history or in biography.

Nature provided for the communication of thought by planting with it in the receiving mind a fury to impart it. 'Tis so in every art, in every science. One burns to tell the new fact, the other burns to hear it. See how far a young doctor will ride or walk to witness a new surgical operation. I have seen a carriage-maker's shop emptied of all its workmen into the street, to scrutinize a new pattern from New York. So in literature, the young man who has taste for poetry, for fine images, for noble thoughts, is insatiable for this nourishment, and forgets all the world for the more learned friend – who finds equal joy in dealing out his treasures.

Happy the natural college thus self-instituted around every natural teacher; the young men of Athens around Socrates; of Alexander around Plotinus; of Paris around Abelard; of Germany around Fichte, or Niebuhr, or Goethe: in short the natural sphere of every leading mind. But the moment this is organized, difficulties begin. The college was to be the nurse and home of genius; but, though every young man is born with some determination in his nature, and is a potential genius; is at last to be one; it is, in the most, obstructed and delayed, and, whatever they may hereafter be, their senses are now opened in advance of their minds. They are more sensual than intellectual. Appetite and indolence they have, but no enthusiasm. These come in numbers to the college: few geniuses: and the teaching comes to be arranged for these many, and not for those few. Hence the instruction seems to require skillful tutors, of accurate and systematic mind, rather than ardent and inventive masters. Besides, the youth of genius are eccentric, won't drill, are irritable, uncertain, explosive, solitary, not men of the world, not good for every-day association. You have to work for large classes instead of individuals; you must lower your flag and reef your sails to wait for the dull sailors; you grow departmental, routinary, military almost with your discipline



PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

and college police. But what doth such a school to form a great and heroic character? What abiding Hope can it inspire? What Reformer will it nurse? What poet will it breed to sing to the human race? What discoverer of Nature's laws will it prompt to enrich us by disclosing in the mind the statute which all matter must obey? What fiery soul will it send out to warm a nation with his charity? What tranquil mind will it have fortified to walk with meekness in private and obscure duties, to wait and to suffer? Is it not manifest that our academic institutions should have a wider scope; that they should not be timid and keep the ruts of the last generation, but that wise men thinking for themselves and heartily seeking the good of mankind, and counting the cost of innovation, should dare to arouse the young to a just and heroic life; that the moral nature should be addressed in the school-room, and children should be treated as the high-born candidates of truth and virtue?

So to regard the young child, the young man, requires, no doubt, rare patience: a patience that nothing but faith in the medial forces of the soul can give. You see his sensualism; you see his want of those tastes and perceptions which make the power and safety of your character. Very likely, But he has something else. If he has his own vice, he has its correlative virtue. Every mind should be allowed to make its own statement in action, and its balance will appear. In these judgments one needs that foresight which was attributed to an eminent reformer, of whom it was said "his patience could see in the bud of the aloe the blossom at the end of a hundred years." Alas for the cripple Practice when it seeks to come up with the bird Theory, which flies before it. Try your design on the best school. The scholars are of all ages and temperaments and capacities. It is difficult to class them, some are too young, some are slow, some perverse. Each requires so much consideration, that the morning hope of the teacher, of a day of love and progress, is often closed at evening by despair. Each single case, the more it is considered, shows more to be done; and the strict conditions of the hours, on: one side, and the number of tasks, on the other. Whatever becomes of our method, the conditions stand fast – six hours, and thirty, fifty, or a hundred and fifty pupils. Something must be done, and done speedily, and in this distress the wisest are tempted to adopt violent means, to proclaim martial law, corporal punishment, mechanical arrangement, bribes, spies, wrath, main strength and ignorance, in lieu of that wise genial providential influence they had hoped, and yet hope at some future day to adopt. Of course the devotion to details reacts injuriously on the teacher. He cannot indulge his genius, he cannot delight in personal relations with young friends, when his eye is always on the clock, and twenty classes are to be dealt with before the day is done. Besides, how can he please himself with genius, and foster modest virtue? A sure proportion of rogue and dunce finds its way into every school and requires a cruel share of time, and the gentle teacher, who wished to be a Providence to youth, is grown a martinet, sore with



PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

suspensions; knows as much vice as the judge of a police court, and his love of learning is lost in the routine of grammars and books of elements.

A rule is so easy that it does not need a man to apply it; an automaton, a machine, can be made to keep a school so. It facilitates labor and thought so much that there is always the temptation in large schools to omit the endless task of meeting the wants of each single mind, and to govern by steam. But it is at frightful cost. Our modes of Education aim to expedite, to save labor; to do for masses what cannot be done for masses, what must be done reverently, one by one: say rather, the whole world is needed for the tuition of each pupil. The advantages of this system of emulation and display are so prompt and obvious, it is such a time-saver, it is so energetic on slow and on bad natures, and is of so easy application, needing no sage or poet, but any tutor or schoolmaster in his first term can apply it – that it is not strange that this calomel of culture should be a popular medicine. On the other hand, total abstinence from this drug, and the adoption of simple discipline and the following of nature involves at once immense claims on the time, the thoughts, on the Life of the teacher. It requires time, use, insight, event, all the great lessons and assistances of God; and only to think of using it implies character and profoundness; to enter on this course of discipline is to be good and great. It is precisely analogous to the difference between the use of corporal punishment and the methods of love. It is so easy to bestow on a bad boy a blow, overpower him, and get obedience without words, that in this world of hurry and distraction, who can wait for the returns of reason and the conquest of self; in the uncertainty too whether that will ever come? And yet the familiar observation of the universal compensations might suggest the fear that so summary a stop of a bad humor was more jeopardous than its continuance.

Now the correction of this quack practice is to import into Education the wisdom of life. Leave this military hurry and adopt the pace of Nature. Her secret is patience. Do you know how the naturalist learns all the secrets of the forest, of plants, of birds, of beasts, of reptiles, of fishes, of the rivers and the sea? When he goes into the woods the birds fly before him and he finds none; when he goes to the river bank, the fish and the reptile swim away and leave him alone. His secret is patience; he sits down, and sits still; he is a statue; he is a log. These creatures have no value for their time, and he must put as low a rate on his. By dint of obstinate sitting still, reptile, fish, bird and beast, which all wish to return to their haunts, begin to return. He sits still; if they approach, he remains passive as the stone he sits upon. They lose their fear. They have curiosity too about him. By and by the curiosity masters the fear, and they come swimming, creeping and dying towards him; and as he is still immovable, they not only resume their haunts and their ordinary labors and manners, show themselves to him in their work-day trim, but also



PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

volunteer some degree of advances towards fellowship and good understanding with a biped who behaves so civilly and well. Can you not baffle the impatience and passion of the child by your tranquility? Can you not wait for him, as Nature and Providence do? Can you not keep for his mind and ways, for his secret, the same curiosity you give to the squirrel, snake, rabbit, and the sheldrake and the deer? He has a secret; wonderful methods in him; he is – every child – a new style of man; give him time and opportunity. Talk of Columbus and Newton! I tell you the child just born in yonder hovel is the beginning of a revolution as great as theirs. But you must have the believing and prophetic eye. Have the self-command you wish to inspire. Your teaching and discipline must have the reserve and taciturnity of Nature. Teach them to hold their tongues by holding your own. Say little; do not snarl; do not chide; but govern by the eye. See what they need, and that the right thing is done.

I confess myself utterly at a loss in suggesting particular reforms in our ways of teaching. No discretion that can be lodged with a school-committee, with the overseers or visitors of an academy, of a college, can at all avail to reach these difficulties and perplexities, but they solve themselves when we leave institutions and address individuals. The will, the male power, organizes, imposes its own thought and wish on others, and makes that military eye which controls boys as it controls men; admirable in its results, a fortune to him who has it, and only dangerous when it leads the workman to overvalue and overuse it and precludes him from finer means. Sympathy, the female force – which they must use who have not the first – deficient in instant control and the breaking down of resistance, is more subtle and lasting and creative. I advise teachers to cherish mother-wit. I assume that you will keep the grammar, reading, writing and arithmetic in order; 'tis easy and of course you will. But smuggle in a little contraband wit, fancy, imagination, thought. If you have a taste which you have suppressed because it is not shared by those about you, tell them that. Set this law up, whatever becomes of the rules of the school: they must not whisper, much less talk; but if one of the young people says a wise thing, greet it, and let all the children clap their hands. They shall have no book but school-books in the room; but if one has brought in a Plutarch or Shakespeare or Don Quixote or Goldsmith or any other good book, and understands what he reads, put him at once at the head of the class. Nobody shall be disorderly, or leave his desk without permission, but if a boy runs from his bench, or a girl, because the fire falls, or to check some injury that a little dastard is indicting behind his desk on some helpless sufferer, take away the medal from the head of the class and give it on the instant to the brave rescuer. If a child happens to show that he knows any fact about astronomy, or plants, or birds, or rocks, or history, that interests him and you, hush all the classes and encourage him to tell it so that all may hear. Then you have made your school-room like the world. Of course you will insist on



PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

modesty in the children, and respect to their teachers, but if the boy stops you in your speech, cries out that you are wrong and sets you right, hug him!

To whatsoever upright mind, to whatsoever beating heart I speak, to you it is committed to educate men. By simple living, by an illimitable soul, you inspire, you correct, you instruct, you raise, you embellish all. By your own act you teach the behold how to do the practicable. According to the depth from which you draw your life, such is the depth not only of your strenuous effort, but of your manners and presence. The beautiful nature of the world has here blended your happiness with your power. Work straight on in absolute duty, and you lend an arm and an encouragement to all the youth of the universe. Consent yourself to be an organ of your highest thought, and lo! suddenly you put all men in your debt, and are the fountain of an energy that goes pulsing on with waves of benefit to the borders of society, to the circumference of things.

1971

After 104 years, the commonwealth of Massachusetts imitated the example of the state of New Jersey in forbidding [corporal punishment](#) in its public schools (there remain 19 states that allow it, in backward regions such as the South).

After winning a 16-round decision over former champ Muhammad Ali, reigning heavyweight champ Joe Frazier would need to stick his head in a sink filled with ice water. After X-rays of his jaw, Ali commented to the press “I guess I’m not pretty anymore.” (But if anyone asked “Do we really need this?” — I didn’t hear them ask it.)

By this point 9 out of every 10 male infants born in the United States of America were being routinely [circumcised](#). This elective surgery was being so commonly performed on male infants, that a committee of the American Academy of Pediatrics posted a direct warning:

There are no valid medical indications for circumcision in the neonatal period.



PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION



COPYRIGHT NOTICE: In addition to the property of others, such as extensive quotations and reproductions of images, this "read-only" computer file contains a great deal of special work product of Austin Meredith, copyright ©2013. Access to these interim materials will eventually be offered for a fee in order to recoup some of the costs of preparation. My hypercontext button invention which, instead of creating a hypertext leap through hyperspace –resulting in navigation problems– allows for an utter alteration of the context within which one is experiencing a specific content already being viewed, is claimed as proprietary to Austin Meredith – and therefore freely available for use by all. Limited permission to copy such files, or any material from such files, must be obtained in advance in writing from the "Stack of the Artist of Kouroo" Project, 833 Berkeley St., Durham NC 27705. Please contact the project at <Kouroo@kouroo.info>.

"It's all now you see. Yesterday won't be over until tomorrow and tomorrow began ten thousand years ago."

- Remark by character "Garin Stevens"
in William Faulkner's INTRUDER IN THE DUST



Prepared: August 1, 2013

ARRGH AUTOMATED RESearch REPORT GENERATION HOTLINE



This stuff presumably looks to you as if it were generated by a human. Such is not the case. Instead, upon someone's request we have pulled it out of the hat of a pirate that has grown out of the shoulder of our pet parrot "Laura" (depicted above). What these chronological lists are: they are research reports compiled by ARRGH algorithms out of a database of data modules which we term the Kouroo Contexture. This is data mining. To respond to such a request for information, we merely push a



PUBLIC EDUCATION

PUBLIC EDUCATION

button.

Commonly, the first output of the program has obvious deficiencies and so we need to go back into the data modules stored in the contexture and do a minor amount of tweaking, and then we need to punch that button again and do a recompile of the chronology – but there is nothing here that remotely resembles the ordinary “writerly” process which you know and love. As the contents of this originating contexture improve, and as the programming improves, and as funding becomes available (to date no funding whatever has been needed in the creation of this facility, the entire operation being run out of pocket change) we expect a diminished need to do such tweaking and recompiling, and we fully expect to achieve a simulation of a generous and untiring robotic research librarian. Onward and upward in this brave new world.

First come first serve. There is no charge.
Place your requests with <Kouroo@kouroo.info>.
Arrgh.