1937

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WHAT THEORIES OF RALEIGH, MONTAIGNE
AND ROUSSEAU ARE INCORPORATED
IN MODERN EDUCATION

BERNARD HY}
WHAT THEORIES OF RABELAIS, MONTAIGNE

AND ROUSSEAU ARE INCORPORATED

IN MODERN EDUCATION

by

Georges Bernique
The work that I am about to pursue is quite colossal in scope. Indeed, numerous volumes could be written on any one of these famous educationalists. I had to content myself with little.—In order to avoid a pele-mele situation, I have been forced to limit myself to the general theories only of Rabelais, Montaigne and Rousseau. Details had to be overlooked. I have not even presented the lives of these men; I thought these sufficiently well-known to warrant omission in such a thesis. The great difficulty was to choose a plan, a plan where the reader could get a definite idea of the influence of these three great French educationalists in our modern pedagogy. Presenting their every detail, to see if they found correspondence to-day, would have been impossible, too long and too confusing to say the least. I trust my reader shall approve of my plan.

I take the whole responsibility for my conclusion. While I have borrowed a few ideas from some leading commentators, the bulk is my own.

I have endeavored as far as possible to go to the sources, but my chief sources have been the authors' works themselves. I have interwoven them with my exposition in many places. I have not written without much preparatory study. Whatever its merits or defects may be, I believe it would not be presumptuous to say of this thesis, Montaigne's words, "This is a thesis of good faith, reader."
What theories of Rabelais, Montaigne, and J. J. Rousseau are incorporated in Modern Education.

It is a well known fact that Jean Jacques Rousseau has exerted considerable influence in mapping out our present social, political, and educational status. If we but take the trouble to glance a little within the theories that abound to-day in the fields of sociology, political economy, philosophy and pedagogy, we shall find the unmistakable trace of Rousseau, however concealed that mark might be thru the introduction of new embellishments and new viewpoints. Indeed Rousseau has left his foot-print in almost every phase of our present day life.

"His ideas had a life, a momentum, which carried them irresistibly beyond his own day, down to the present."

(Josephson, Matthew. J. J. Rousseau P. 9)

For two centuries, Rousseau's theories have been read, reread, and perpetually annotated. Much criticized, he was eulogized to the point that some of our modern educators have classed his Emile with Plato's Republic and Aristotle's Politics as the world's outstanding educational offerings. Goethe once said that with Voltaire, a world ends, and that with Rousseau, a world begins. Here is an interesting appreciation by that brilliant English scientist and literary critic, Mr. Havelock Ellis:

"He renovated life and effected a revolution only comparable to that effected by Christianity. This man, who filled the second half of the 18th. Century, who inspired most of the literary and even social movements of the 19th. Century, remains a living and even distracting force in the Twentieth Century."

(Curr. Lit. Vol. 53, P. 100)
Mr. William Marion Reedy sets forth a similar opinion in avowing that J. J. Rousseau probably influenced the thought, the art, the very fibers of our modern life "more profoundly than anyone since the Man of Galilee." (Curr. Lit. Vol. 53, P. 101) Much as I hate to compare Rousseau with Jesus Christ, the fact remains that it would be quite difficult to find a man who has had more to say about the structure of our present-day life—whose influence was as incalculably vast.

However great Rousseau's influence has always been, there seems to have been a special revival of his works in the last twenty-five years, due considerably to the efforts of the "Societe J. J. Rousseau" founded in 1904 and which boasts the membership of such men as Bedier, Berthelot, Brunetiere, Chuquet, Compayre, Hoeffding, Lanson, Tolstoi and Emrich Smidt. Indeed, in the last twenty-five years a new outlook seems to have been gained on Rousseau's theories, through the efforts and originality of Paguet, Brunetiere and Compayre. As concerns pedagogy, brand new points are emphasized, primarily those on physical education and vocational training, a movement brought along by the accentuated interest of our present day.

It is often asserted that Rousseau was not original in his social, political and educational conceptions. For the length of this thesis, let us concern ourselves only with Jean Jacques' educational system. A Benedictine monk, Dom Cajot, has enjoyed devoting his time to writing a large volume on what he called "Rousseau's Plagiarisms." While the veracity of this huge book is
commonly denied, it is universally admitted that Rousseau had forerunners and that he is largely indebted to such inspirers as Montaigne, and, thru him, to Rabelais, or to Rabelais directly.

"Besides Locke, we must also count the amazing educator of Gargantua, and Montaigne before either, among the writers whom Rousseau had read, with that profit and increase which attends the dropping of the good ideas of other men into fertile minds."
(Morley, John—J. J. Rousseau, P. 198)

"Rousseau took from the *Essays* his method of education, and much else; though characteristically, without a thought of acknowledgment."
(Owen, John—The Skeptics of the French Renaissance, P. 478)

"Rousseau was impregnated with Montaigne and quotes him constantly."
(Compayre, Gabriel—J. J. Rousseau—P. 7)

Relative to Rabelais, Compayre makes a similar assertion, somewhat diminishing however the close link: "Rousseau does not appear to have been familiar with Rabelais, yet there are obvious similarities." (Compayre, P. 8) However Samuel Putnam, famous biographer of Rabelais, seems to see closer relations when he says that "Rabelais has been termed the predecessor of Rousseau."
(Putnam, Samuel—"Rabelais" P. 386) It is therefore a propos that we should start our analysis of this immortal trio with Rousseau's sources, Rabelais and Montaigne. But before the so doing, I wish to present a general outlook on the great mass of literature that has been collected on the life, works, and characteristics of three of the world's greatest educationalists.
Review of Literature

So many books have been written on these three renowned French educators, that the enumeration of an exhaustive list of their commentators would be a lengthy project in itself. Some authors have contented themselves with mere biography; others have gone a shade deeper and penetrated their works, analyzing, annotating, criticizing, eulogizing. Often times polemical discussions have resulted thru the writing of critiques which did not always exactly fit the general opinion.—And thus, literature on these men has gone on thru the centuries, always augmenting, developing new comprehension; veiling certain characteristics, bringing others to the fore.

The greatest living Rabelaisian scholar is universally accepted to be Professor Lefranc of the University of Paris. Throughout my readings on Rabelais, I have come across his words used as authority quotations. Though I visited library after library, no work of that author could I find. But then I read a recent work on Rabelais by Samuel Putnam, who happily followed Professor Lefranc and admitted it. And while I found Samuel Putnam, not differing a great deal from the rest of the Rabelaisian commentators, Brunetiere, Henri Berenger, Walter Besant, F. G. Stokes—all of whom, I have read and studied—yet I found him much more interesting than the rest precisely because he treats Rabelais as a living and not a legendary character. With Putnam, Rabelais lives again but in a modern atmosphere. And towards the end of this biography, we find Putnam treating of Rabelais’ influence on our present day education. He sees, for instance "in Panocrates' scheme as a whole....many of the root-ideas of the best-modern pedagogy. ("Rabelais"-P. 390)—It is precisely
such allusions—and Mr. Putnam abounds with them—that has helped me considerably in this work.

F. G. Stokes taught me to beware of Sir Thomas Urquhart's translation of Rabelais' works. While Stokes believes no translator was more deeply imbued with the spirit of his original than was Sir Urquhart, at the same time, he doubts whether any other translator ever treated their original with such unbounded license. Walter Besant presents the same opinion:

"The translation made by Urquhart has one grave fault: the translator allows himself continually to improve and enlarge upon the author." (Readings in Rabelais—P. 9)

When Urquhart did not differ too much from the Stokes' translation, I continued to follow the former because of the excellency of its "spirit", to use Stokes' own expression. However, the latter, besides his translation, gives an introduction where he continually flays Rabelais, more than any other author, with the probable exception of Walter Besant. But Mr. Besant has no sense of balance, no sense of distinction. He is often happy to pass a cutting remark on the Catholic Church, even when such an allusion is of absolutely no value to the strength of his argument. I pause here to give a proof of this last assertion: "The Church never forgets, and priests never forgive." (Note—I would so like to answer Mr. Besant, but I will limit myself to what is called for in this work.)

There remains Henri Berenger and Brunetiere. The latter, the more widely known of the two, does not believe in progressive methods of teaching; so, naturally, his treatment of Rabelais is more critical in this respect. But Brunetiere, like the true critic that he is, does not hesitate to praise also. His work on Rabelais, though just a chapter in a History of Classical French, remains one
of the most important to Rabelais students; it cannot be overlooked.

Berenger's work is short also, not biographical, but merely critical. I attached no great importance to his work, except as an added authority reinforcement to an argument.

Montaigne has still more commentators than Rabelais. The authors whose works I have analyzed are John Owen, M. E. Lowndes, R. W. Emerson, Gabriel Compayre, Fortunat Strowski, Thomas Carlyle, Bayle St. John and Edward Dowden. Thomas Carlyle's and Ralph Waldo Emerson's works on Montaigne are chiefly biographical. Carlyle and Edward Dowden are not, to my opinion, original commentators: they merely repeat what others have said. There is one exception, however. Carlyle remains the one author who accuses Montaigne of coarseness and obscenity.—Dowden's value resides in his bibliographical notes at the end of his volume where, for instance, he speaks highly of a certain Dr. J. F. Payen's documents on Montaigne kept at the bibliothèque Nationale (inédits) at Paris. Lowndes, another biographer, voices the same opinion. Speaking of Lowndes, Dr. Edward Dowden has said of his "Montaigne": "a scholarly and substantial piece of work." (Dowden-Michel de Montaigne-P. 366) Lowndes blames Emerson for "his American looseness of terminology. Such poor terminology, says this author, is shown even in Emerson's title of "Representative Men" where he fails to show, in a definite sense, the true representative nature of Montaigne, that of an "order of mind that falls into place naturally as spectator, not as actor in life." (Lowndes-Montaigne-P. 228) Bayle St. John finds that the "Montaigne of Mr. Emerson is Mr. Emerson him-self." (St. John, Bayle-Montaigne the Essayist-P. 3) St. John outlines his own intentions in the next paragraph.
"My object has been, not merely to paint a moral
and intellectual picture of those times, but
strictly to elucidate the chronology and incidents
of the life of Montaigne--his character, his
literary and philosophical intentions, his relations
with contemporaries, the influences he received and
imparted; to produce, in fact, a complete body of
information, which may worthily serve as an
introduction to the works of so remarkable a man...
(Montaigne the Essayist--Vol. 1--P. 4)...to throw
light on the Essays, and prepare the student better
to relish them." (M. the E. Vol. II--P. 321)

These Two volumes of St. John are considered "too diffuse but
pleasantly written" by Edward Dowden. (Michel do Montaigne--P. 369)

Of all foregoing authors, John Owen, Fortunat Strowski and
Gabriel Compayre were about the best I could find. Owen is not a
biographer but a keen critic who specializes on the skepticism of
Montaigne, making that characteristic the foundation of all the
latter's essays. He proceeds by interlocutors who, seated at table,
take up a philosophical discussion on the real character of Montaigne.

Strowski and Compayre are philosophers who resemble each other
quite closely in their analysis of the life, character and pedagogical
works of Montaigne. Their originality consists in combining these
three topics into one continued essay, inserting here and there,
judgments of their own. Of the two, Strowski's work is the more
recent, and though he does not mention it, his book resembles
Compayre's too closely, not to have made use of him. Compayre has
made similar studies on most of the pioneer educators, including
Rabelais and Rousseau.

Rousseau has probably had more commentators and annotators than
Rabelais and Montaigne. Is he more important? Or is it because
his system includes the pedagogical doctrine of his two predecessors?
The matter is debatable. However, I have done my best to choose the
most important commentators, some of whom are Emile Faguet, John
Morley, Thomas Davidson, Henry Grey Graham, Gabriel Compayre, Jules
Lemaitre, James Russell Lowell, Matthew Josephson and Charles
Augustin Sainte Beuve. Graham has contented him-self with the
biography of Rousseau. Compayre's treatment of Rousseau is similar
to that of Montaigne. John Morley and Thomas Davidson, while
presenting both his life and character, stress Rousseau's pedagogical
points, with a final picture of his influence on our modern education.
Matthew Josephson's Rousseau is more than a biography, being a
philosophical treatise, of the type of Emile Faguet and Jules Lemaitre,
on the interpretation of his works. Ste. Beuve, like the true
psychologist that he is, emphasizes his character: I have found noth-
ing better thereon.

Jules Calvet is pleased to detect "many errors" in Jules Lemaitre's
work on Rousseau. He accuses him of making "constant use of the
improper detail;" moreover, as being "prejudiced against Rousseau."
(Literature Francais, P. 547)—Throughout my readings on Rousseau I
had often encountered the name of Madame d'Epinay whose "Memoirs on
Rousseau" were used as a valuable source of research. In Josephson,
I have found this passage which, of course, eliminates Mme. d'Epinay
as an authority:

"The Memoirs of Madame d'Epinay on a jealous,
bitter, treacherous Rousseau, are a fabrication,
presented as a true chronicle for posterity by
Diderot, Grimm and Madame d'Epinay in concert.
Melancholy and neurotic as Rousseau naturally
was, he was rendered even more so by the
persecution of his enemies. (Josephson, Rousseau-P. 533)

James Russell Lowell is an original commentator on Rousseau, the
Sentimentalist as he calls him, viewing especially this angle of the
latter's character alongside such sentimentalists as Lamartine,
Chateaubriand and Cowper, the English Rousseau.—Emile Faguet is
one of the greatest critics France has ever known. His works on
Rousseau are numerous but his "Rousseau penseur" and Dix-huitieme
Siecle" apply especially to the pedagogy of that great French educator. I need not discuss his value or his fame; these points are already established and well-known.

Curiously enough, there seems to be no work existing at present where Rabelais, Montaigne and Rousseau are taken together, to compare or to contrast. One cannot help but wonder how such a fascinating field has not interested some original author.--After considerable research, I was able to find one excellent book which related the influence of Montaigne on Rousseau. This volume written by Pierre Villey has for title: "L'Influence de Montaigne sur les idees de Locke et de Rousseau." This book has helped me considerably in comparing Montaigne to Rousseau; but, relative to the influence of Rabelais on the latter Two, I was left practically to my own resources.
Rabelais' character has borne many criticisms. His history is legendary. We have made of him, a drinker, a bohemian, a clown, and even a promoter of industry. And all this, we can attribute to the influence of his books "Les grandes et estimables chroniques du grand et enorme geant Pantagruel, les faits et gestes de Pantagruel, roi des Dipsodes, Vie tres horribique du grand Gargantua"—all of which "are, under a diverting and fantastic form, the epic of the sixteenth century, as the Iliad and Odyssey were the epic of Ancient Greece; as the 'Divine Comedy' was the epic of Mediaeval Catholicism; as the 'Comedie Humaine' of Balzac is the epic of modern democracy. (Berenger, Henri—Library of the World's Best Literature—Vol. 21, P. 12004.)—Therein we shall the "wherefore" of the gay anecdotes, a great many falsely founded, that we relate about him. In reality, Rabelais was a scientist, a humanist, highly esteemed by the great personages of Humanism, Bude, Geoffroy d'Estissac, Cardinal du Bellay, Francois Ier. If Rabelais has written lines too realistic, too crude for polite ears, blame it on the nature of his character, a lover of good-cheer, friend of comedy, and of "le rire gras" but never, what a cursory reading of him would suggest—the filth of his mind. Indeed Putnam does not think Rabelais obscene. According to this biographer, Rabelais' coarseness "is the mode of speech of a century which alluded to the obvious physiological functions with the same zest that was brought to the burning of a heretic." (P. S. P. 9) Yet Rabelais' frame of mind seems to be a matter of opinion since F. G. Stokes sees in him, a ribald mind." (Stokes, F. G.—Hours with Rabelais, P. 25) Walter Besant is still more energetic in his condemnation:
"As for his fault of coarseness, his biographers defend it on the usual ground—taste of the age, and so forth. Rubbish! Where is the 'taste of the age' in Erasmus? There has been no time in the world's history from Catullus downwards, when those who have sinned in this way have done in deference to the 'taste of the age'.

(Besant, W.—The French Humorists. P.129)

Whatever epithets we apply to his tales, we need remember that these embody a deep philosophical meaning—notwithstanding the merry 'risque' set-up of the composition. Stokes sees in Rabelais "a vein of deep and earnest thought." (Stokes, F. G. P. 25) Even in his maddest and most extravagant moments, there drops a word of wisdom, unexpected in the midst. In Rabelais there is no pure fooling. (Besant, W. P.5)

Many disputes have occurred on Rabelais' account. Professor Lefranc, the greatest living Rabelais scholar, maintains that to this day, that great satirist is not understood. Indeed from the foregoing quotations, it is obvious that there are many interpretations about his character, and sometimes his meaning. But his genius will bear no dispute. Rabelais compels the admiration of the centuries: his name will always be synonymous with "great philosopher, great artist, and great author."

(Berenger, H. P. 12006)

General Character of his Pedagogy.

The pedagogy of Rabelais is the first appearance of realism as contrasted with the education of the middle ages. The author of Gargantua and Pantagruel deplores the education of his time, scholasticism, and finds it difficult to believe, that some individuals—in that enlightened century, cannot, or will not take their eyes away from this gothic fog that surround them from all sides. While it is true that scholasticism toward its decadence, has indulged in excesses, so much so that to-day the mere word brings in thoughts of philosophical subtleties—Rabelais seems to
overlook the fact that the 13th Century owes a great deal to scholasticism.

For Rabelais Gargantua will personify the old regime and the page Budemon will represent the new education. Old education is too bookish, says Rabelais. After twenty years of study Gargantua knows all his books by heart, and is able to recite them backward and yet...

"At the last his father perceived, that indeed he studied hard, and that although he spent all his time in it, did nevertheless profit nothing, but which is worse, grew thereby foolish, simple, doted and blockish." (Chap. XV-P. 45)

The conversation, the intelligence, the courtesy, and the courage of the young page arouse general admiration and Gargantua placed alongside Budemon cannot even mumble a single word but "all the countenance that Gargantua kept was, that he fell to bawling like a cow, and cast down his face, hiding it with his cap." (Chap. XV-P. 45) Grandgousier discouraged by the sight of such a sight, confides his son to Ponocrates, the new tutor, who begins his formation anew and gives him a physical, intellectual, moral and religious education. The guiding principle of this education will be utility, to be shown in all the studies of Gargantua, but mostly in the physical education.

Rabelais desires that his student be a model of cleanliness. Grandgousier, returning from war, questions the governesses "whether they had been careful to keep him (Gargantua) clean and sweet" (Chap. XLI-P. 59) and Gargantua answers "that in all the country there was not to be found a cleanlier boy than he." (Chapter XLI-P. 59) He practices all types of exercises in the open air, keeping in mind always the principle of utility.
"He wrestled, ran, jumped, not at three steps and a leap, nor at clochepied, nor yet at the Almanes; for, (said Gymnast) these jumps are for the wars altogether unprofitable, and of no use, but at one leap he would skip over a ditch, spring over a hedge, mount six paces upon a wall."

(Chap. Xlll-P. F2)

And if, perchance, someone should think that dumbbells are a modern invention, let him listen to this:

"Then for the strengthening of his nerves or sinewes, they made him two great sows of lead, each of them weighing eight thousand and seven hundred kintals, which they called Alteres; those he took up from the ground, in each hand, then lifted them over his head, and held them so without stirring three quarters of an hour."

(Chap. Xlll-P. F3)

But the tutor Ponocrates believed also in recreation, in diversion from work and yet profitable. Indeed, once a month upon some fair and clear day, both tutor and pupil would go out of the city and spend all the day frolicking and playing in the country; "yet it was not spent without profit for in the said meadows they usually repeated certain pleasant verses of Vergil's Agriculture." (Chap. 24-P. FF) Thus Rousseau's sometimes thought original back to nature movement makes its debut.—Gargantua eats with good appetite, but his dinner is "sober and thrifty" (Ch. 23, P. F4) his supper, on the contrary is "copious and large, which indeed is the true diet prescribed by the Art of good and sound physics." During the meal, some pleasant topic was chosen for conversation or they would cheerfully discuss

"the virtue, propriety, efficacy and nature of all that was served in at the table......whereof, he learned in a little time all the passages competent for this, that were to be found in Plinie, Julius Pollux, Aristotle, etc."

(1sd B. Ch. 25, P.69)
Ponocrates' pupil devotes 6 hours to studies every day. Gargantua rises at four in the morning; while dressing, he repeats the lessons of the previous day. These morning lessons last three hours. After dinner, followed by a long recreation, he again returns to his studies for another three hours. The curriculum is an extensive one. First on the list, we find the languages:

"I intend, and will have it so, that you learn the languages perfectly: first of all, Greek, as Quintilian will have it; secondly, Latin; and then Hebrew, for the Holy Scripture-sake: and then Chaldee and Arabic likewise."

(2nd. B. Ch. 8, P. 223)

But the pupil loves his mother tongue; he must speak it with clearness and precision. He will also study geometry, arithmetic, astronomy, history, civil law and philosophy. Astronomical lessons consist in the observation of "the figures, situations, aspects, oppositions and conjunctions of the both fixed stars and planets.

(Ch. 23, P. F5)

Natural sciences are given first rank amongst the studies worthy of man:

"Now in matter of the Knowledge of the works of Nature, I would have you study that exactly, and that so there be no sea, river nor fountain, of which you dost not know the fishes, all the fowls of the air, all the several kinds of shrubs and trees, whether in forests or orchards: all the sorts of herbs and flowers that grow upon the ground: all the various metals that are hid within in the bowels of the earth; together with all the diversity of the precious stones, that are to be seen in the Orient and South parts of the World, let nothing of all these be hidden from thee."

(2nd. Book, Ch. 8, P. 225)

Rabelais does not forget the fine arts. Indeed his pupil will sing and learn "to play upon the Lute, the Harp, the Allman Flute with nine holes, the viol, and the Sackbut."

(Ch. XXI, P. 50)
Rabelais' program of studies is vast; He himself acknowledges it: "Let me see you an abyss, a bottomless pit of Knowledge." (End. B, Ch. 8, P. 225) However one must not forget that Gargantua and Pantagruel are giants and thus capable of imbibing more knowledge than an ordinary man. At any rate, although Rabelais condemns memorizing he seems to lay too much emphasis on the development of the memory, contrasting him-self thereon with Montaigne, who, as we shall see later, preferred a well developed mind to a well filled memory.

For a priest, Rabelais' religions teaching strikes me as being pitiably little. There is nothing positive about it: mere pious effusions before the hand-work of the Creator. In the morning, while dressing Gargantua will "oftentime give him-self to worship, adore, pray, and send up his supplications to that Good God whose work did show his majesty and marvellous judgment. (Ch. 27, P. 68)--During the day, Gargantua will serve, love, fear God and will cast on Him all his thoughts and all his hopes so that he may never be separated from Him by his sins. Again at night, before retiring, Gargantua will kneel, give thanks to the Almighty and recommend him-self to his clemency. But Gargantua will not have a good basic knowledge of his christian duties toward his neighbor as well as toward himself. Or, at least, if he should have that knowledge, it shall not come through learning but because, according to Rabelais, "men have naturally an instinct or spur which prompts then to virtuous actions." (Besant, W. P. 113) Rabelais was a Deist—a believer in natural religion only.
"Rabelais and his friends went further than contempt for the trappings of modern religion. They rejected it altogether. There can be no doubt, not the slightest doubt, that Rabelais was a pure and simple Deist."

(Besant, W. P. 125)

A little later, Besant will say that he "is certain that Rabelais was not a Christian." (P. 126) At any rate, Rabelais certainly had no respect for Christianity as the following words of Professor Lefranc, as quoted by Mr. Samuel Putnam will show:

"In his work, Rabelais shows an utter disrespect for the Scriptures, for Miracles, for the ceremonies of the Catholic church, for all those things held sacred by Christians. The author of the Pantagruel does not believe in the immortality of the soul."

(Putnam, S. P. 503)

Montaigne

Personal Character

Montaigne is not an educator by profession. He possesses more, the qualities and characteristics of what the Frenchman would call "le causeur" and not those of the dogmatic educator. He writes as an individual, has "no respect or consideration at all," either to the service of his reader or toward his own glory and in the writing of his Essays proposes "no other than a familiar and private end." (Preface) Indeed that end was familiar and private, since he wished his Essays as a picture of himself. "He himself, is his most frequently recurring theme. (Lowndes, M. E. Michel de Montaigne)

But both John Owen and Bayle St. John think that the unavowed object of Montaigne's Essays is toleration: "the logical and only practical outcome of his reasonings" will say Owen.

(Owen, J. P. 467)

"When he (Montaigne) published, it was with the definite idea of checking fanaticism and enthusiasm, of leaving man's body to be dealt with only by the civil law, and of confining the church to the use of spiritual weapons."

(St. John, Bayle--Montaigne the Essayist-Vol. 2) P. 70)
Montaigne is a lover of freedom, liberty of thought, and within certain limits, of its expression in word and act. But his was not a destructive mind but rather a constructive and repairing one, for instance, limit the power of Pope and King to persecute their subjects on articles of belief.

Montaigne is a sceptic: "There is hardly a page of his Essays which does not bear emphatic evidence to the fact." (Owen, J. P. 450)

Montaigne is a stoic. Here is Fortunat Strowski's judgment of him.

"The pedagogy of Montaigne is all inspired by practical stoicism, with which he tried to clothe himself: freedom from fear and passions, courage and tranquillity of the soul, grip on himself and coolheadedness, and this undaunted glance on the world and events." (Strowski, P. 254)

However Strowski continues on to say that Montaigne is a stoic not because it is fitting to his character and mind but because this doctrine helped him in getting away from the disturbances that imperilled the tranquillity of his mind and hindered him in seeking the satisfaction of his own yearnings.

"There have been men with deeper insight; but, one would say, never a man with such an abundance of thoughts, he is never dull, never insincere, and has the genius to make the reader care for all that he cares for."

"The sincerity and marrow of the man reaches to his sentences."

"Montaigne talks with shrewdness, knows the world and books, and himself, and uses the positive degree: never shrieks, or protests, or prays: no weakness, no convulsion, no superlative: does not wish to jump out of his skin; or play any antics, or annihilate space or time; but is stout and solid; tastes every moment of the day; likes pain, because it makes him feel himself, and realize things: as we pinch ourselves to know that we are awake. He keeps
the plain; he rarely mounts or sinks; likes to feel solid ground, and the stones underneath. His writing has no enthusiasms, no aspiration; contented, self-respecting, and keeping the middle of the road."

(Emerson, R. W.-Representative Men-P. 188)

Guizot gives us a very good idea on the importance of Montaigne in the world of education.

"We may well give assent to all that he advises, let us do all that he recommends. We may find occasion to add thereto; in fact we shall need to proceed further with the student than he has taken him. But we shall have to go over the course which he followed. If he has not said all, yet all that has said is true and before pretending to surpass him, let us set about the task of overtaking him."

(Guizot—Loc. Cit. P. 232-V. 27-P. '33)

We can distinguish two parts in the pedagogy of Montaigne, a negative and a positive part. First he points the abuses of his own time and then goes on to unravel his own views on education.

XVI Century Vices

Montaigne has but hatred for the schools and colleges of his Time. "They are veritable prisons of captive youth... Go to one of them when the lessons are in progress; you hear nothing but outcries of children being punished and of masters drunk with anger. That a way of awakening an appetite for their lesson in those young and timid souls, to conduct them to it with a terrifying air, and hands armed with whips."

(Ed. of Children. P. 157)

"Let me have this violence and compulsion removed; there is nothing that, in my seeming, doth more bastardise and dizz a well born and gentle nature."

(Ed. of Ch. P. 156)

In his appreciation, Compayre maintains that Montaigne's pedagogy is before aught else a protest against the abuses of the medieval schools and that his own doctrine is apparent in his criticisms.

(Compayre's Montaigne P. 63)
The author of the Essays deplores the Pedantism of his Time. This defect consisted primarily in the abuses of the syllogism, "Remove these thorny quiddities of logic, whereby our life can no whit be amended." (Mont. Ed. of Ch. P. 16F) Montaigne would want his pupil to "mock" at these syllogistical subtleties.

Montaigne finds the contemporary education too bookish. The teachers that cling to such a pedagogical creed are incapable of providing a good sound education: they stress too much the development of the memory, treating children only as passive learners.

"I might say, that as plants are choked by over-much moisture, and lamps dammed with too much oil, so are the actions of the mind overwhelmed by over-abundance of matter and study, which occupied and entangled with so great a diversity of things, loseth the means to spread and clear it-self, and that surcharge keepeth it low-drooping and faint."

(Mont. Ed. of Ch. IV 16F)

Montaigne is far from thinking, as Rousseau was to do, of excluding books from education. But he wished them used with discretion, in moderation and always with a view to forming the judgment. As Compayre says, what Montaigne "is fighting against is not the book, but the book learned by rote." (C. P. P6)—Also Montaigne will not allow his pupil to labor too long at books. Life is short, he says, and "we are taught to live when our life is well-nigh spent." (Ed. of Ch. P. 152) Our child is engaged in greater matters, and but the first fifteen or sixteen years of his life are due unto pedantry, the rest unto action: let us therefore employ so short a time as we have to live, in more necessary instructions."

Ideas on Education:

Montaigne's ideal is to prepare a man of the world. He informs us that his system is made "for a gentlemen born of a noble parentage.
and heir of a house, that aimeth at true learning, not so much for gain or commodity to him-self, nor for external shew or ornament, but to adorn and enrich his inward mind." (Ed. of Ch. P. 126) According to Strowski, Montaigne's pedagogy is only applicable to noble natures; it is eminently aristocratic, personal aristocracy rather than the aristocracy of blood or money. (Strowski-P. 259)

Instruction must prepare the child for real life. Utility is the ideal of Montaigne—the criterion and the foundation of his pedagogy. The child will learn the sciences only to use them; and the first result of instruction is to make him "better, wiser and honester." (Ed. of Ch. P. 150) In all sciences, the child will limit him-self to what shall be useful to him at some future day: he must learn how to live.

The tutor must have a well-made mind rather than a well-filled one: this is the particular quality that Montaigne would require of the teacher of his pupil. The mission, the task of the former is not to stock the memory but to form, to develop the judgment. His principal care shall be to accustom the child not to exaggerate the importance of words, nor to accept ready-made judgments or ideas: the tutor must teach his pupil how "to choose and distinguish them (all things learned), without help of others, sometimes opening him the way, other times leaving him open it by him-self." (Ed. of Ch. P. 126) But after the choice has been made, the pupil must not content him-self with the mere learning—he must make these ideas his own, to use the very expression of Montaigne.
As much as Montaigne lays stress on the formation of the mind, yet he does not forget the maxim of the ancients, a healthy mind in a healthy body. Indeed, according to the author of the Essays "it is not sufficient to make his mind strong, his muscles must also be strengthened: the mind is overborne if it be not seconded; and it is too much for her alone to discharge two offices." (Ed. of Ch. P. 133) Games and corporal exercises must have a well-determined part in the curriculum of the pupil, "for it is not a mind, it is not a body that we erect, but it is a man, and we must not make two parts of him." (Ed. of Ch. P. 156) Therefore "all sports and exercises shall be a part of studies; running wrestling, dancing, hunting, and managing of arms and horses". (Ed. of Ch. P. 156) Montaigne would also accustom his pupil to endure sweat and cold; "the sharpness of the wind, the heat of the sun." (Ed. of Ch. P. 157) As Rousseau will exact tater, Montaigne would "remove from him all niceness and quaintness in apparel, in clothing, in lying, in eating and in drinking." (157) In short, he desires a healthy and vigorous lad, with nothing soft or effeminate about him.

The tutor must make his teaching interesting. The class-room must be agreeable and not resemble a prison. He would want it "strewed with green boughs and flowers and with pictures of gladness and Joy, of Flora, and of the Graces, to be set around." Above all, the lessons must be made attractive. In order to do this, the teacher will study the particular tastes and likings of his pupil that he may direct them instead of compelling them. This done, he will develop within him "an honest curiosity of all things;" he will teach him to observe
all things about him, "a building, a fountain, a man, a place where any battle hath been fought, or the passages of Caesar or Charlemagne."
(Ed. of Ch. P. 138)

In matters of discipline, Montaigne takes up vigorously the fight begun by Rabelais. He denounces the colleges of his time as prisons where teachers perpetually give vent to anger and tyranny. Montaigne maintains that he could make him-self feared, he would prefer to make him-self loved. To use his own expression, he would direct by a "sweet-severe mildness." (Ed. of Ch. P. 92) The only failings which Montaigne insists he would severely punish are lying and stubbornness. There is nothing of the "laisser faire" about Montaigne: he understands the psychology of the child and would act accordingly.

What must the child learn?" What they should do being men," answers Montaigne. (of Pedantism P. 113.) thereby revealing to us that his program of studies will be primarily practical. The pupil will study nature. He will familiarize him-self with things of every-day notice. The world, there is his favorite book; a garden, a table, a bed, solitude, morning, all serve as lessons for the pupil of Montaigne. In short, the concrete before the abstract; the enrichment of experience before the use of that experience. What could be more modern?

Montaigne wishes his pupil to study his mother tongue, first of all. "I would first know mine own tongue perfectly, then my neighbor's with whom I have most commerce." (Ed. of Ch. P. 170) The study will begin early and, as much as possible, by visiting or travelling in the country of the language learned. Greek and Latin
are placed in the background. According to Compayre, although Montaigne was thoroughly conversant with Latin, "he was one of the first to shake off the yoke of Latinism." (Compayre P. 87) If they need be learned, it must be through usage and conversation and not through grammar.

Montaigne judges history very useful in the formation of the judgment.

It is "the true looking glass wherein we must look, if we will know whether we be of a good stamp, or in the right bias... (Ed. of Ch. P. 142)....So many strange humours, sundry sects, varying judgments, diverse opinions, different laws, and fantastical customs teach us to judge rightly of ours." (Ed. of Ch. P. 142) And Montaigne adds: "Teach him not so much to know histories, as to judge of them, (Ed. of Ch. P. 139)...for the final end of this study is "to prove better, wiser, and honester." (Ed. of Ch. P. 130)

To Montaigne, philosophy is a study of capital importance. Practical philosophy "seems to be one subject which is never an elective in his system and which is to be studied from infancy to old age." (Ficken. V. 37-P '33, P. 238) Montaigne wishes this study to (appeal to the reflexion) be learned through reflexion and not by or through memory. In the so doing, judgment again will be developed. Apparently, Montaigne finds discourses of philosophy very easy for he does say that "they are much more easy to be conceived than one of Boccaaccio's tates." (Ed. of Ch. P. 153) Probably he exaggerates when he says that "Philosophy hath discourses, whereof infancy as well as decaying old age may make good use." (Ed. of Ch. P. 153)
Notions of Physics and Geometry will accompany the study of philosophy.

Montaigne's advice concerning methods are full of interesting details. First of all, he comes back constantly to the use of active methods. He has too often noticed the passive treatment of children by the contemporary educators. He wishes his pupil to understand what he learns, to be able to prove what he says and to apply that learning. This is a consequence of his fundamental idea on the education of the judgment.

"He (the pupil) shall not so much repeat, as act his lesson. In his actions shall he make repetition of the same. He will show whether there be wisdom in his enterprises, integrity in his demeanour, modesty in his gestures, justice in his actions, judgment and grace in his speech." (Ed. of Ch. P. 161)

It will be the duty of the tutor to have his pupil "first trot on before him, whereby he may the better judge of his pace, and so guess how long he will hold out, that accordingly he may fit his strength." (Ed. of Ch. P. 127)

Montaigne insists on the necessity of direct observation, in contrast to book learning. One senses that Montaigne would abolish book learning for his pupil if he could; it is only through necessity that "his lecture shall be sometimes by way of talk and sometimes by book." (Ed. of Ch. P. 146)—However, to Montaigne nothing is worth more than the contact with reality. A lesson taken from the observation of things, is withheld so much more in the memory of the child, especially if this same lesson is accompanied by practical applications. Contact with men, for instance, is to Montaigne a very efficacious method of forming the judgment.

"What action or object soever presents it-self unto our eyes may serve us instead of a sufficient book. A pretty prank of a boy, a knavish trick of a page, a foolish part of a lackey, an idle tale or any discourse else, spoken either in jest or earnest, at the table or in company, are even as new subjects
for us to work upon." (Ed. of Ch. P. 131.)

All this proves that Montaigne wanted a good deal of "ex-professo" lessons suppressed; now, whether it be complete suppression as P. Villey seems to think, when he says "the great novelty brought in by Montaigne was the suppression of "ex-professo" lessons—or part suppression, if we follow Montaigne's own quotation, previously given." His lecture shall be sometimes by way of talk, and sometimes by book—it is quite difficult to say: however, I think one can safely say book knowledge and "ex-professo" lessons did not take up much of the time of Montaigne's pupil.

Finally, Montaigne recommends travels as a well-needed supplement to a thorough education. He points out the fact that they are indispensable for the study of foreign languages, as well as for the formation of the mind. All this talk on travelling is just another proof to the aristocratic tendency in the teachings of Montaigne, corroborating very well with the appreciation of Strowski given above along that same line of aristocratic inclinations.

All commentators on Montaigne seem to agree that the latter has had three principal shortcomings; (1) insufficient program with too much stress on the judgment, (2) education of woman is narrow, (3) (incomplete) too little moral education.

It is apparent, in the first place, that Montaigne has insisted too much on the formation of the judgment neglecting thereby the development of the other faculties. After all, memory and imagination are important faculties and need be developed at an early age, if they are to be developed at all.
The program is slight "superficial and easy-going" according to Compayre. But the latter is quick to mention that "Montaigne warned us him-self that he would have but little to say on teaching properly so called." But the fact remains, Montaigne's educational program is slight—consisting more in drilling the child along certain views in education than in the exposition of a system of curricular studies.

As concerns the education of women, it is a known fact that Montaigne's views are very narrow. They have not even judgment and the proof that he gives is that, amongst their children, they love best those that hang on their neck or those that are feeblest. To Montaigne a woman knows enough if she can "but make a difference between the shirt and doublet of her husband's." (of Ped. P. 109)
Thus long before Motière we see Montaigne making fun of women. It is useless for them, says he, to study rhetoric, science and philosophy; they are like vain drugs. Poetry is fitting to their character and they might have some notions in history and in moral philosophy. Woman's sovereignty consists in being attractive and charming; beauty is her great asset; it is her only advantage over man. Let us excuse Montaigne because herein he belongs to his century and shares its prejudices on its opinion of women.

Montaigne's views are equally incomplete as concerns moral education. He teaches no positive moral education; will is scarcely developed because everything is arranged to demand the least possible effort of the child. But Montaigne cannot give positive moral education when he holds such views as "evils have no entrance into us but by our judgment" and "that which we call evil and torment be neither torment nor evil, but that our fancy only gives it that quality, it is in us to change." (Good and Evil—P. 231) One's duties
thus vary along the line of opinion—they become a matter of habit and custom, modified according to one's surrounding. All this is not a long way from a blunt negation of evil, in practice if not in theory. Montaigne guards him-self from such a negation—but his sayings seem to lead to it. Strowski reproaches Montaigne of having no metaphysical preoccupation. According to the former "a pedagogical system is forcibly the expression of a philosophy, according to our belief or non-belief in God, according to our adhesion to the principles of Spinoza, of Berkeley, or Hegel." (Strowski, P. 260)

Indeed our pedagogical doctrine will vary according to our philosophical belief—metaphysical beliefs, to exact. "Montaigne's pedagogy seems to have no foundation—it! doctrine seems to be built upon nothing." (Strowski—P. 260) Montaigne is a christian, but a christian, per accidens, as Jules Calvet reveals—very much in the same way that he is a 'Bordelais' and has blue eyes. John Owen finds little to say on the Christianity of Montaigne.

"Little can be said on the affirmative side of that frequent theme of French Essayists—the Christianity, or religion of Montaigne. For while he recognized the ethical purity of Christianity, and preferred the simpler to the more complex stages in its historical evolution, there is little to demonstrate his appreciation of Christianity as a religion superior to all others." (Owen, J. P. 472)

Rousseau proceeds directly from Locke, and, through him, from Rabelais and Montaigne. This spiritual parentage, this community of the soul leads him to construct his pedagogical doctrine on the principle of Naturalism, or preferably on the philosophy of Naturalism, since indeed it is a philosophical system.

As I have pointed out in my preface, I shall not insist on the narration of his biography: it is already well-known. Let us only
say that he was badly reared, and led quite an adventurous life in his youth, an experience, of course, that has shown considerable influence on his character. His entire career is strange; scribe, apprentice engraver, footman, semiharist, musician, author, his life spells uncertainty in life endeavor, groping for the outlet of his genius.—As concerns his religious creed, Rousseau renounces Protestantism and Catholicism, one after the other, to adopt finally, the deism of the philosophers.

"In the course of his rambles he passed over into Savoy, and at Conflignon, finding himself penniless and hungry, he called upon the curé, a zealous Roman Catholic, who, by means of a good dinner and a bottle of wine, converted him to Catholicism."

(Rousseau-Davidson, Thomas—Ed. accord. to Nature P. 47)

"Had he remained in the Catholic church, he might have been a saint." (Lowell, J. R.—Among My Books—P. 375)

"Rousseau had been both a Catholic and a Protestant."

(Davidson, Thomas—Ed. Accord. to Nature—P. 166)

His pride made him irascible and defiant. His susceptibility offended all his friends, protectors and benefactors. Notwithstanding his relations with society, he remained uncouth in his manners and vulgar in his sentiments. His associations with the philosophers of his Time, his disputes with them as well as with religious and civil authorities developed his aversion for men, and, as a result, affected him with profound melancholy. One has only to read his Confessions, to see that his later life was sad and somber. Believing every acquaintance an enemy desirous of stealing his own ideas, he flees from one town to another. Thus, after a very warm friendship with Hume, he suspects this philosopher of trying to poison him. How Jean Jacques must have suffered in those last days!—But there can be no doubt about Rousseau's kindly nature. Émile Faguet gives us
an excellent cross-section of this kindness in the following lines:

"Rousseau's life is the life of the youth and education of a sensitive, imaginative and passionate Gil Blas. He became unbalanced, but not a vile man. His foundation was good, not his moral foundation, which did not exist, but his sensitive foundation. —Rousseau had a good heart. Without will-power, yet he was good, kind, compassionate, charitable, and really (and not only in words) "brotherly."

We must not forget this point of view: it is his principal trait." (Rousseau Penseur—P. 168)

Sainte Beuve speaks of Rousseau as a being more human than Chateaubriand, as not having the aberrations of the heart which Chateaubriand displays in speaking of his father and mother, for example.

And yet why did Rousseau abandon his five children? Was it just a weak moment? We certainly cannot give him the benefit of the doubt after reading Thomas Davidson, who is more severe than both Faguet and Ste. Beuve on the depiction of Rousseau's character.

"His insight, like his knowledge, was limited and undisciplined, his affections capricious and undisciplined, and his will ungenerous and selfish."

(Ed. According to Nature—P. 3)

"For the first thirty years of his life, Rousseau was a bundle of ardent desires, undisciplined by either serious reflection or moral training. He responded to outward impressions exactly as an animal does, restrained, if at all, only by fear. So utterly unaware was he that there is such a thing in the world as morality or duty, that it seems almost unfair to apply any moral standard to his actions. He is the natural man, pure and simple, with egoistic and altruistic instincts of a merely sensuous, not to say sensual kind. He has gone back to the state of nature; he is a savage living among civilized men, and adapting himself to their standards as far as he must. He is lying, faithless, slanderous, thievish, lascivious, indecent, cruel, cowardly, selfish. Only toward the end do germs of nobler things begin to appear." (Ed. Accord. to Nature—P. 48)

John Morley, Sainte Beuve, Jules Calvet, all consider Rousseau sincere in his works.
"As one whose most intense conviction was faith in the goodness of all things and creatures—as they are first produced by nature." (Morley, John—Rousseau—P.192)

While I think it would be quite difficult to prove him insincere, it is my own personal opinion that he is. My reasons are few, yet, I believe, worthy of mention. We know that Rousseau was proud and ambitious. When the Academy of Dixon offered a prize for an essay on the question whether the progress of the arts and science had contributed to purify the morals, Rousseau announced his participation in that contest. William T. Harris tells us that Rousseau wrote his "Discours sur les Sciences et les Arts" following the suggestion and advice of the philosopher and encyclopedist Denis Diderot, who reminded him that he would gain "greater notoriety" were he to advocate the negative side. And, according to Harris, Rousseau found "this line of authorship so flattering to his conceit, and so well fitted to his mode of life, his habits of thoughts, and literary style, that he adopted it as a career." (Harris—P. 7)

When Monsieur Segnier de Saint Brisson, a young officer discontented with life, wrote to Rousseau revealing his resolution to lead the life of Emile, Jean Jacques discloses his reply in the "Confessions."

"Alarmed at this petulance, I immediately wrote to him, endeavouring to make him renounce his resolution, and my exhortations were as strong as I could make them." (2nd. Vol. P. 346—Knoff, Alfred A. '23)

And a little later, Rousseau says that Saint Brisson became "cured of these follies."—A man who terms his works "follies" could not have been totally sincere. Finally, in a journal on the stay of Jean Jacques in Strasbourg in 1765, we read this:

"Monsieur Anga visited and said: You see, Sir, a man who has educated his son according to the principles taken in your Emile—Too bad, Monsieur, answered Jean Jacques,...too bad for you and your son." (Ed. According to Nature—P. 246)
Emile Faguet tells us that Rousseau himself judged his \textit{Emile} quite severely. "Rousseau had little faith in its efficiency." (Josephson, \textit{M.-Rousseau-P.} p. 378)

"Rousseau himself has judged his \textit{Emile}, eight years after the writing; not without some severity. To a preceptor, he said: 'If it is true that you have adopted the plan that I have tried to trace in the \textit{Emile}, I admire your courage; because you are too intelligent to overlook the fact that in such a system, it is necessary to have everything or nothing, and that it would be a hundred times preferable to continue the course of ordinary educations than to pursue that one by halves. You cannot possibly be ignorant of the huge task you are giving yourself.'" (Faguet, \textit{Emile-Rousseau, Peuseur, P.} p. 180)

Rousseau's ideas on education are found embedded in three works—"\textit{La Nouvelle Héloïse, Considerations sur le Gouvernement de la Pologne}" and the most famous and most important—\textit{Emile}, the only full-length pedagogical work. Compayre gives us a good idea of this opus in the following lines:

"\textit{Emile} is a knotty, tangled book, full of matter, and to such an extent is the true mingled with the false, imagination and hazardous dream with keen, accurate observation and reasoning power, that at first a full comprehension of it is impossible. It is not one of those simple, straightforward works which yield their secret from the outset; it is an intricate composition, half novel, half philosophical treatise, which—supposing that Rousseau had not written \textit{La Nouvelle Héloïse}—would be sufficient to justify the title of a recent study by Mr. Faguet, \textit{J. J. Rousseau, romancier francais}, just as it gave him the right to be called 'a psychologist of the first degree, an appellation bestowed on him by Mr. Davidson, an English author. \textit{Emile} deserves to remain the external object of the educators' meditation, were it only because it is an act of faith and trust in humanity.' (Compayre, P.)

Indeed is it not Voltaire who, notwithstanding, his none too great love for Rousseau, said that fifty pages of \textit{Emile} should be bound in gold.
The general plan of the *Emile* exhibits Rousseau's skill in literary art. Instead of writing a formal treatise on education in didactic style, after the fashion of the day, he gives us in moving pictures a sort of panorama of a human life from very infancy up to maturity, passing through the various stages of an early education according to nature. The *Emile* might be called an educational romance, after the style of the Gargantua, and its form might have been suggested by this work. (Payne, P. 23)

The method of the book is purely deductive, starting with assumed principles. However the argumentation is never conducted in a systematic way. *Emile* abounds with repetition, contradictions, long digressions, so much so that it is only by slow induction that the reader can finally arrive to the purpose and spirit of the whole; all this fits Montaigne's Essays perfectly.

*Emile* is divided into five books:

The first book treats of the two first years of the child, Rousseau begins by this affirmation:

"Everything is good as it comes from the hands of the author of Nature; but everything degenerates in the hands of man." (*Emile*-P. 1)

This is precisely the theory that Rousseau maintains throughout his works. Man is naturally good but society has depraved him; the only means of reform is the return to nature. To found this new society, Rousseau puts his hope primarily on those children who will have been formed according to the principles of nature; hence, the importance of education.

Rousseau isolates the child to protect him from all surroundings, even from his parents—(in the case of *Emile*; an orphan).

"How difficult a thing it is," Madame d'Epinay once said to him, "to bring up a child." "Assuredly it is," answered Rousseau, "because the father and mother are not made by nature to bring it up, nor the children to be brought up." (Mem. de Mme. d'Epinay-11276-3) (Morley, John—Rousseau—P/ 193)
His tutor alone shall be his constant companion. And as real men cannot be grown in cities, Emile will receive his education in the country. Swaddling clothes shall be removed: Emile will become accustomed to "have gowns flowing and loose, and which will, leave all his limbs at liberty." (Emile P. 25) Emile will form no habits. "The only habit which the child should be allowed to form is to contract no habit whatever." And he shall suffer the natural consequences of his acts: nothing must be granted to caprice. And Rousseau goes on giving general views on education; physical care, hygiene, consideration on the cries of children and how these cries should be lessened through apparent neglect. Rousseau insists particularly on the importance of the mother role; she should suckle her own child. Speaking of the custom where Mothers do not wish to perform their first duty, Rousseau demands "whence comes this unreasonable, this unnatural custom?" (Emile P. 11) —Rousseau even has a few pages on the best methods of teaching children to talk. The author of the Emile does indeed merit the appellation of "psychologist of the first degree" given to him by Mr. Thomas Davidson.

In this first book, Rousseau announces his aim of vocation, which is not to make his pupil a doctor or a lawyer—but a man, meaning that the author of Emile will illustrate himself in the next few lines:

"In the natural order of things, all men being equal, their common vocation is manhood, and whoever is well trained for that cannot fulfill badly any vocation connected with it. Whether my pupil be destined for the army, the church, or the bar, concerns me but little. Regardless of the vocation of his parents, nature summons him to the duties of human life. To live is the trade I wish to teach him." (Emile-P. 8)
The second book takes the child from the age of two to the age of twelve. Emile will work mainly toward the development of his physical being. He will have no books; above all, we will avoid teaching him the fables of La Fontaine, because the child will be "seduced by the fiction" and "allow the truth to escape" him. (Emile P. 80) Emile will need well-chosen games, and much liberty. This education, which will take place in the country, will consist not only in "swimming, running, jumping, spinning a top" (Emile P. 96) but in the education of the senses.

"The first faculties that are formed in us are the senses. They are, therefore the first to be developed; but they are the ones that we forget or neglect the most." (Emile. P. 96)

To exercise the senses, is to learn not merely how to make use of them but also, how to judge by them, for we neither know "how to feel, nor to see, nor to hear, save as we have been taught." (Emile. P. 96)

Throughout this education, the pupil must believe he is free.

"Let him always fancy that he is the master, but let it always be yourself that really governs. There is no subjection so perfect as that which preserves the appearance of liberty." (Emile. P. 87)

Experience will be the only teacher of the child. "Do not give your pupil sort of verbal lesson, for he is to be taught only by experience." (Emile P.96)

"The most valuable of Rousseau's notions about education, though he by no means consistently adhered to them, was his urgent contempt for this fatuous substitution of spoken injunctions and prohibitions, for the deeper language of example, and the more living instruction of visible circumstance. The vast improvements that have since taken place in the theory and the art of education all over Europe, and of which he has the honour of being the first and most widely influential promoter, may all be traced to the spread of this wise principle, and its adoption in various forms."

(Morley, John-Rousseau-Vol. 2-P.208)

The tutor will not teach, but will place his pupil in situations
where the child will learn by him-self. The man of Nature must indeed be left alone; "Nature must be given a complete *laissez-faire* in the attentions which she loves to give alone." (Emile P. 95) Rousseau admits he "will only give his pupil practical lessons;" but these lessons will be interesting; and the child will learn them, because he so wishes and not because he is forced. "O men, be humane," cries Rousseau, "it is your foremost duty."

"Love children; encourage its sports, its pleasures, its amiable instincts. Why would you take from those little innocents the enjoyment of a time so short which is slipping from them, and of a good so precious which they can not abuse?" (Emile P. 45)

Emile will lose much time through this long physical education, but this is precisely what the author of *Emile* wishes:

"You are alarmed at seeing him consume his early years in doing nothing! Really! Is it nothing to be happy? Is it nothing to jump, play, and run, all the day long? In no other part of his life will he be so busy." (Emile P. 68)

One of Rousseau's monstrous errors is to speak to his pupil neither of God nor of his soul: he preoccupies him-self with his vegetative life only. The teaching of theology will come later; much could be said in criticism of this doctrine but I will save it for my conclusion. Here is a short judgment by Monsieur Compayre on what Emile will know when he reaches the age of twelve:

"Until twelve years old, physical life and sense exercise: nothing for either intelligence or heart. Emile, at the age of twelve, is only a hardy animal, an agile "roe-buck." (Compayre P. 40)

"Rousseau's solitary pupil reaches the age of twelve years without having learnt to do anything by play. In playing, he has exercised his muscles; nerves, senses. He has no knowledge of man; he does not reason; his sole motive is sensual pleasure. But he is supple, alert, healthy, and docile, like a well-trained young dog. Moreover, he is exuberantly happy, because his strength if far in advance of his needs, and because the absorbing passion of manhood
has not yet awakened in him. (Davidson, T.-Rousseau-Ed. Accord. to Nature.-P. 137)

The third book finds Emile studying from twelve to fifteen: it is the intellectual formation. It is necessary that the pupil know, "not what is, but only what is useful." (Flam. P. 203) Curiosity will be the only motive and the only guide: "This curiosity well directed is the only motive of the age to which we have arrived."
The talent of the tutor lies in his ability to keep that curiosity always alive, one of the methods being "never in haste to satisfy" that curiosity. (Payne. P. 137) Emile must, as much as possible, discover the truth by himself.

"Let him know nothing because you have told it to him, but because he has comprehended it himself; he is not to learn science but to discover it." (Payne P. 37)

Rousseau would like to suppress all books. "I hate books," he says, "they merely teach us to talk of what we do not know." (Payne P.161)
The world, the universe will be his only book, and instruction must be directed towards facts. "Things! Things! I will never repeat enough that we give too much consideration to words." (Flammarion P.224)

However Rousseau knows that in practice it is impossible to go without books, and he points out one particular book that, in all necessity, Emile must read.

"Since we must necessarily have books, there exists one, which, to my way of thinking, furnishes the happiest treatise on natural education. This book shall be the first which my Emile will read; for a long time it will of itself constitute his whole library, and always hold a distinguished place in it. It shall be the text on which all our conversations on the natural sciences will serve merely as a commentary. During our progress it will serve as a test for the state of our judgment; and, as long as our taste is not corrupted, the reading of it will always please us. What, then, is this wonderful book? Is it Aristotle? Is it Pliny? Is it Buffon? No; it is Robinson Crusoe." (Payne. P. 162)
What will be Rousseau's program of studies? Physical sciences will rank first, particularly astronomy. The author of *Emile* presents an interesting passage on his method of teaching this science. The tutor and his pupil were lost in the forest (the tutor feigning); both wanted to reach a certain town (Montmorency) nearby. Emile contents himself with crying and demanding food. The tutor tells him that he also is tired and hungry, and that they must find a way out. Through a series of questions, the tutor finally interests his pupil on a manner of proceeding. Direction of the shadows is used—but the tutor only instigates and places Emile in a position to find the answers himself.

Emile will study geography but only be travels. No globes, spheres and maps will be used. "What machines," exclaims Rousseau, "Why not begin by showing him the object itself." (Payne P. 137)—Emile will not learn grammar, it is too artificial. By hearing his master talk, he will learn to speak his mother tongue correctly. Rousseau despises the old classical studies, the ancient languages, in particular, which he considers a useless feature of education. He has the same dislike for history. Children, according to Rousseau cannot learn history, and get anything from that study, because they have no sense of relations. However Emile may learn history, when he reaches a more advanced age, and when he shall be able to understand relationships.

Rousseau makes proof of his practical mind by insisting that Emile learn a trade.

"Rousseau may fairly claim the honor of being the father of manual training." (Davidson, F. 'Rousseau—Ed. Accord. to Nature—P. 145)
"I insist absolutely that Emile shall learn a trade. I do not want him to be an embroiderer, a gilder, or a varnisher, like Locke's gentleman; neither do I want him to be a musician, a comedian, or a writer of books. Except these professions, and others which resemble them, let him choose the one he prefers; I do not assume to restrain him in anything." (Payne, P. 130)

At fifteen, Emile will not know much as curricular studies are concerned, no history, no literature, no languages; on the other hand, he will have a trade, preferably, a cabinet maker. Rousseau himself admits that his pupil will have little knowledge (Payne, P. 189) but he will have "a mind that is universal, not through its knowledge but through its facility of acquiring it; a mind that is open, intelligent, ready for everything." (Payne, P. 189) Jean Jacques here uses the same expression of Montaigne to say that the mind of his child of nature is, "if not taught, at least teachable." (Payne, P. 189) Emile has now a great asset; he is able to judge.

In the fourth book, which takes the child from fifteen to twenty years of age, Emile will become a loving and sensible person; it is the education of the heart.

"It is here that man really begins to live, and nothing human is foreign to him. So far our cares have been but child's play; it is only now that they assume a real importance. This epoch, where ordinary education ends, is properly the one where ours ought to begin." (Payne, P. 193)

So far, Emile has developed his body, his senses, and his judgment; his heart remains to be dealt with. To this stage, he has loved anyone, that is, he has not been expected to. During this period, the child of nature shall receive from his tutor, notions on the relations that must unite the various members of society. Ideas of good, evil, kindness, justice and patriotism are instilled. Before this, the reader must remember that Emile had no ideas of morality: bluntly, Jean Jacques tells us so in his second book:
"Divested of all morality in his actions, he can do nothing which is morally wrong, and which merits either chastisement or reprimand." (Payne P. 57)

Before, the age of fifteen, children, according to Rousseau cannot understand religion: they merely follow the beliefs of their parents, not knowing why they do so. Rousseau, in a famous passage taken from "La Nouvelle Heloise," reveals why children should not learn their catechism before the age of fifteen or thereabouts:

"What! Julie, your children do not learn their catechism? No, my friend, my children do not learn their catechism.—What! and you, a mother so pious! I do not understand you. Why don't your children learn their catechism?—So that, one day, they will believe in it; I wish to make Christians of them. Ah! I'm beginning to understand! You do not wish their faith to be only in words, nor that they know their religion only; but that they believe it. And you believe that it is impossible for man to believe what he does not understand." (Nouvelle Heloise—V Part. Letter 3, P. 136)

Only God remains to be known. A good priest, a "vicaire savoyed" brings the young man in the country and, in presence of the grandiose spectacle of nature, he reveals the doctrine of Deism.

"The Savoyard Confession of Faith remains, I believe, the most beautiful Credo of Spiritualism ever written."

(Lemaitre, Jules-J.-J. Rousseau—P. 279)

If Emile desires a more positive religion, he will be free to choose.

"We know through his Confessions and otherwise, that morality meant nothing to him but a careful calculation of the possibilities of undisturbed sensual enjoyment. We may fairly conclude, therefore, that the aim of Emile's education, thus far, has been to prepare him, not for a life of earnest, determined, moral struggle and self-sacrifice, but for a life of quiet, cleanly, assured sensual delight; not for a life of active enterprise, but for a life of passive dalliance."

(Davidson, T.-Rousseau—Ed. Accord. to Nature—P. 177)
J. Rousseau completes his education by having him study "the beauties of eloquence and diction." (Payne P. 250) This is the period also for good poetry, and literature, to be found, "in the writings of the ancients, who have a certain simplicity of taste, which penetrates the heart," (Payne P. 250) rather than among those of the contemporary authors, who "say little and talk much." (Payne P. 250)—Finally the moment has come for Emile to go out into the world and find the wife and compagnon that the Providence has prepared for him.

Before passing on to the education of Sophie, the wife to be of Emile, I would like to quote Emile Faguet who gives a short and very good "aperceus general" on the education of the child of nature:

"The education of Emile will be divided into two parts; from the cradle to the age of twelve, and from twelve to twenty or thereabouts. During the first period, education will be purely negative; in the second, it will be suggestive; in the first period, it will consist in teaching nothing; in the second, it will consist in inspiring the desire of self instruction. (Faguet, Emile—Rousseau, Penseur—P. 192)

The last part and fifth book of this pedagogic novel is devoted to the education of Sophie, destined to become the wife and compagnon of Emile. She will be reared by her family and her instruction will be of the briefest. Her constitution is different to that of the man, and Rousseau puts in several pages to prove that point; and "the moment it is demonstrated that man and woman are not of the same nature, it follows that they ought not to have the same education." (Payne P. 261) Rousseau maintains that "whole education of women ought to be relative to men; to please them, to be useful to them, to make themselves loved and honored by them." (Payne P. 263)

Sophie will have a healthy body. Indeed, according to Jean Jacques, the "first culture ought to be that of the body;" the health of the offspring makes that point a necessity. Women must therefore indulge in physical exercises, jumping, running, playing, shouting.
As a secondary result, grace of the body will be assured.

All her studies will be based on utility: she must become proficient in domestic arts, which are in keeping with her nature. However she will not be restricted solely to household arts. She will learn music, singing, and dancing. Unlike Emile, Sophie will make her entry into society at a very early age. She will go often to balls, plays, banquets, accompanied by her mother. However, once married, all this shall discontinue; she must "shut herself up in the ease of domestic life," and devote herself to her husband and children. If Sophie makes her debut in society, it is to taste its pleasure, but, on the contrary, "to feel its emptiness and vice and be sickened of it forever." (Compayre P. 92)

Sophie is virtuous; "this love has become her ruling passion". To her nothing is "so beautiful as virtue." (Payne P. 293) Yet, she must be a coquette, not for her own gratification, but to make herself attractive to men. Also she must be gentle: "the first and most important quality of a woman is gentleness."

"Her empire is an empire of gentleness, mildness, and complaisance. Her orders are caresses, and her threats are tears." (Morley, John---Rousseau---P. 243)

She must learn to suffer injustice and "endure the wrongs of a husband without complaint." In the so doing, she will have much more influence over her husband, than if she were to adopt a "waspish, imperious" attitude.

Sophie shall not pursue abstract studies; they are out of her reach.

"The search for abstract and speculative truths, principles, and scientific axioms, whatever tends to generalize ideas, does not fall within the compass of women." (Payne P. 281)

If the compagnon of Emile, has any reflections, let it be "directed to the study of men." She will need that knowledge in her relations with
her husband. — Although Rousseau believes that "the judgment is
developed sooner in women than in men," (Payne P. 294) he believes
her incapable of understanding the "works of genius," especially in
the field of Physical sciences, where their sense of accuracy is
insufficient.

Unlike Émile, Sophie will receive her religious education early,
and the reason disclosed is not too flattering to womanhood:

"It is easy to see that if boys are not in a
condition to form any true idea of religion,
for a still stronger reason the same idea is
above the conception of girls. It is on this
very account that I would speak to them the
earlier on this subject; for if we must wait
till they are in a condition to discuss these
profound questions methodically we run the risk
of never speaking to them on this subject." (Payne P. 275)

The education of children does not fall within the compass of women,
to use one of Rousseau's expression: that care must be left to a man,
whose superior intelligence warrants such action. But women must
prepare the child to receive such education. Julie in the following
lines, seems to understand her duty and her rank remarkably well,
when she says, in harmony with Rousseau's pedagogical system:

"I nurse my children, and have not the presumption
to desire to form men. I hope (looking at her husband)
that more worthy hands will take charge of this noble
task. I am a woman and a mother; I know where lies
my duty. Once more, the function with which I am
charged is not to educate my sons, but to prepare them
to be educated. (Nouvelle Héloïse-Siome Partie, L. 3-P.181)
Theories of Rabelais, Montaigne and Rousseau viewed together:
comparison and contrast.

As I have pointed out in my 'Review of Literature' I know of no book at present which deals with these three educationalists taken together. Though we know that Rousseau proceeded directly from Locke, and from him to Montaigne and Rabelais, I did not take up Rousseau’s every detail to see if every point is also maintained by Montaigne and Rabelais: that would have been a thesis by itself.--Thus I had to content myself with a comparison of their major theories.

In the selection of studies which they offer to their prospective pupils, Rabelais, Montaigne, and Rousseau are obedient to a principle—a single criterion—that of Utility. They all intend to fit their students to life. Gargantua wrestles, runs, jumps "not at three steps and a leap, nor at hop-scotch; for, these jumps are for the wars altogether unprofitable and of no use, but at one leap he would skip over a ditch, spring over a hedge, mount six paces upon a wall." (XIII, p. 72) At table, this same pupil will converse with his tutor, but their discourse will be "learned and profitable." (P. 23, 74)—Montaigne maintains that "the good that comes of study is to prove better, wiser and honester." (Ed. of Ch. p. 130) Does he not require the teaching of philosophy because "it teacheth us to live." (Ed. of Ch. p. 152) Logic should be removed from the curriculum because thereby "our life can no whit be amended". (Ed. of Ch. p. 153)—No educator is stronger for practical studies than Jean Jacques Rousseau. He insists "absolutely that Emile shall learn a trade," (Payne p. 100) but only when the Time comes. Before this period, he is of the mind of Montaigne and says "to live is the trade
I wish to teach him." (Payne P. 3) The entire curriculum of these three educators is inspired by this criterion of Utility. "What is it good for:" this is the sacred phrase.

Individual teaching shall replace class instruction, for the three educators. All three make a violent onslaught on the inept education of their Time. Montaigne and Rousseau are dogmatic in their derision and anger against colleges. Montaigne relates how he lost at the College of Guyenne all the knowledge of Latin which he had learned in his boyhood. "They are veritable prisons of captive youth," says the author of the _Essays_. Listen to Rousseau "I do not regard as a system of public instruction these ridiculous establishments called colleges." (Payne P. 7) Rabelais does not use the word 'college', yet does not Gargantua make fun of the students of Limoges.—The second disadvantage of the education of their Time is that it is too bookish. Gargantua's program of studies will be vast but let us remember that he is against Montaigne will not exclude books from the curriculum, as Rousseau will do. But he will have them used "with discretion," in the words of Compayre, (P. 76) "in moderation, and always with a view to forming the judgment." What Montaigne is against is not the book it-self, but the book learned by rote, and without criticism. Rousseau is more radical when he says:

"I take away the instruments of their greatest misery, namely, books. Reading is the scourge of infancy, and almost the sole occupation, which we know how to give them. At the age of twelve, Emile will hardly know what a book is." (Payne P. 81)

The third educational defect, common in the days of Rabelais, Montaigne, and even Rousseau, is enforced discipline in the schools. Rabelais in contrast with this harsh method of teaching, would make his program "so sweet, so delightful, that it seemed rather the
recreation of a king than the study of a scholar." (Ch. 24, P. 77)

Here is what Montaigne thinks on the question:

"As for other matters, this institution ought to be directed by a sweet severe mildness; not as some do, who in lieu of gently bidding children to the banquet of letters, present them with nothing but horror and cruelty. Let me have this violence and compulsion removed; there is nothing, that, in my seeming doth more bastardise and dizzy a well born and gentle nature." (Ed. of Ch. P. 156)

Montaigne maintains that even though he could make himself feared, he would rather make himself loved. The author of the _Essays_ would like to see the schoolhouses "strewed with green boughs and flowers, rather than with bloody birchen twigs," and "pictures of Gladness and Joy, of Flora, and of the Graces, set up." (Ed. of Ch. P. 157) The only failings that Montaigne insists must be energetically repressed are lying and stubbornness.—No one is more convinced than Rousseau that gentleness and love must be shown to children. We have already quoted above his cry against the brutality so common in the pedagogical system of his day. ("Be Human—Payne P. 45) —Jean Jacques would have punishments but "punishment must never be inflicted on children as a punishment, but it ought always to come to them as the natural consequence of their bad acts." (Payne P. 65)

While gentleness to children is sacred to all three—-they agree also in the opinion that studies must be made attractive.

Rabelais indicates, in the following lines, how arithmetic, so dull to a great many children, can be made interesting:

"They brought in cards, not to play, but to learn a thousand pretty tricks, and new inventions, which were all grounded upon Arithmetic; by this means he fell in love with that numerical science and every day after dinner and supper he past his time in it as pleasantly, as he was wont to do at cards and dice. And not only in that, but in the other Mathematical sciences, as Geometry, Astronomy, Music, etc." (1sD. Ch. 23, P. 70)
In the next quotation by Montaigne, we have what Ficken calls "a Sixteenth Century use of the term 'sugar-coating'." (Ficken, V. 377, 33) P. 240. Sch. & S

"We must sweeten the food that is healthy for the child and make better what is harmful to him." (Ed. of Ch. P. 156)

Rousseau abounds with examples of interest shown by his pupil. In order to teach her child to read, Julie will read him some interesting story. As soon as he begins to show interest, she will cease reading, preferably at some gripping moment in the tale, with the excuse of other work to do. The child shall ask the servants to finish the story, but everything has been arranged; they are not to pay any attention to his demand. Thus the child shall be left with one alternative: to finish the tale, and satisfy his aroused interest, he must learn to read.--Emile will receive "from parents, relatives, or friends, notes or invitation for a dinner, a walk, a boat-ride or to see some public entertainment." (Payne P. 82) Unfortunately every time he is successful in finding someone to read him these notes, it proves too late. Poor Emile must make an attempt to decipher them himself.--In general, as concerns the studies of his pupil, Rousseau would "abandon everything rather than have his tasks become irksome." (Payne P. 145)

Another pedagogical doctrine that has found sympathy with Rabelais, Montaigne and Rousseau is the freedom of the child. Everyone is familiar with Rabelais' somewhat ludicrous creation, the convent of the Tholenites, and the strictest tie of their order: "Do what thou wilt." (1st. Book, Ch. 7, P. 175)

"All their life was spent not in laws, statutes or rules, but according to their own free will and pleasure. They rose out of their beds, when they thought good: they did eat, drink, labour, sleep, when they had a mind to it, and were disposed for it. None did awake them, none did offer to constrain them to eat, drink, nor to do any other thing." (1st B. C.VII, P. 175)
However ridiculous all this may seem—yet, we must not forget that it is a genius who is writing, a learned and sagacious man who, while having in mind to divert his hospital patients with his tales, also wishes to impart serious thoughts under the cover of comedy. To really enjoy Rabelais, one must need be 'Rabelais minded,' (if I may so express myself), and look deeper into the core of his funny lines. Throughout his narration of Gargantua's education, Rabelais often inserts the formula "as it best pleased them" varying in form but always identical in meaning. Here is an example:

"After this, they recreated themselves with singing, in four or five parts, or upon a set theme or ground at random, as it best pleased them." (lst. B. Ch. 23, P. 70)

Montaigne would have freedom for the child in two things, in discipline and in judgment. For discipline, he says: "Let me have this compulsion removed." (Ed. of Ch. P. 156) Freedom in judgment shall find a proof in the following assertion:

"I would have him make his scholar narrowly to sift all things with discretion, and harbour nothing in his head by mere authority, or upon trust. Aristotle's principles shall be no more axioms unto him, than the stoics or Epicureau's. Let this diversity of judgments be proposed unto him; if he can, he shall be able to distinguish the truth from falsehood; if not, he will remain doubtful." (Ed. of Ch. P. 128)

Emile, in the words of Compayre, is the charter of childhood's freedom. (Compayre's, "Rougneau" P. 24) The reason is not very difficult to understand when we have such statements as these:

"How much he learns is of no account, but only that he does nothing against his wish." (Payne's Emile, P. 145)

"It is wrong always to speak to children of their duties, never of their rights." (Compayre-P. 24)
In another passage, Jean Jacques seems more conservative, fortunately, I might say:

"Let him always fancy that he is the master, but let it always be your-self that really governs." (Emile-P. 87)

Rabelais, Montaigne and Rousseau were not theorists but practicalists, as their criterion of utility has shown. The three did not believe in mere theory learning. Indeed, did they say that they wished to fit their pupils to life. For them, the pupil must live his lesson; he will learn nothing in books that can be learned by experience: experience, another sacred word for these three educators. Rabelais' pupil will not learn the ancient play of tables only in books; but he will play the game, with the book explaining the game near him:

"In playing, they examined the passages of Ancient authors, wherein the said play is mentioned. (Ch. 24-P. 76)

Montaigne reveals that his pupil "shall not so much repeat, as act his lessons. In his actions shall he make the repetition of the same." (Ed. of Ch.-P. 161) Thereby, according to the author of the Essays, the pupil will show "whether there be wisdom in his enterprises and justice in his actions." (Ed. of Ch. P. 161) Compayre believes that "active methods, which demand reflection on the part of the pupil, have found in our Time no more zealous advocate."

(Compayre's Mont. P. 116) The same quotation could be used for Rousseau, although Monsieur Compayre did not make it. Indeed Rousseau was just as firm a believer in active methods as his fellow educationalist of almost two centuries' antecedence. Jean Jacques, for instance maintained that "it is only by walking, feeling, numbering, and measuring dimensions that we learn to estimate them." (Emile P. 106)—Here is another statement of equal value:
"I do not grow weary of repeating that all the lessons of young men should be given in actions rather than in words. Let them learn nothing is books that can be taught them by experience." (Emile-P. 228)

If the pupil must live his lessons the three Frenchmen also agree in saying that he must add something of his own in them. In other words, he must be an eclectic of Montaigne's caliber, and very much like a butterfly calling his material here and there; after which, he shall proceed to make his own. Shorter yet, he must be original, never forgetting that everything has been said before, and that originality lies in expression.—Singularly, it seems that Rabelais has not voiced any dogmatic idea on individual initiative. However, through his admission of child liberty and the fact that Gargantua, through no apparent suggestion from his tutor Panocrates, will go out in the open field to gather flowers and plants to cut and examine once arrived home—through all this, I venture to say Rabelais left individual initiative as understood; no conclusive proof or statement, however.—Montaigne is much more explicit on the subject when he makes a comparison between his pupil and a bee calling nectar from various flowers, from which it will make it's own product, honey...

"So of pieces borrowed of others, he (student) may lawfully alter, transform, and confound them, to shape out of them a perfect piece of work, altogether his own."

In another essay "of Pedantism," Montaigne discloses a similar statement:

"We take the opinions and knowledge of others into our protection, and that is all: I tell you they must be enfeofed in us, and made our own." (of Pedantism, P. 102)
All this pedagogy, in the words of Fortunat Strowski is the culture and exaltation of individual energy. (Strowski, p. 259)

The tutor is left completely in the background, as Rousseau's tutor also shall be. But he will not be inactive: he will make his pupil "first trot on before him, whereby he may the better judge of his pace, and so guess how long he will hold out, that accordingly he may fit his strength." (Id. of Ch. P. 127) In very few words, Compiègne sketches the duty of the tutor: he will not teach; he will hint. (Compiègne's Lont.-p. 78)

Let us listen to Rousseau on the same topic. Pierre Villey is pleased to find an exact resemblance thereon between Montaigne and Rousseau, and indeed, so is the case—even to the task of the tutor.

"Think well that it is rarely for you to propose to him, what he must learn; it is up to him to desire it, to look for it, to find it; for you, to put it within his reach. To evoke his desire within him and to furnish him the ways and means of satisfying that desire." (Em. Flammeation—p. 224)

Rousseau deems it the greatest art of the teacher "to direct the exhortations and to bring forward the occasions in such a way as to know in advance when the young man will yield and when he will hold out, in order to surround him everywhere with the lessons of experience." (Villey—p. 220)

But the pupils of Montaigne and Rousseau shall learn no determined science. Thus, in keeping with the preceding lines, Pierre Villey affirms that, quite unlike Rabelais who will desire his pupil to learn all natural sciences, Montaigne and Rousseau will teach no determined science, but prepare their pupils to acquire the one of their own selection.

"His judgment once fully developed," writes Montaigne, "he shall be able to overcome the difficulties of the science of his choice." (Villey—p. 195)
Rousseau says in similar fashion: "My object is not to give him science, but to teach him to acquire it at his need." (Villey P. 198)

And in another place: "It is not our wish to teach him the sciences, but to instil within him the taste to like them, and the methods to learn them, when this same taste shall be more developed." (Villey P. 193)

Without any further ado, it is obvious from these quotations that Montaigne and Rousseau have laid more emphasis on judgment than on memory; yet, both were not contented with implying, they spoke their mind on that subject, and in clear-cut assertions:

Montaigne: "I would not only have him to demand an account of the words contained in his lesson, but of the sense and substance thereof, and judge of the profit he hath made of it, not by the testimony of his memory but by the witness of his life." (Ed. of Ch. 6. 127)

And again: Albeit these two parts are necessary and both ought to concur in one, yet truly should that of learning be less prized than judgment; this may well be without the other, and not the other without this." (of Pedantism, P. 108)

No statement could be more to the point than this one of Rousseau: "My pupil has less memory than judgment." (Villey, P. 200)

However, in contrast to Montaigne, and in contradiction to his own opinion up to 1740, (his twenty-eighth year), Rousseau believes that this judgment shall appear only when the child has passed his tenth or eleventh birthday; before that, he has no reflexive powers. For Jean Jacques, to admit reasoning power in the child at ten is "to begin at the end (of education) and to confound the instrument with the work: the master work of a good education is to make a reasonable man, and we propose to train up a child through the reason." (Emile P. 53) In the meantime, his memory shall be "a
register of the actions and conversations of men... while waiting till his judgment can derive profit from it. (Mile-Payne-P. 79)

Rabelais stresses memory but it must not be concluded that he develops only the memory, leaving judgment aside. Indeed, Gargantua shall reveal sound judgment in his discourses at table, as well as in his field trips.

We have devoted some time to individual initiative and the duty of the tutor in preparing the ground for that energy: it is imperative that we introduce this idea again from another standpoint. In exercising that initiative, the pupil of Rabelais, Montaigne and Rousseau shall make use of an important method—observation. The three educators agree that "ex professo" lessons should be 'wiped out.' All learning must be done informally, in conversations between tutor and pupil, and in observation of men and Nature. Before retiring, Gargantua, together with his tutor will go out "into the most open place of the house to see the face of the sky, and there behold the comets, if any were, as likewise the figures, situations, aspects, oppositions and conjunctions of the both fixed stars and planets." (Ch. 23-P. 75)—Instead of theorizing, of herborising, to use Rabelais' own expression, they will visit "the shops of druggists, herbalists and apothecaries and diligently consider the fruits, roots, leaves, gums, seeds, the grease and ointments of some foreign parts, as also how they did adulterate them". (Ch. 24-P. 76)

An infinity of similar quotations could be taken from Montaigne and Rousseau. The former desires his pupil to keep his eyes open in all directions:

"The malice of a page, the foolish act of some valet, a table utterance, all these offer opportunity for instruction. Everything should be to an awakening judgment an occasion for reflection and study." (Ed. of Ch. 1.131)
And in the same Essay, a few pages ahead:

"Let him (pupil) hardly be possessed with an honest curiosity to search out the nature and causes of all things, let him survey whatsoever is rare and singular about him; a building, a fountain, a man, a place where any battle hath been fought, or the passages of Caesar or Charlemagne." (Ed. of Ch. P. 158)

No one expresses Montaigne's idea better than Ficken when he says that the pupil's judgment "shall take the form of mental hospitality for truth whenever it may originate." (Ficken-P. 237-V. 37-F'33)

Rousseau will not teach geography "by globes, spheres or maps." (Emile P. 136) Show him the object, says Rousseau. And so, his pupil will not only read about sunset and sunrise. He will go out, early in the evening and morning, to view himself these grandiose spectacles of Nature.

Language learning, for Montaigne and Rousseau, stands out as one of the most important example of the use of the observation method.

—Though Rabelais has enunciated no dogmatic principle on language learning, from his stress on the observation method in science learning, I think we can assume that wish to stretch to languages. We know that Gargantua will learn many languages: But will he learn them by grammar or by the direct method, as we term the observation method to-day? From lack of more enlightening statements, it seems that it would be more in keeping with Rabelais' entire pedagogical system to assume his use of the Direct Method.—Fortunately, we need not presume with Montaigne and Rousseau. Their sayings are so many acknowledgments of their use of the Direct Method.

Speaking of Latin and Greek, Montaigne says:

"Use it who list, I will tell you how they may be gotten better cheap, and much sooner, than is ordinarily used, which was tried in my-self." (Ed. of Ch. P.171)
And Montaigne goes on to say that "being yet at nurse," he was
given a German Tutor, who knew Latin perfectly, but no French (and this
on purpose). Through his constant companionship, and through the
inviolable rule that neither parents nor servants were to speak a
single French word in his presence, we learn that Montaigne mastered
Latin at a very early age.

We need not guess Rousseau's thought in Compayre's following
statement:

"Has Emile learned grammar? Not otherwise than by
using his mother-tongue-and hearing his master
talk: Always speak correctly in his presence."

(Compayre's Rousseau, P. 68)

I have often wondered if these educationalists had any idea of
Individual Differences. The result of my research has proven most
interesting, as the reader will immediately notice.—Rabelais again
has no clear cut statement that might be taken as conclusive proof.
However, after Gargantua had been given over for sometime, to the
care of his first tutor, we see him come out ignorant of the most
necessary facts. Viewed with Endimon, who pictures the ideal pupil,
he notices his stupidity. His father Grandgousier, also cognizant
of this fact, demands the services of Endimon's tutor, who will begin
Gargantua's education anew.—While all this pertains more to the
importance of a good teacher, yet, it helps to show that Rabelais
was well aware that the tutor can do much towards rendering his own
pupil superior to his rival's and thus create individual differences.

As ever, Montaigne and Rousseau are more explicit. Let's listen
to them.

"It is meet, that he (tutor) make him (pupil) first
trout on before him, whereby he may the better judge
of his pace, and so guess how long he will hold out,
that accordingly he may fit his strength; for out of
which proportion, we often mar all." (Ed. of Ch. P. 127)
"Another consideration is that of the particular genius of the child, which must be known in order to determine what moral regime is adapted to him. Each mind has its own form according to which it must be governed; and for the success of our undertaking, it is necessary that it should be governed by this form and not be another." (Emile, P. 60)

In "La Nouvelle Héloïse", Rousseau takes up five or six pages just on individual differences. It is precisely by such pages that Rousseau really deserves that appellation of one of the greatest of child psychologists. A few quotations will help to give us an idea of Rousseau's profound knowledge of the child.

"Each man is born with a character, a mind, and talents that are his own." (Nouv. Heloise, 5e.partie-P. 79)

"Before cultivating the character, we must study it, wait patiently till it shows itself, and always abstain from action rather than act wrongly. To a particular mind, we must give wings; to others, restraint should be applied: the one must be pushed ahead, the other held back; the one desires flattery, the other, brusqueness; one moment, it is necessary to enlighten, the other, to permit ignorance." (Nouv. Héloïse-Blérhart-5e.Partie-P. 79)

Physical education has no found no greater promoters than Rabelais, Montaigne and Rousseau. Each one, unsatisfied, as we have said before, with the education of his Time, would revert to the old Grecian adage: "a healthy mind in a healthy body." Games and physical exercises will serve as means to that end.

Gargantua will be careful of his diet; he will exercise his muscles with dumbbells, his breast and lungs by "shouting like all the Devils in Hell," (Ch. 23, P. 73) after which he will have himself "rubbed, cleansed, wiped and refreshed with other clothes." (Ch. 23-P. 74) Games will be plentiful for Gargantua, together with his tutor, will go with the meadows where they will play "at the ball, the long-tennis, most gallantly exercising their bodies, as formerly they had done their minds." (Ch. 23, P. 69)
Montaigne is no less enthusiastic over physical education:

"All sports and exercises shall be part of his study; running, wrestling, music, dancing, hunting, and managing of arms and horses. I would have the exterior demeanour or decency, and the disposition of his person to be fashioned together with his mind; for it is not a mind, it is a body that we erect, but it is a man, and we must not make two parts of him." (Ed. of Ch. P. 156)

And, of course, Jean Jacques needs no introduction as concerns physical education: his entire system is found on that belief. He differs from Montaigne in that he regards physical education as the only necessary activity during childhood. The child shall only be too glad later for

"to learn to think, we must exercise our limbs, our senses, and our organs, which are the instruments of our intelligence; and in order to derive all the advantage possible from these instruments, it is necessary that the body which furnishes them should be robust and sound." (Emile, Jaynes-r. 90)

In his "Considerations sur le Gouvernement de la Pologne, Rousseau would establish a gymnasium in every college.

"In all colleges, it is necessary to establish a gymnasium or a place of corporal exercises for the children. This so neglected article is, for me, the most important part of education, not only to form robust and sain temperaments, but also in view of the moral object, that we neglect or fill with a mass of pedantic and vain precepts." (Cons. sur Gouv. P. 357)

Pierre Villey is pleased to find Jean Jacques entirely original in one viewpoint of physical education. "I wish to speak principally," says Villey, "on everything that pertains to the education of the senses, an idea that owes nothing to Montaigne."

"He (Rousseau) desires the touch of Emile to become as refined as that of a blind-man, his eye correct and rapid, and his sense of smell as subtle as that of the woodsman." (Villey, P. 186)
There is one study that Rabelais, Montaigne and Rousseau will place above all others, and that is nature study. This is one of the few times that Montaigne and Rousseau have become dogmatic on a curricular study, and Brunetiere has called the works of Rabelais, a poem with nature.

"D'autres que Rabelais ont sans doute aime la nature, mais ou pent, on doit dire de lui qu'il en est litteralement "ivre" et pour la celebrer, son lyrisme n'a pas assez d'effusions, ni d'assez eloquentes, ni d'assez abondantes." (Brunetiere, Histoire de la litterature francaise classique)

Marguerite, in a letter to his son Pentagrual, will write:

"Now in matter of the Knowledge of the works of Nature, I would have you study that exactly, and that so there be no sea, river, nor fountain, of which you do not know the fishes, all the fowls of the air, all the several kinds of shrubs and trees, whether in forests or orchards; all the sorts of herbs and flowers that grow upon the ground; all the various metals that are hid within the bowels of the earth; to-gether with all the diversity of the precious stones, that are to be seen in the Orient and South parts of the world, let nothing of all these be hidden from you." (2nd. B. Ch. 8, P.)

Montaigne would have the universe as the student's best educational material:

"This great universe, (which some multiply as species under one genus) is the true looking glass wherein we must look, if we will know whether we be of a good stamp, or in the right bias. To conclude, I would have this world's frame to be my scholar's choice book." (Ed. of Ch. P. 143)

Compayre is of the opinion that "...Montaigne is undoubtedly the first who brought into prominence this truth." (P. 65)

"Montaigne often recurs to the old formula—to live according to nature, to live thus is to live completely and aright." (Dowden, Edward, Dr. - Michel de Montaigne-P. 257)

However, following Pierre Villey, the image of Nature as the student's choice book struck Rousseau and he decided to use it in his own book, *Emile*.
"Smile will have no other book but the world... everything that surrounds him is the book, in which, without thinking of it, he enriches his memory continually." (Villey-P. 19)

Today as educations increases in progressive strides, we are apt to forget the revolution that Rabelais, Montaigne and Rousseau have instituted in the educational theory of their Time. If we could only "se mettre dans la peau d'un contemporain" of these men, we would see how radical their theories were considered. It is interesting to ask ourselves how they could possibly have adopted such modern views in their centuries of conservative principles. The only answer, it seems, lies in their fundamental belief, the basic principle of their entire pedagogical structure—the goodness of man's nature. Need I quote Rousseau's famous statement:

"Everything is good as it comes from the hands of the Author of Nature." (Emile-P. 4.)

Rabelais has made no such statement but his pedagogy implies it, principally the freedom of the child and his individual initiative.

"On the principles of natural religion, or rather of good breeding, is the monastery of Theleme to be governed, because men that are free, well-born, well-bred, and conversant in honest companies, have naturally an instinct or spur which prompts them to virtuous actions." (Besant, alter-The French Humorist,) P. 113)

In conclusion to this section, I would like to quote Emile Faguet's comparison on the intellectual acquirement of Rabelais', Montaigne's and Rousseau's pupils, their education once ended:

"Emile knows almost nothing. I believe he knows still less than the pupil of Montaigne, his elder brother; and I think a middle position could be found between the sensible ignorance of Montaigne's pupil and the intensive education and the intense instruction of Rabelais' pupil. Rousseau has leaned towards ignorantism because of his aversion for civilization, a feeling that haunts him always."

(Faguet, Emile-Rousseau, Peusen. P. 215)
Theories and Practices of modern education that show correspondence with the ideas of Rabelais, Montaigne and Rousseau.

What is modern education? - And there we have a difficult question. Education, as it is today, is complex, and though it would be pleasing to do so, cannot be cut up as dogmatically as would, for instance, the science of geometry with its axioms and corollaries. Given these, we can build up, but in education, there are so many currents, so many diversified opinions that it becomes quite difficult to say exactly where and when a movement begins and ends. — And thus, before going on to show the influence of our educators, I find myself confronted with the immense problem of providing a picture of modern education.

Today, it seems, three main camps in education, the conservatives or Traditionalists, the Conservatives-Progressives, and the Progressives. The traditionalists view with discontent the encroachment of this idea, the liberty of the child and all its consequences. They pursue the education of the last century, with some modifications, of course, modifications fitted to modern life; in essence, however, it is the traditional conception of education, that man's nature is neither bad nor good, but a combination of bad and good elements. This, of course, is a long way off from the old puritanical conception of a completely bad nature, and in accordance the need of a rigorous disciplinary education.

The conservative-progressives take an 'in-between' position, and, while adhering to the traditional curriculum, yet have introduced many progressive features. Most of our American schools belong to this category. Self activity, as portrayed by our scientific laboratories in almost all American colleges, is an outstanding tenet of progressive education; and so is the emphasis laid on physical
However it is mostly in Progressive education that we will find the theories of Rabelais, Montaigne and Rousseau. But here again we have some diversity, according to recognized leaders such as Montessori, Dewey, Parkhurst and Hashbursne. Other educationalists have made an eclectic combination of their own ideas with some of these leaders. Yet, it is not so much the extent of this assortment of opinions that is interesting to us at the moment but the fact that all of them have taken from Rabelais, Montaigne and Rousseau. And therefore, in keeping with our thesis, the bulk of this section will deal with the recognized leaders and their affiliation with the three pre-present century Progressives, a savoir Rabelais and his two confreers. And finally, a sketch of the extent of the Progressive movement in the United States will be attempted, thereby outlining also the degree of the influence of Rabelais, Montaigne and Rousseau.

Again I beg my reader to fit himself to what will follow. I shall not proceed by comparison between the theories of the Frenchmen and their modern colleagues. Again, if reference must be made to any of the former, I shall use Rousseau since indeed he imbibes the theories of the other two. But if the need should arise, any variation in their opinions will be shown.

Taking a bird's eye view of the theories of Rabelais, Montaigne and Rousseau, I think we can safely state that in a bulk (1) Individual teaching, (2) Freedom of the child, (3) Self-activity, (4) Individual Differences, (5) Interest, (6) Utility, (7) Physical education, and (8) Return to Nature are the predominant theories set forth by the three Immortals. Let us see if we can find these major theories in Dewey's Democracy and Education, Helen Parkhurst's Lilion Plan.
Carleton Washburne's *Innetka Plan*, Marie Montessori's *Method*, and finally in Bennington and Rollins Colleges, two of the most progressive in the United States.

**John Dewey**

John Dewey has seen the importance of the relation between men. His entire education will be directed towards a better functioning of society which will be assured by educating every member of society in his childhood. It will be necessary to imitate society in school by placing the pupil, not only in a position to act and talk with his neighbours, but to start practice on life problems before leaving school; in other words, to learn by doing, there is one of the most important tenets of Dewey. The child must gradually come in possession of the elements of life for education is life.

"Yet Dewey... has worked out a consistent system of educational thought in which the advancement of social processes is always kept on a par with the development of the individual. More than any other educational thinker, in any age, Professor Dewey has dealt with education as an agency of the social group for its preservation and improvement." (Smith, Walter P. *Education*, 186)

Education shall proceed by socialized recitation, but the individual will advance freely and at his own rate.

"A democratic society must, in consistency with its ideal, allow for intellectual freedom and the play of diverse gifts and interests in its educational measures." (Dewey, J. *Democracy & Education*, 1916, p. 357)

Thus Dr. Dewey speaks his mind on freedom and individual differences. However, the latter must be considered always in view of the further advancement of the social group and not so much in view of the personal advantage of the pupil, as Montessori and Washburne will have it.
A society based on custom will utilize individual variations only up to a limit of conformity with usage; uniformity is the chief ideal within each class. A progressive society counts individual variations as precious since it finds in them the means of its own growth. 

(Democracy and Education-P. 357)

Dewey advocates self activity but would want it not only in the mind but also in action where the physical being comes in play.

"Much has been said about the importance of self activity in education, but the conception has too frequently been restricted to something merely internal--something excluding the free use of sensory and more organs......The whole cycle of self activity demands an opportunity for investigation and experimentation, for trying out one's ideas upon things, discovering what can be done with materials and appliances. And this is incompatible with closely restricted physical activity." (Democracy and Education-P. 353)

But, as in everything else, Dewey will link self activity with social activity.

"Individual activity has sometimes been taken as meaning leaving a pupil to work by himself or alone......children, like grown persons, require a judicious amount of being let alone. But......there is no inherent opposition between working with others, and working as an individual. On the contrary, certain capacities of an individual are not brought out except under the stimulus of associating with others. That a child must work alone and not engage in group activities in order to be free and let his individuality develop, is a notion which measures individuality by spatial distance and makes a physical thing of it." (Democracy & Education-P.353)

One of Dewey's capital doctrines is to choose material that will bring interest to the child.

"The problem of instruction is thus that of finding material which will engage a person in specific activities having an aim or purpose of moment or interest to him." (Democracy & Education P.155)

"Work which remains permeated with the play attitude is art--in quality if not in conventional designation." (Democracy & Education-P. 242)
Motivation may be used to obtain interest—but it should be real and not artificial.

"To make it interesting by leading to realize the connection that exists in simply good sense; to make it interesting by extraneous and artificial inducements deserves all the bad names which have been applied to the doctrine of interest in education." (Democracy & Education P.150)

Need I remind that all this resembles Rousseau very closely. Indeed, did not Jean Jacques instruct his pupil to read by showing him the joy he would derive from being able to understand the notes and invitations of his parents and friends.

Dewey, like all his fellow progressives is adamant in his belief that utility should serve as the criterion for the choice of a curriculum. Material must not be studied for its own sake but a bond should exist between subject matter and "the habits and ideals of the social group." (Democracy & Education-P. 213)

"In general, what is desirable is that a topic be presented in such a way that it either has an immediate value, and require no justification, or else be perceived to be a means of achieving something of intrinsic value." (Democracy & Education-P.284)

Dewey cannot understand how the idea of a gap between liberal and industrial education still prevails. "Only superstition makes believe that the two are necessarily hostile." (Democracy & Education) F. 362)

Nature has a great deal to do with Dewey's curriculum. He desires it to be complete and where, for instance, studying a flower should also include studying the plant and "not fragments made meaningless through complete removal from the situations in which they are produced and in which they operate. " (Democracy & Education-P. 250)

Humanistic studies, according to Dewey, should not be set in opposition to nature. If they are "they tend to reduce themselves to exclusively literary and linguistic studies." (Democracy & Education) F/ 263)
Dewey would have physical exercises, and a good many of them. Games he advocates but not for their own sake, as Rousseau maintains, but for their intellectual and social value.

"The grounds for assigning to play and active work a definite place in the curriculum are intellectual and social, not matters of temporary expediency and momentary agreeableness." (Democracy & Education-P. 229)

Dr. Cubberley presents, in the next paragraph, a brief summary of the Dewey point of view.

"The school...began to change from that of a place where children prepare for life, by learning certain traditional things, to a place where children live life and are daily brought into contact with such real industrial, social, community and life experiences as will best prepare them for the harder problems of living which lie just ahead." (Storm-Z and, Martin S.-Progressive Methods of Teaching-P. 141)

**Dalton Plan**

The Dalton Plan, initiated by Miss Helen Parkhurst at Dalton, Massachusetts, closely resembles the Winnetka Plan. While both aim at individualized teaching, the Winnetka Plan also aims at group work. The Dalton Plan is deficient on that point. Indeed, according to Dr. Walter Smith "its weakness lies in the complete lack of group organization, with a consequent absence of training in social participation." (Principles of Educational Sociology-P. 748) However we are not interested in group work at present, since Rabelais, Montaigne and Rousseau did not advocate such a line of action, if we except, of course, their idea of cooperation between tutor and pupil.

In the Dalton Plan we shall find almost all the teachings of Rousseau, Rabelais and Montaigne.

First of all, individualized instruction.

"Most conspicuous among the crusades for purely individualized instruction is that embodied in the Dalton Plan." (Smith, P. 747)
Utility is given emphasis by the fact that the student will form "the same kind of relationships in his school life that he will afterwards get in his business or professional life. He is learning by trying. It is no longer school—it is life." (Education on the Dalton Plan—P. 33) We see at once the doctrine of Dewey.

Freedom of the child, according to Miss Parkhurst, is the first principle of the Dalton Plan. The child must be made free to start, continue and finish his work, as he chooses. And, observes Miss Parkhurst, the teacher will find that the "majority of pupils approach their work with an interest and enthusiasm which, under the old system, was confined to a small minority." (Education on the Dalton Plan—P. 31)

But this interest must be continued; the only guarantee lies in the freedom of the child.

The tutor is an observer and an adviser. The child will demand explanation only when a certain point warrants it. The rest of the time, the pupil shall work by him-self. It is self-initiative as we find it in Dewey and the three French educators. Thereon Miss Parkhurst presents a quotation from Emerson so similar to Rousseau that one would think it taken from the latter.

"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 fore-ordained and he alone 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."

(Emerson)

(Ed. on the Dalton Plan—P. 24)

Individual Differences are given due importance in the Dalton Plan.

"Provision for individual differences in working abilities follows from a further feature of the Dalton Plan: the abolition of the Time Schedule. Outside of the conference periods a pupil distributes his time as his peculiar needs and the necessities of the various contracts require." (Dalton—Individual Differences—P. 19)
Miss Parkhurst wants "to equalize the pupil's individual difficulties and to provide the same opportunity for advancement to the slow as to the bright child." (Education on the Dalton Plan-P. 13)

A little later, she says:

"The curriculum of any school should vary according to the needs of the pupils." (Ed. on the Dalton Plan-P. 27)

And lastly, physical education is not forgotten. One has only to look at one of her assignment schedules to find that physical education is a major aim in Miss Parkhurst's scheme of education. She divides all teaching into two sections—"the development of the mental powers...and the development of the physique." (Ed. on the D. P.-P.199)

Her physical training shall include games, dancing, sketching and outdoor rambles for nature study. Here is our return to nature. But we are still a long way off from Rousseau. All these modern educators have not gone so far as to advocate constant living in the open air, as Jean Jacques would exact. The open Air School in Florida is about the only educational movement that has come as close to Rousseau's Nature adoration, that is, with the probable exception of the Fellowship of Nature movement, established in 1926. Mr. Ellis Chadbourne who has analyzed the movement, presents its major tenets in the following lines:

"To state our principles in a most general way we say that we stand for the principles characterizing the pioneer health movement; the progressive educational movement; the movements of cultural and outdoor life." (The Nature Movement-P. 3)

I dare say no one will doubt their love of nature after the reading of the following stanzas taken from one of their favourite songs.
"Side by side as on we stride,
And the songs of old are singing;
All the woods with music ringing,
Make us feel that we are bringing,
A Youth Movement sawing wide,
A New Day that shall abide.

Green of birch, 0 seedling green!
Good Mother Earth's beseeching,
Her young folk she is teaching,
Toward Nature to be reaching!
Robust arms are holding you,
Building up your life anew."

John Adams, in his interesting book *The Evolution of Education* reminds us of the Brook Farm Community, where "in the early part of the Nineteenth Century the 'Disciples of the Newness' fell back upon Nature." (Ev. of the Ed. Theory-P. 272)

A little later, the same author says:

"At this present time educational Naturalism is represented by various movements. Even in elementary education, the revolt from bookishness has had its influence in naturalising the curriculum. The great development of Nature Study, and the cut of door methods of studying geography are symptomatic, while the inception and development of the open air school point in the same direction. The school journey is becoming a recognised part of the curriculum of the more progressive elementary schools, and even the long school journey, which involves an expedition of a week or longer, has received official sanction." (Ev. of Ed. Theory-P. 280)

**Winnetka Plan**

The Winnetka plan is somewhat similar to the Dalton. Differences are found in the number and length of assignments, which at Dalton, are of a month's duration and must be completed before the pupil is allowed to enter upon a new contract, as the agreement between pupil and teacher is formally called. Professor Thayer of Ohio State University, a specialist in progressive education, presents in the following paragraphs, a short but clear-cut picture of the main differences between the two plans.
The Dalton plan "is designed to provide a means for individual progress in learning and it is also concerned with what she (Miss Parkhurst) terms 'Cooperation and Interaction of Group Life.'--It is in this second aspect as well as in a careful provision for budgeting a pupil's time that we find the chief contrasts with Mr. Washburne's scheme."

"Pupils in Winnetka are encouraged to go it absolutely alone: the Dalton plan frequently provides for a class assignment."

"In Winnetka, the assignments are completely individualized. Dalton pupils may work in small groups and thus consciously regulate one another's progress."

(Thayer, V.T.-Passing of the Recitation-P.183,193)

Already we feel the influence of Rousseau: individualized instruction, indeed! Aubrey Douglass says that Winnetka is one "of the leading experiments in individualizing instruction thru methods which involve abandonment of the typical organization." (Secondary Education P. 308)

Interest is cardinal doctrine here, as it is in all progressive schools. Half of the curriculum is devoted to socialized and creative activities, like music, art, litterature appreciation, precisely in view of further development of the child's interest. This does mean, however, that the common essentials are dull. This part of the curriculum is so arranged that the child will find interest in the easy and pleasing composition of the textbooks. Washburne cites a very curious example of interest in the next paragraph.

"Now it is time to work on the little farm that the children are making. They have been out to a real farm in the country and have seen the barn and the cows and the chickens and pigs. They want a make-believe farm in their class-room. They are full of ideas as to ways of making it. One boy has brought a large box from home, which will make the beginning of a barn. Some have modeled little animals from plasticene or clay. They reach decisions and get to work with saw, and hammer and paint brush, and clay, again wholly absorbed." (Sch. and Soc. No.29, P.37)
The child is free to progress as rapidly or slowly as he will and can. The only restriction is the obligation to take the common essentials: "how he does it, that's up to the child."—The children rule themselves in their own assemblies."

"Each school in Winnetka is organized on some plan of self-government. There are assemblies presided over by children and conducted in strictly parliamentary form." (Washburne—Survey of the Winnetka Schools—P. 21)

Thus self-activity is a main factor in the Winnetka Schools. For the common essentials, the children advance as they see fit, or as they can; in group and creative activities they choose according to their own particular taste; in discipline, they are self-governed.

Washburne says that apart from "the general technique by which individual progress is brought along is the full use of self instructive, self corrective practice materials." (Survey, P. 17)

The curriculum has utility for criterion. "The common essentials are supposed to include those Knowledges and skills which will be used by practically everyone." (Survey, P. 15) When group and creative activities have a certain utility besides the interest they provide.

For instance, there is an effort to train children in the skillful use of their hands with such materials as sand, plasticene or clay.

Individual differences are not forgotten for indeed, they are one of the principal ends of such a school.

"The public schools of Winnetka, Illinois, have modified their curriculum and their administrative procedure to accomplish two purposes, namely, to make much greater adaptation to individual differences than is customary in public schools, and to provide more time for socialized and self-expressive activities." (Survey, P. 9)
A good part of the school curriculum is devoted to physical education. "Each school-ground is provided with a trained physical education teacher." (Survey, P. 24) "Opportunity is of course given for a great deal of health producing physical exercises." (Survey, P. 25) But from physical education, Washburne would have developed also, ideals of sportmanship, of self-sacrifice, ideals of co-operation, of persistence.

The school environment is placed in an invigorating nature setting. Each school "is surrounded by trees and shrubs and grass. The rooms are homelike, with flowers, curtains, gold and birds." (Sch. and Soc. No. 29-29-P. 37) The children take rambles in the woods—and visit real farms in the country.

Montessori Method

Dr. Maria Montessori, the famous Italian woman scientist, has exerted great influence not only in Europe but also in America, especially in California, through the efforts of Miss Helen Parkhurst, one-time assistant to the former.

"The labors of Madam Montessori have aroused an unusual interest among Americans. The doctrines of the Italian educator are so warmly espoused by some that schools modeled on the plan of the Casa dei Bambini have been established in the various parts of the country where they rival and challenge the existing kindergartens and primary schools.

(Kilpatrick, William Heard, The Montessori System Examined—P. 1.)

After experimenting with some idiotic children in an effort to develop their faculties, De Montessori concluded that their problem was pedagogical and not medical. Her first pedagogy first concerned only these idiotic children but as Time went on, she felt that her principles could be applied with success to normal children.
Anyone familiar with Professor Dewey, will recognize at once some of his old teachings in the pedagogic doctrine of Dr. Montessori. The great difference between the Two is that the Montessori Method "is based upon the individual while that of Dewey is based upon social relations." (U. S. Bur. of Ed. Bul. 11-’20-P. 120) Dr. Kilpatrick is more specific when he points out, in the following paragraph, the similarities and differences of their systems.

"The Two have many things in common. Both have organized experimental schools; both have emphasized the freedom, self activity, and self education of the child; both have made large use of 'practical life' activities.--There are, however, wide differences. For the earliest education, Madam Montessori provides a set of mechanically simple devices. Professor Dewey could not secure the education which he sought in so simple a fashion. Madam Montessori places emphasis on the scientific conception of education and centers much of her effort upon devising more satisfactory methods of teaching reading and writing. Dewey is interested in activities more vital to child life,—insists, for instance on experience as a unit." (The Montessori System) Examined-P. 64)

But if Madam Montessori differs from Dewey, Parkhurst, Kilpatrick, Washburne, Holmes, by her more scientific conception of education, she nevertheless adheres to all the principal progressive principles.--There is only one restriction in the field of liberty; the teacher is directed to repress those activities which interfere with the collective interest.

"But all the rest—every manifestation having a useful scope, whatever it may be, and under whatever form it expresses itself, must not only be permitted, but must be observed by the teacher....The fundamental principle of scientific pedagogy, must be indeed, the liberty of the child." (The Montessori Method, Montessori-P. 87)

Dr. Montessori shows her scientific mind by emphasizing the principle of liberty, not from the social standpoint, but from the biologic. "From the physiological as well as from the mental side this (liberty)
includes the free development of the brain." (U.S. Bur. of Ed. Bul. 11) However from whatever viewpoint we consider this principle of liberty, it is nevertheless Rousseau\-istic in origin.

Madam Montessori is not original when she desires her teacher to teach little but to observe much: it is Rousseau, Montaigne and Rabelais all over again.

"With my methods the teacher teaches little and observes much, and above all, it is her freedom to direct the psychic activity of the children and their physiological development. For this reason, I have changed the name of teacher into that of directress!"

"When the child educates himself, and when the control and correction of errors is yielded to the didactic material, there remains for the teacher nothing but to observe." (U.S. Bur. of Ed.-P.22)

The Montessori system of education is all directed towards individual differences. Anna Tolman Smith in an appreciation of the Montessori Method says:

"It appears at once, that education under this system is an individual process, or as Montaigne says, "Toward single individuals, one by one observed, education must direct itself." (U.S. Bur. of Ed.-P.11)"

Indeed does not Maria Montessori make use of that interesting word "Auto-Education" when speaking of the education of the child. (The Montessori Method, P.371-157)

Utility holds an important place in her method. The child will learn only what he will use in life. While we cannot safely maintain that Montessori's system is "Education is Life," yet her children will perform some exercises of practical life: the following morning schedule of hours in the children's houses will prove this assertion.

9-10:00 A.M. Entrance. Greeting. Inspection as to personal cleanliness. Exercises of practical life: helping one another to take off and put on the aprons. Going over the room to see that everything is dusted and in order. Language: Conversation period; children give an
account of the events of the day before. (See Rabelais-Note-1)

Religions

11-11:30  Simple gymnastics. Ordinary movements done gracefully; normal position of the body, walking, marching in line, salutations, movements for attention, placing of objects gracefully.

11:30-12  Luncheon. Short prayer. (The Montessori Method-P. 119)

As concerns interest, much is said. The directress must observe "whether the child interests him-self in the object, how he is interested in it, how long, etc., when noticing the expression on his face." (The Montessori Method-P. 108) If we accept the words of Dr. Theodate Smith of Clark University, the child is indeed interested in his or her work.

"If one visits one of Dr. Montessori's schools the children all seem to be occupied in interesting play. Some are lying on the floor playing with blocks or strips of wood painted in different colors. Some are playing blindfold games, finding out by the aid of their fingers alone the shapes and sizes of objects and different textures of silk, satin, wool or linen. One child who was absorbed in writing on the blackboard did not even notice my entrance. She was writing in large vertical script and forming the letters beautifully, and in answer to my question as to how long she had been writing, I learned that she had begun the day before. Occasionally some child called the teacher when he had finished his game and received either approval or a suggestion that perhaps he would like to do something else. But the interest and the attention of the children is never interfered with. If a child wishes to spend the entire school period of two hours in doing one thing, he is allowed to do so on the principle that the spontaneous attention is a fundamental educative principle which must not be interfered with. In spite of the fact that this particular school in the convent of the Via Guisti draws its children from an exceedingly poor section in Rome, their appearance was neat, and altho no discipline was apparent, the schoolroom was in the truest sense controlled and orderly. (Ped. Seminary, Dec. 11-Vol. XVIII-No.4-p.)
As will be seen from the afternoon section of the schedule of hours, due stress is given to physical education. And we will notice also that this education is given in a Rousseauistic 'milieu'. Indeed every school shall have a garden.

12-1:00 P. M. Free games.

1-2:00 P. M. Directed games, if possible, in the open air.

3-4:00 P. M. Collective gymnastics and songs, if possible in the open air. Exercises to develop foresight; visiting and caring for the plants and animals. (The Montessori Method, p. 119)

Bennington College

The establishment of Bennington College, in 1932, in Bennington, Vermont, was a definite response, according to its President Dr. Robert D. Leigh, to the need "for a thorough going experiment in higher education on modern lines and to create a curriculum especially adapted to the actual needs of women in the contemporary world." (Bennington College Bulletin '36, p. 5)

All we are interested in is that here again, live Rabelais and his two colleagues Montaigne and Rousseau. To prove that point, let us continue the same method pursued so far, and apply to this college our tests, if I may so express myself, our tests of individual instruction, freedom of the child, self activity, individual differences, utility, interest, physical education and return to nature.

President Robert Leigh himself gives us the notion that Bennington's "curriculum, method and program" are "the leaves taken from the book of pioneering educational theory." (The College and the World about us, Bulletin Aug. '32, p. 5) And though he does not mention Rabelais, Montaigne or Rousseau, we know that this type of education goes back to those educators, in part if not in total. Let us attempt a proof.
Bennington College gives a four year course, but the two first years are exploratory periods, where the pupil may test her ability and interests in the line of her choice. If her studies prove satisfactory and her interest remains the same, she merely goes on and enters the Senior Division. If not, she is free to change her course. Instruction "is conducted by means of individual or group conferences or both." In the first years, there is more supervision but "the principal aim is to accustom students as rapidly as possible to individual informal instruction. (Bennington College, Bul.-P.14)

So we find that Bennington makes use of both individual and group instruction—a combination of Dewey and the Dalton Plan. I might say, in this respect.

Each student is given a counselor or adviser who helps the student to plan her Time. But the pupil progresses at her speed.

"When a student believes herself ready for promotion to the Senior Division, generally at the end of her second year, she makes formal application to the faculty group in the division in which she wishes to do the major part of her work." (Bennington College Bul.-P.15)

In the Senior division, the pupil display still more self-activity, and, if she has other interests besides her main studies, "she will be free to pursue" them "within the limits of the facilities offered by the college." (B. C. Bul.-P. 15) One of the criteria for promotion in the Senior division is the ability to go about some independent activity. Thus we see that Bennington strives after self activity even though it may start with some group work. On November 25th. 1932, at the forty-sixth annual convention of the Middle States Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. President Leigh gave a speech entitled; "Self-Dependence as an Educational Objective at Bennington College." (Proceedings of the forty-sixth Annual Convention of the Middle States Association of Colleges. P.7)
We have said something about the freedom of the student as concerns her studies. Let it be said again; the student is free to choose her own work—but she must display proficiency if she wishes to remain in the school. This, of course, compels the student to be careful and considerate of the opinion of her counselor. Here however is a formal statement concerning freedom of thought at Bennington.

"The development of independent judgment on the part of the student is one of the principal aims." (Bennington College Bull. - P. 11)

And now freedom of action. At the time of my collection of material for this thesis, I had written for information to the Dean of Bennington College, only to be informed that this institution had no Dean and consequently no one to assure discipline: the students governed themselves.

"You can eliminate Deans who take attendance records and devise academic punishments for unauthorized or excessive absences," (Self Dependence as an Ed. Obj. at B.C.-P. 8)

"The Community Council, consisting of elected student members and faculty members, administers the standards and rules made by the Community as a whole which govern the conduct of students and faculty alike as responsible community members." (Bennington College Bull. P. 25)

The counselor should always "pay attention to the interests of the student in planning her work." (The C. and the W. about us-P. 10) In his speech on promoting self-dependence, President Leigh reveals the five means adopted by Bennington. The first "is that of selecting for the content of the curriculum material likely to have meaning and significance and, therefore, interest for the incoming students," (Self-Dependence, P. 3)

The main reason for a counselor for each student is the belief in individual differences. Indeed the second general means adopted by Bennington for the promotion of self-dependence "is that of recognizing individual differences between students." (Self-Dependence - P. 4)
"Programs of college work should at all points allow for the fact that between different students and in the same student at different times there is wide individual variation as to subject matter or problems which have meaning and will, therefore, engage the student in active learning leading to understanding." (Bennington College Bull. P. 7)

No one can accuse Bennington of lacking in utility as a criterion. One of the principal ends of the school is to make students at home in the world in which they live, both during and after their college years.

"I need hardly tell you that here especially the Bennington program has a direct relation to the needs of our time. We are primarily and directly engaged in encouraging young people to participate in worthwhile activities and to follow up interests which may be for them later an avocation or a vocation, or both at different times." (The C. and the W. about us. P. 9)

Physical education is far from being neglected. A full-time resident physician gives each student a series of examinations during the year and "on the basis of these examinations continuous guidance and supervision in the promotion of health are given." (B.C. Bul. P. 23)

--The student must choose some physical recreation, according to her needs and interests.

"The sports emphasized are those in which the student is likely to develop a lasting interest and for which faculties are likely to be available in adulthood." (B.C. Bul. P. 23)

And physical education finds a setting in the beautiful Vermont hills where the students may associate daily with nature, to use President Leigh's own expression.

"If I (President Leigh) were attempting to describe Bennington College as an experience, for those of you who are entering it for the first time, I would speak of homelier and more intimate things than our relation to the world about us, I would speak of the spontaneous good humor and wholesome joy of living which we who have been here a year associate with life on this hilltop. I would indicate in some way the subtle stabilizing influence which our daily association with Nature and with our rural landscape produces."
Rollins resembles Bennington very closely. It is not so radical, however; quizzes, for instance, are not totally discarded. Founded in 1886 at Winter Park, Florida, Rollins has become a stronghold of Progressive Education where the most prominent members of that movement often gather to discuss their projects, such as the curriculum Conference held in 1931 under the chairmanship of John Dewey.

Learning is acquired through what is called a conference plan, or group work. (See Pictures)

"The Rollins Conference Plan discarded the lecture and recitation period in favor of informal conferences between teachers and students." (Rollins C. Notebook-P.2)

However, as at Bennington, individualized instruction becomes the method used in the last two years.

"In the Lower Division, which normally takes up two years, the student, by taking survey courses more or less of a general nature, is given opportunity to find himself. In the Upper division, he is entirely on his own responsibility. His relationship with his professors becomes strictly individualized." (R. C. Notebook-P. 9)

In comparison with Bennington there is more freedom in thought than in action; no "cuts," for instance. Moreover, there is a Dean who will devise academic punishments for delinquencies. Yet, "the whole emphasis at Rollins, whether in the curriculum, teaching method or community life, is upon the full and free development of the individual, and the student early comes to feel that the College wants to put it-self at his disposal rather than put him through a course of intellectual sprouts." (H.C. Adventure-P. 30) There is a close personal contact between teacher and pupil. It is reported
that Carrie Chapman Catt, on a recent visit to the college, said, "My greatest difficulty seems to be, to tell the professors from the students." (R.C. Adventure-P. 27) There is a constant intermingling between professor and student, in sports, in leisure, as well as in social life. But of course, this does not mean that the student will have nothing to do, that his problems will all be worked out by the teachers. Indeed not, the student does his work.

"The teacher sits at his desk, neither lecturing nor hearing a recitation. His primary function is to sit still, keep quiet, and be ready to help anyone who needs help—to answer rather than to ask questions. He does not do the work for the student but guides and stimulates them. He may even refuse to answer questions if he feels it will be more helpful for them to work out the answers for themselves." (R.C. Adventure-P. 17)

And thus, besides assuring self-initiative for the student, individual differences are also given due consideration.

All efforts are made to secure interest. This consideration is one of the reasons for the camaraderie between teacher and pupil, for the contacts with real life. For example, if a student is anxious to study writing, he or she will learn it at the hands of real writers and not from textbooks although these may be used. Dewey's doctrine "Education is Life" is practiced at Rollins where no opportunity is lost to replace textbooks with life. Biology students will journey to Tarpon Springs to study the sponge industry where "a barefoot Greek diver on a picturesque sailboat" (R.C. Adventure-P. 9) can very well be the instructor for the moment; students, interested in journalism, will attend the State Press Conference; the surveying class will go to Tampa to study cement making; the Physics class will travel to Daytona Beach to study high-powered automobiles. All this is a proof that Dewey's criterion and method
in studies utility is observed at this college. (See Picture) The students are expected to go to work just as faithfully as if they worked in an office. What could be more interesting than such a line of endeavour? Indeed a Rollins professor said that most of his students were not trying to escape work but, on the contrary, were anxious for it; that they were really interested in forging ahead, and that, instead of prodding them, all he had to do was to help.

Rollins is a veritable haven for physical education, more so than most of our American schools, since its students have the advantage of enjoying out-door life all the year round. All sports are out-door. And judging from the pictures inserted in this thesis, the students make the best of it. Studies, social life, leisure, sports in the open—what could be more rousseautic?—What approaches more that great educator's dream of a return to nature? (See Picture)

"To be the 'open-air College of America' is part of the Rollins ideal. A visitor who comes when the weather is warm may find half the College in the lake, and the other half meeting with its teachers under the trees. When the new building plan becomes a reality, there will be open-air courts for class-room meetings and sleeping porches for every student. Boating, swimming, sailing, have produced for the Rollins student the nickname of 'Tar,' along with an unusual proficiency in water sports. Constant out-door life, and year-round golf, tennis and other open-air sports help to produce a student body notable for its health, robustness and freedom from the colds and minor ills that menace students in Northern climates." (R.C. Adventure-P. 36)

Sketch of Progressive Education in the United States.

This type of work would not be complete with a picture of the extent of Progressive Education in this country; in other words, the extent of the influence of Rousseau and his two predecessors Rabelais and Montaigne. When I first made plans for this thesis, two ideas especially interested me: first, the influence of the three
Frenchmen on the leading progressive teachers of the day; second, some statistics on the growth of Progressive Education in the United States. I had no difficulty on the first idea; but, on the second, I believe I've reached an impasse. It is impossible to give even a round figure of the number of progressive schools for the reason that I will state immediately. Recent letters to Mr. Frederick L. Redefer, executive secretary of the Progressive Education Association in New York City, and to Miss Rosamond Dean Snow, Director of the Mass. Bureau of Progressive Schools and Teachers have furnished me with the following answers.

"It is impossible for me to give you a list of the Progressive Schools in the United States, who are members of the Progressive Education Association as we do not keep a membership list." (Frederick L. Redefer—Sept. 30, '36)

"There is no round-figure about the number of schools which are so called 'progressive'. There are few good conservative schools in the country which are not doing some excellent progressive work and there are some so-called prominent progressive schools in which some rather formal teaching goes on." (Rosamond D. Snow—Oct. 7, '36)

Miss Snow points out the reason for this lack of statistics. Some schools are more progressive than others; some, while known as progressive schools, have still some traditional features. Bennington College, for instance, is more progressive than Rollins; Rollins is more progressive than either Dartmouth or Swarthmore which, in turn, have probably more progressive features than the University of Wisconsin. And we could go on indefinitely. Swarthmore and Dartmouth are known for their exceptional freedom especially to some students and toward the close of the undergraduate years. If we believe that "freedom is the keynote of the new schools as restraint has been of the old," we would immediately designate Dartmouth and Swarthmore as progressive schools. (Forum 83: 106 J. '30)
And yet, I doubt very much if these schools are called progressive schools 'tout court': the traditional features, I believe, overbalance the progressive ones. It would be safer to say that Swarthmore and Dartmouth possess progressive features and 'let it go at that.'----It all comes down to a question of degree. All schools and colleges to-day have some progressiveness about them. Indeed, it would be quite difficult to find an educational institution without some amount of physical education as found in sports; likewise, the question of belief in individual differences and the importance of self initiative. Yet do we call all these progressive schools? Massachusetts State College allows students a certain amount of 'cuts' in their last two years--Rollins does not. And yet, Rollins is known as one of the most progressive schools in the country.

And so with all this, it becomes a problem to draw a line in Progressive Education. To give a round figure of the number of progressive schools, it would become necessary to classify all these schools into categories according to their number of progressive features. Quite a problem! Especially when in some traditional colleges and high-schools, some departments have adopted progressive measures.

While Miss Snow believes that there are no statistics on the Winnetka and Dalton plans, Mr. Redefer is of the opinion that both plans are on the wane, but that, progressive education, though a pioneering movement, is on the upward trend. His own statistics corroborates that statement. However, as the reader, will notice, these statistics are only on conferences held and on the growth in membership, (teachers and not schools).
Total Attendance at Annual and Regional Conferences

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<td>3,429</td>
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<td>1934-35</td>
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Growth in Teachers Membership

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<td>6,348</td>
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<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>7,696</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following schools, according to W. M. Aiken, are some of the best and most-progressive high schools in the country.

Altoona High School, Altoona, Pennsylvania.
Baldwin School, Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania.
Beaver County Day School, Chestnut Hill, Massachusetts.
Bronxville High School, Bronxville, New York.
Cheltenham Township High School, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania.
Central High School, Tulsa, Oklahoma.
Chicago University High School, Chicago, Illinois.
Dalton School, New York City, New York.
Denver High Schools, Denver, Colorado.
Eagle Rock High School, Los Angeles, California.
Fieldston School, New York City, New York.
Francis Parker School, Chicago, Illinois.
Friends Central School, Overbrook, Pennsylvania.
George School, George School, Pennsylvania.
Horace Mann School for Girls, New York, N. Y.
John Burroughs School, Saint Louis County, Missouri.
Lincoln School, New York, N. Y.
Milton Academy, Milton, Massachusetts.

Oakland High School, Oakland, California.

Ohio State University Demonstration School, Columbus, Ohio.

Pelham Memorial High School, Pelham, New York.

Radnor Township High School, Wayne, Pennsylvania.

Roosevelt High School, Des Moines, Iowa.

Shaker High School, Shaker Heights, Ohio.

Tower Hill School, Wilmington, Delaware.

Winsor School, Boston, Massachusetts.

Wisconsin High School, Madison, Wisconsin.

(The Vocational Guidance Magazine,)

(Nov. 1935)
Conclusion

"We are only just beginning to realize that the great heroes who have advanced human destiny are not its politicians, generals, and diplomatists, but the scientific discoverers and inventors who have put into man's hands the instrumentalities of an expanding and controlled experience."

(Dem. and Ed.-P. 254)

"The history of education, of art, of science, of religion, of the family should each be stressed as much as the history of government."

(Dr. Finney, Ross L.-A Sociological Phil. of Ed.)

Whether or not we should honor Rabelais, Montaigne or Rousseau by the appellation of heroes is a matter of opinion. But, at least, 'et en toute justice' we must admit that they have, in the words of Dewey "put into man's hands the instrumentalities of an expanding experience." Whether this expanding experience is worthy of praise is another matter of opinion. Here is mine.--The influence of Rabelais, Montaigne and Rabelais in Education has been great--I have shown that. This influence has led, thru a series of intervening educators--to progressive education. Their theories are found in our modern pedagogy--so much so that it has led Charles Noble to ask in a magazine article "What is new in Education?" (Education Magazine, Vol. XLVII-Sept. 27, '28-P. 323)--A critique therefore of progressive education is a critique of Rousseau and his two colleagues. This does not mean that Progressive Education is merely the reiteration of Rousseau; indeed not, the Two centuries of interval between his Time and ours have done much to smooth over the rough corners of his doctrines. This is what is meant: the theories of yesterday and to-day are 'in toto' the same. Therefore by a criticism of Progressive Education, we will 'kill Two birds with the same stone.'
As my reader has noticed, to avoid a 'pele-mele' situation, I have limited my-self in this work to what I deemed the major theories of our three French Educators. The starting-point and the foundation of their pedagogy was the Nature of Man: The starting point and foundation of Progressive Education to-day is the Nature of Man. This conception of nature conceived as an infallible and incomparable guide in education has not only led to ambiguities but has introduced countless errors in our educational theories—all of which has led Miss E. R. Sill to say that "probably nine-tenths of the popular sophistries on the subject of education would be cleared away by clarifying the word 'Nature.'" (Compayre, Rousseau-P.310)

The nature of man is complex—this is a fact. Is it good or bad? This is a controversial issue. We know from every minute's experience that there surge up in man impulses which when manifested are oftentimes harmful to himself and to his fellow beings. We cannot escape this fact. We need but take cognizance of the number of prisons and insane asylums. And what is more, man tends more to evil than to good. Restrictions have been set up to keep him from straying too far from the right path. And the reason for these bad impulses? Is it because man is depraved? Luther was adamant in his belief that the nature of man was perverse. We all know him as an impetuous and feverish man who, according to his own words, tried to be good, but repeatedly fell. And because of these temptations and failings, Luther came to the conclusion that his nature was bad, that there was something in his make-up which led him unavoidably to evil.—Calvin repeated Luther and followed this last conception in the establishment of his regime at Geneva. Nature was bad, and
man had not within him the power to resist temptation. Salvation rested on faith solely. We need not go so far away, for, indeed the Puritans also abided by this doctrine of Calvin. Their mode of living gives ample proof of the nature of their belief. And then came Rousseau who revolutionized the world by his conception of a good nature harmed its intercourse with a depraved society. Luther's and Rousseau's theories reach the same result, i.e. the existence of bad impulses, but start from premises which are diametrically opposed to each other. Which of these two doctrines has arrived at the truth? I heartily hope that my reader attributes it not to the flippance of youth when I refuse to concur with either of the above doctrines. The reasons for this decision will appear in the short expose which I shall give of my belief. Suffice it to say that if the doctrine of Luther held sway, nothing good could ever emanate from man. As for Rousseau's theory, it holds a contradiction which discloses its fallacy. If man is good, then society which is but an agglomeration of men, is good also. If it is good it cannot exert a malevolent influence on the individual.

All things in themselves are good. The nature of man is good; the nature of the cancer is good. All these seek to develop themselves and reach perfection. However it happens that man will extol the perfection and beauty of the tree, as done so beautifully by Joyce Kilmer, and deprecate the existence of the cancer. Why is this so if both are good? because the cancer, unlike the tree, in seeking to develop itself, becomes injurious to man. And man has acquired the impertinent habit of judging of the goodness of things from a standard peculiar to him only.
The nature of man then is good. Perforce the impulses which spring from within him are good. Evil cannot come from that which is good. It would seem however that the above conclusion is in flagrant contradiction with what we have already established, namely, that man has bad impulses. A destruction will, I think, set matters aright.

I believe it correct to say that all the natural urges in man can be traced through some channel or other to that paramount impulse, that of self preservation. Even the impulse for the continuance of the species can be traced to that for self preservation. Man is mortal; death awaits him at every turn. This eventuality rears its form in opposition to the great impulse. Compromise takes place when man leaves behind him children, living replicas of himself, entities which will continue after he is gone. It would appear therefore that the impulse for the continuance of the species, or the urge for sexual intercourse is nothing more than one of the many expressions which assumes the instinct for self preservation. It is no wonder then, that many eminent psychologists look upon self interest as the mainspring of human conduct. And it is unquestionable that this impulse for self preservation is good, since it is the condition of growth, of development in man as well as in all living things. It is equally unquestionable that the urges which spring from the source of this all-important impulse, are good also. Why is it then, that there are bad impulses? As far as I can see, good impulses degenerate into bad impulses because of two reasons:—first, because they are not held within bounds; second, because oftentimes their manifestation results in a conflict with the laws laid down by society.
The ancients were wont to ascribe the source of all virtue to moderation. "In medio stat virtus." Happy is he who holds within him the power to check these impulses. He need only hold the reins. For instance, eating is one of the most obvious expressions of the impulse of self preservation. I need not stress the point that it is as natural as it is necessary. There is nothing harmful about it. Yet it is only too well known that most illnesses to-day are caused directly or indirectly by over-eating. As it is oftentimes said one must eat to live and not live to eat. The sexual urge, though natural and beneficent when given moderate lee-way, leads to evils upon which I need not dwell. Assuredly had Pandora let out of her box just one evil, and that, immoderation, her work would have been equally as effective.

Lack of moderation is the source of many of the evils which afflict man. The impulses which animate him, are good. How easily can they become blighted. The great difficulty is in keeping them within bounds. Plato in far off Grecian times, attributed this want of sobriety to the commission of a sin by the first man. (Ackermann, C.-The Christian Element in Plato.-P. 237) The Catholic Church and some sects of Protestantism have arrived at a conclusion somewhat similar. They call it the 'original sin.' Far be it from me to venture a theory of my own in so profound a problem; but whatever the solution be, it remains that impulses which are good because natural and necessary, are vitiated when their manifestation is no longer held in hand.

Another cause has been advanced to account for the perversion of impulses, namely, that the latter sometimes come into conflict with the rules set down by society. It must be remembered that man is a social being, that man must so arrange his life as to make it possible for others as well as for himself to thrive and reach
It so happens however that many of the impulses of man, especially those directly activated by the instinct for self preservation sometimes cause man to encroach upon the rights of others. For instance, a traveler threading his way along a lonely path in the country, becomes aware that the fields on both sides of him, are vegetable gardens. Merely to satisfy the hunger which is clawing at his stomach he steps over the wall and helps himself to some carrots and cabbages. His act, in itself, is above reproach; it manifests the man’s instinct for self preservation. On the other hand however, there springs a relation between this traveler and society which renders his act felonious, because harmful to the rest of his fellow beings. Were this man traveling on a deserted island, his act would not acquire the wrongful character of the above. In short man must so control his impulses as not to interfere with society. Else the pursuit of happiness and perfection would be rendered absolutely impossible.

And so it becomes apparent that for the reasons cited above, man must so regiment his impulses as not to let them get out of rein, nor let them infringe the rights of society. Here comes in the work of the will; here comes in the necessity of authority in education, the necessity to fight the bad impulse.

"The object of education is and always has been to fight against it, to reform and purify it."

(Lemaître, J. J. Rousseau-P. 223)

Kilpatrick admits the presence of "anger and other ugly or erratic impulses" in man(The Montessori S. Examined-P. 7); but he tries to direct these bad impulses into good channels. Montessori does not for the simple reason that she does not believe in bad impulses. According to her, in the child's nature as given at birth there is
contained all that the child is to become; his nature must be left free to develop. If the child already contains that which he is properly destined to manifest, then the duty of the educator is to allow the fullest expression of what is implicitly given. Let the child do as he pleases in everything that is not harmful to his companions. But such a doctrine of liberty is notoriously disastrous.

However it is only just to say that all progressive teachers are not of the opinion of Madame Montessori. No indeed—there is much controversy within this movement of progressive education. Dewey, Kilpatrick, in fact, most of the American Progressives advocate liberty but because of another principle: liberty in life—therefore, liberty in school. Indeed, will say Kilpatrick,

"how can a child learn to swim out of water. To become self-directing, one must enter life itself, where decision and choice and responsibility hold sway, the problems set by the teacher are too often not so felt by the children. A reported or artificial problem has little gripping effect. The real problem arises when the current of real life is for the time dammed. Under such conditions the child puts heart and soul into the situation in a genuine effort to straighten things out. It is then, if ever, that there is training of 'will.' But evidently the current of real life—in the sense here used, can flow only when the child has freedom to choose, to express him-self."(The Montessori S. Examined-P. 19)

All this can be boiled down to Dewey's famous aphorism: learn by doing. There is freedom in life—there must be freedom in schools. Dewey and Kilpatrick do want the child to become self-directing, but, it seems to me, they fail to show him the worthy means of acquiring that quality. "Freedom may be only for adults because it takes maturity to know how to use it. It can be achieved only by adults, and the real reason we have so little of it in the world is because we have so few adults." (Yost, Edna-Freedom in the New Schools. Forum 83: June '30-P. 110)
The words of Kilpatrick ring true, if by the side of the child when he chooses, there is a teacher who will explain why such and such a choice would be good or bad. But if the child is left alone to form an opinion, that opinion may be good or bad, as chance wills it. What I mean to say is that the child has not the necessary developed intelligence to make good use of his freedom.—Freedom is the active self-expression not of incidental desires, but of the deeper demands of the nature. These deeper demands continually oppose our more superficial impulses, so that the attainment of freedom implies the learning of self-restraint and of obedience. Capricious indulgence of desire ends in slavery. Freedom does not exclude authority then but requires it. This is all very well for an adult because he knows the difference between a whim and the deeper demands of his nature. Will the child, for instance, really understand the danger of bad companions? Providing they are interesting, I'm afraid that is enough to satisfy him.—And so, it is my opinion that the child needs authority, someone to form his judgments. The teacher must, of course, respect the real demands of his nature. To fit the wording of Dewey, I would say:

Discipline in life, discipline in school.

"If external discipline is to be avoided in school, is it also to be avoided in life? If so, then life must be avoided." (Yost—Forum 83-P. 111)

Miss Edna Yost presents her opinion on the freedom of the new schools:

"The openly avowed object of the New Schools is to stop trying to mold children to one standardized pattern. They endeavour to secure individual development by encouraging such differences in type and temperament as form the base of each personality. In this, they incorporate Rousseau's idea that the 'natural man' is fundamentally good, and that the way to produce perfect human beings is
to keep them, from infancy, free of the restraining influence of corrupt institutions. Hence the new schools have abolished practically all forms of external discipline in order, as they hope, to free the child and encourage him to develop a measure of self discipline.—The most obvious impressions one receives on entering one of the old fashioned schools are an unchildlike quietness and a kind of discipline orderliness.—One enters the New School to be greeted by an unbelievable noise and the appearance of undisciplined order." (Yost—Forum—P. 107)

Before giving a child his liberty, we must develop his intelligence, show him the value of will-power, explain to him the question of responsibility and the role he must play in life. At the college age will be time enough for freedom; but even then the student must be guided, because liberty will be something new and much waste could occur thru a misjudgment.

Another major animadversion of progressive education is Dewey's learning by doing. The child must start practice on life problems before leaving school: he must gradually come in possession of the elements of life because education is life.

We learn by informal teaching (social suggestion) and by formal teaching (the common school). Dewey wishes to make schooling as similar as possible in spirit and method to informal education. His doctrine, of course, has many elements of truth in them. The objectives of education and the materials of curricula, for instance, are taken from the life process. Moreover informal education, education through the life process is the easy way to learn. The reason is obvious enough. The Great School or informal education is the only natural teaching process. Man is social and he is bound to learn from his neighbors—passive mentation in the words of Dr. Finney. But here, Dewey leaves us again: Informal education, yes, but also
self-activity. There is hardly anything passive about Dewey's education: the child will not believe the words of others, he shall rectify him-self—which, of course, is very nice in theory but it becomes a little difficult to rectify everything in life. Authority must necessarily be given some authority, if the cognitive material of civilization is to be learned.

Dewey has overlooked certain disadvantages of the informal method of teaching and precisely because of these disadvantages—we have reverted to formal schooling. The first of these disadvantages is that informal education may come too late, with the result, says Finney, that the first attempt to perform the acts in which is involved the knowledge that one gets by doing are liable to be failures. The wastes involved are therefore high. If nothing very important depends upon the success of first attempts, the wastes of informal education can be tolerated; otherwise they cannot.

In the second place, if the learning situation in school is identical to the learning situation outside the school, then hard tasks must be included, since indeed they are found in real life. But does not Dewey maintain the necessity of 'interest' for the child, freedom also. The child will hardly interest him-self in hard tasks, but if left to his own freedom will select those experiences which are most pleasing to him. On the other hand there are many excellent features to be found in progressive education, the belief in physical education, for instance. But then, non-progressive schools have adopted that point—so much so that it is difficult, as I have said before, to find even a conservative school where physical education is not practiced at all. Individual instruction, as given in progressive schools, has more advantages than group instruction, but such a mode of learning is expensive and thus not at all in keeping
with the purse of a good many American parents. The emphasis given to individual differences is one of the best features of Progressive Education. Indeed a group of children cannot learn the same amount of material during the same time. But this point is also admitted by the common school, and practiced to some extent. Credit must be given to the Progressive teachers who have found methods so that even poor schools could give more attention to this item without too much loss of time. The value of the stress laid on self initiative and interesting subject is too well-known and accepted to discuss. Unfortunately progressive schools have pushed too far the value of interest—and interest has become play. While we admit that play should be given ample consideration, all subject matter cannot be learned in play. Certain necessary cognitive material demands real effort: this has led Brunetiere to say that "learning while playing" is impractical. (Hist. de la Litterature Francaise P. 309)

And finally, we come to the source of all these perennial discussions, Rabelais, Montaigne and Rousseau. What, in conclusion, can be said—nay, what must be said for or against them. Besant has been harsh on Rabelais: but, happily, the latter has found more friendlike appreciations. Rabelais is after all, the greatest pioneer in Progressive Education, more so than Montaigne or Rousseau since indeed, he preceded both of them. Yet Bayle St. John maintains that we owe to Montaigne "the first rational system of education profounded in modern times." (Montaigne the Essayist-P.99 Vol. 2)—But the greatest of the three is unquestionably Rousseau. It is he who gave new life to education; it is he who filled parents with a sense of the dignity of their task; it is he who admitted
floods of light and air into the tightly closed nurseries and schoolrooms.

"He may be called the father of Modern Pedagogy, even despite the fact that most of his positive teachings have had to be rejected; Comenius, Locke and others had, indeed done good work before him; but it is he that, first, with his fiery rhetoric, made the subject of education a burning question and rendered clear its connection with all human welfare." (Davidson, Th. Rousseau-P. 236)
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Date June 2, 1937