

THE IDEA OF THE CITIZEN IN FRENCH EDUCATIONAL
WRITINGS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY, ¹⁷⁰⁰ 1715-1789

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Abstract.

The eighteenth century was a period in which the whole aim of education was challenged: was it, as was generally accepted at the end of the seventeenth century, an institution to enable the individual to live more agreeably, both through the direct acquisition of scholastic knowledge, and, more important still, through the indirect acquisition of those qualities necessary to negotiate ones path through the complexities of 'le beau monde' or was its aim, on the other hand, more vast, embracing the whole of society? Was it not already tacitly accepted that men were being educated for the particular society existing in France at the time; could not more positive rules be formulated, for which perhaps the policies of ancient Crete, Greece, Rome and other states might prove an inspiration? How far was education a political matter, and to what extent did the current political situation in France impede the interaction of government and education? These were some of the important questions which little by little were asked as theorising on the aims, as opposed to the methods, of education developed and was gradually taken up by a wider circle of thinkers than simply those directly concerned in education.

The present study is intended to demonstrate the evolution

of educational theory from the exclusive education of the princes and ruling class - an education at once ill suited for teaching the knowledge which could be of real service to those destined to govern and morally and scholastically ideally tailored to preserve the existing social structure - to a state organised educational system providing for the education of every citizen, as by natural right, in the recognition that such a general and public education would be for the common good of the French nation.

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N.B. The spelling of passages quoted has been modernised.

Introduction

Forms of education as they existed at the beginning of the eighteenth century and their classical and Renaissance origins.

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Since the time of Montaigne there had been dissatisfaction with French education. In the colleges much useless knowledge was beaten into the pupils' heads, but always on the level of memorising, never so as to become an integral part of the future man. Montaigne protested:

"Nous ne travaillons qu'à remplir la mémoire, et laissons l'entendement et la conscience vides." (1)

"Je ne veux pas qu'on emprisonne ce garçon. Je ne veux pas qu'on l'abandonne à l'humeur mélancolique d'un furieux maître d'école. Je ne veux pas corrompre son esprit à le tenir à la gêne et au travail, à la mode des autres, quatorze ou quinze heures par jour, comme un portefaix." (2)

College education ruined both a man's soul and his outward conduct; after the age of school, however, it was too late to teach a man to live:

"On nous apprend à vivre quand la vie est passée." (3)

The formative influence of these years was thus vital and commonsense would dictate that it must therefore be related to the life the child would one day lead. For Montaigne, reacting against the excessive scholasticism of the day, the lack of profundity and the dishonesty and discourtesy of the college-bred boy, the solution lay in forming an 'honnête

(1) Montaigne, Oeuvres, Pléiade, p. 135.

(2) *ibid.* p. 163.

(3) *ibid.* p. 162.

homme' capable of enlarging his understanding in many directions and of making what he learnt truly a part of himself, as did Montaigne himself. Turning, as so often, to antiquity for ratification of his belief, he cited King Agesilaus of Sparta:

"on demandait à Agésilaus ce qu'il serait d'avis que les enfants apprissent: 'Ce qu'ils doivent faire étant hommes', répondit-il." (4)

and Montaigne adds:

"Ce n'est pas merveille si une telle institution a produit des effets si admirables." (5)

Sparta's education was indeed, of all the Greek states', the most intimately linked with the running of the state.

"On allait, dit-on, aux autres villes de Grèce, chercher des rhétoriciens, des peintres et des musiciens; mais en Lacédémone des législateurs, des magistrats et empereurs d'armée. A Athènes on apprenait à bien dire, et ici à bien faire." (6)

But if such an education was logical for a Greek city state it could have little relevance in Montaigne's France, and his acceptance of 'le monde' as the society for which the pupil was to be prepared was as logical for his day as the Spartan system was for its own.

It was a way of thinking which was not to be forgotten. Locke's Thoughts on Education (translated by Coste in 1695) was immediately popular and Locke remained much read throughout the eighteenth century. He emphasised many of the same points as Montaigne: the poor quality of college education, the superiority of domestic education, in which the stress was on forming taste and judgement and teaching through practice, instead of by rules, a true understanding of virtue and

(4) *ibid.* p. 142.

(5) *ibid.* p. 142.

(6) *ibid.* p. 142.

a love of knowledge. These themes bore fruit with Rousseau's Emile, as will be seen, but even at the turn of the century the climate was not wholly alien. Indeed the Jesuit colleges themselves had, from the time of Montaigne when they were first founded, been to some extent aiming at the same ends: they were, one might say, half-way between school in the monastic tradition and the world, and their great Collège de Clermont in Paris, later to become Louis-le-Grand, formed a vast colony which was in the University but not of it. The Jesuits were intent on preparing men for the world; they therefore invited the fashionable world in to witness their plays and their debates. The morality they taught was a Christian one tempered by a strong regard for personal honour in a monarchical society.

Even here, however, the discrepancy between the morality taught in schools and that of 'le monde', the discrepancy which from Montesquieu's Esprit des Lois onwards was to be recognised as a symptom of the weakness of French education, was glaring. If the seclusion of the pupils was not quite as rigorous as in the medieval monastic schools, nevertheless

"les rapports des étudiants entre eux et avec le dehors sont contrôlés par tous les moyens possibles". (7)

This was in order to produce 'la fin suprême', good orthodox Catholics. It was presumed that a grounding in Christian ethics would equip the future young man to cope with the evils of 'le monde' and he was therefore taught to know by heart the various virtues and duties of the good Christian.

(7) Huber, Les Jésuites, vol. II, p. 160, Paris, 1875.

"La stérilité la plus complète, tel est le caractère général des universités jésuites,"(8)

says Compayré, himself by no means an anti-clerical writer. By its very principle the corporation is .

"condamnée... à voir l'idéal de l'enseignement supérieur dans la monotone répétition des mêmes doctrines, rajeunies quelquefois par un verbiage élégant..."(9)

History was not taught, and indeed less attention was paid to the content of the text than to the form. The Greek and Latin texts were fragmented and expurgated so that the Ancients were transformed "en propagateurs de la foi" (10). Aristotelian philosophy was taught in scholastic form and the new Cartesian philosophy, based on a rational approach to scientific and metaphysical problems, was anathema to the Jesuits who continued to teach in the eighteenth century as if contemporary thought did not exist (10a), so that their education became ossified and, as time went by, aroused increasing criticism.

Fleury, author of the Traité du choix et de la méthode des études and preceptor of the Princes de Conti, who, despite his Jesuit upbringing, was open to new influences to the point of being a Cartesian and Platonist, is an interesting compromise between the more illiberal aspects of Jesuit schooling and the humanity of 'honnêteté' as Montaigne saw it. While sympathetic to Cartesian logic and geometry, he

(8) Compayré, Histoire critique des doctrines de l'éducation, Paris 1879, vol.I, p. 171

(9) *ibid*, p. 172

(10) *ibid*, p. 189

(10a) There are some exceptions, such as the influence of Locke on Buffier, a tutor at Louis-le-Grand but this is nevertheless true of the general situation.

could not accept the law of reason and evidence as far as literature and law were concerned: there the Ancients reigned supreme and their authority, except where it was overruled by the Bible, was unquestioned..On the other hand he believed in developing not only nobility but also good sense:

"Il n'y a que trop de bel esprit dans le monde, mais ... il n'y aura jamais assez de bon sens."(II)

and he acknowledged that since all men lived in society, all therefore required a certain rudimentary knowledge.

He was here in sharp contrast with the Jesuits for whom

"Nul d'entre ceux qui sont employés à un service domestique ne devra savoir lire et écrire, ou s'il le sait, en apprendre davantage; on ne l'instruira pas sans l'assentiment du Général, car il lui suffit de servir en toute simplicité et humilité Christ, notre Maître."(I2)

Instead of the ignorant and unquestioning acceptance of the rule of the Church which this policy demanded, Fleury was conscious that

"c'est le paysan qui nourrit les bourgeois, les officiers de justice et de finance, les gentilshommes, les ecclésiastiques... Cependant quand nous comparons ces différents degrés de conditions, nous mettons au dernier rang ceux qui travaillent à la campagne, et nous estimons plus de gros bourgeois inutiles, sans forces de corps."(I3)

The peasant, moreover, was not merely the provider of the

(II) Fleury, quoted by Gaquère, La Vie et les oeuvres de Claude Fleury, Paris, 1925 p.189

(I2) Huber, op. cit. vol. 2, p.144, quotation from the Règles Communes.

(I3) Fleury, quoted by Gaquère, op. cit. p, 275

the basic essentials of life but possessed a body of knowledge of vastly greater importance than that acquired by the 'savants':

"Prenez un paysan qui ne sait point lire, et qui n'a point appris de métier: il sait comment se font les choses les plus nécessaires pour la vie, quel en est le prix, quels sont les moyens de les avoir: il connaît les arbres et les plantes de son terroir, la qualité des terres, les différentes façons qu'elles demandent, et les saisons du travail; la chasse ou la pêche selon le pays, et une infinité de choses semblables, utiles et solides, ignorées pour l'ordinaire de ceux qu'on appelle savants."(14)

The peasant thus proved himself capable of thinking, even though his thinking was, in the present circumstances, disorganised and piecemeal. It would therefore be just that the peasant, too, should receive an instruction, however basic:

"Il est bien clair aussi que les personnes qui ont moins de loisir ou de capacité pour l'étude comme les pauvres, les artisans, les gens de guerre et toutes les femmes, doivent être réduites aux connaissances les plus généralement utiles: car il n'est pas juste que tant de personnes, qui ont de la raison comme les autres, demeurent sans instruction."(15)

This would undoubtedly be to the advantage of the state:

"L'état le plus fort et le plus heureux est donc celui dont le peuple est le plus laborieux. Il faudrait, s'il était possible, occuper tout le monde, chacun selon ses forces: tout âge, tout sexe, toute condition. Rien ne ferait de meilleurs chrétiens et de meilleurs citoyens."(16)

(14) Fleury, C. Traité du choix et de la méthode des études, Paris, 1686 pp. 90-91

(15) *ibid*, pp. 109-110

(16) Gaquère, *op. cit.* p. 278, quoted from Rondet, *Opuscules de Fleury*, Droit public de France, vol. III p. 252

Such visionary thinking was far from the accepted Jesuit system, where the unquestioning acceptance of Christian doctrine and Aristotelian philosophy gave the pupil no preparation for the very different world he would face on leaving school. In one aspect, however, the Jesuits were very much in tune with the outside world - in their preparation of children for administrative success. In fact their colleges earned a reputation as seedbeds for producing administrators. The education of ancient Rome provided the Jesuits with a model for the formation of a political elite, for while fully recognising the difference between the Roman republic and monarchical France, there was yet much that was parallel between the two and many lessons therefore to be drawn from the writings of Quintilian and Cicero. Both were concerned solely with the education of an elite. In the case of Rome this was personified in the orator. It was a tradition which continued in the French monastic schools and in the new Jesuit schools in the form of the rhetoric class. The Jesuits laid great emphasis on style and on the preparation of men for high functions in the kingdom. Thus the Jesuit Gedoyn introduces his translation of Quintilian's Institutio

Oratoria :

"L'ouvrage que je vous présente ... n'a d'autre but que d'apprendre aux hommes à bien penser, à bien parler et à bien

faire; en quoi consiste tout le mérite que peut comporter la condition humaine."(17)

An orator must, in the words of Quintilian, have both "un rare talent pour l'éloquence" and "toutes les vertus"(18). He is

"un homme d'état, un homme vraiment né pour le bonheur des autres, également propre aux affaires de la république et des particuliers, capable de gouverner une ville par ses conseils, de l'affermir par de sages lois, de la réformer par de bons règlements."(19)

This Roman educational aim was, in theory, the basis of the 'rhétorique', though in practice little but the outward verbal form remained; the idea of "un homme vraiment né pour le bonheur des autres" concealed the fact that the underlying motive in eighteenth century France was ambition, the love of honour for oneself, 'l'honneur' as Montesquieu was to define it. The palpable gap between theory and reality is characteristic of almost all writers before the 1760's, and even as late as 1763 the Père Navarre exclaimed:

"Que ne puis-je être du petit nombre honorable de ces hommes d'élite, chargés de travailler à l'éducation publique, et de préparer des orateurs à la France! Je formerais dans nos enfants cette bouche qui doit porter un jour la parole au nom de l'Eglise et de la Patrie..."(20)

Earlier Gedoyne wrote with sympathy and appreciation of Quintilian's aims:

"Quelque passion qu'il eût pour les lettres, il met toujours l'honnête homme au dessus de l'homme d'esprit, la vertu et les moeurs au dessus de

(17) Quintilien, De l'Institution de l'orateur (transl. by l'abbé Gedoyne), Paris, 1718, Epître dédicatoire au Duc d'Orléans.

(18) *ibid.*, Bk. I p. 3

(19) *ibid.*, Bk. I p. 3

(20) Navarre, le P. J. Discours qui a remporté le prix pour le jugement de l'Académie des Jeux Floraux en l'année 1763 sur ces paroles: 'Quel serait en France le plan d'études le plus avantageux?' pp.13-14

la science et des talents.... S'il entreprend de former un Orateur c'est pour donner à la République un philosophe, un sage d'une nouvelle espèce, tout occupé du bien public, non de lui-même; un véritable homme d'Etat capable de porter ses concitoyens à tout ce qui est de leur devoir par le charme de ses paroles et par la force de ses exemples." (20 a)

It is interesting to note that the eighteenth century Jesuit sees Quintilian as forming first an 'honnête homme' and out of this creating an orator in whom the self-developing qualities of Montaigne's 'honnête homme' are lost in the external qualities of charm and persuasion, to which is added the unnamed quality of patriotism: for the Roman patriot acted according to his 'devoir' and when necessary was himself an example to the point of accepting death for the good of his country. But the word 'patriotisme' was not yet current and the much more vague term of 'vertu' was used to designate the essential quality a good education should somehow instil - vague because it had to cover the ambiguity of pagan virtue (those countless sacrifices of Brutus, the Horatii, Regulus and so many others could surely not be other than 'virtuous') and Christian virtue. It was an ambiguity which was long to remain unresolved, as the continuing conjunction of the expressions 'bon chrétien' and 'bon citoyen' testify. The following passage from Quintilian was therefore quite acceptable in France:

"Puis donc que qui dit Orateur, dit homme de bien; qu'il n'y a point d'homme de bien sans la vertu; et que la vertu, encore que quelques-uns de ses mouvements partent de la nature, doit néanmoins être perfectionnée par le secours des préceptes, il s'ensuit qu'avant toutes choses l'Orateur doit cultiver ses moeurs par l'étude, et se rendre familière la science qui

apprend à connaître tout ce qui est juste et honnête, sans laquelle nul ne peut devenir homme de bien ni éloquent."(21)

Yet the distinction must be made: pagan virtue was not Christian virtue. Cicero in his De Officiis

"établit ... d'abord dès le commencement du premier livre que l'homme est né pour la vérité, et pour la vertu, que c'est à quoi la nature le porte, et que c'est de cela seul qu'il tire tout son prix et tout son mérite."(22)

Dubois, the translator, explains however

"Quant à la vertu, ils avaient fort bien compris, autant que les ténèbres du paganisme le leur pouvaient permettre, qu'elle ne consiste qu'à se conformer à une certaine loi naturelle éternelle et immuable, qui est la règle de tout bien."(23)

God made men to be virtuous, or at least to recognise virtue, and since the pagan Romans, too, had this capacity, even without Christian revelation, it was possible for Christians to respect and value their thoughts.

However much the Jesuits may have seen in the Romans an inspiration towards a certain virtue, they nevertheless did not forget that Quintilian and Cicero were writing for a very different society:

"Car après tout, pour qui Quintilien écrivait-il? pour les Romains. Et quel était son but? De former un Orateur parfait, un homme d'Etat. Alors l'un ne différait guère de l'autre. L'éloquence menait à tout. Un Orateur distingué parvenait aux plus grandes dignités de la République; même à la première.... Est-ce là ce que l'on se propose dans les collèges, et peut-on se le proposer dans une forme de gouvernement tel que le nôtre? Ce qui était bon pour les Romains peut donc fort bien ne l'être pas pour nous."(24)

(21) Quintilien, op. cit., p. 804

(22) 'Avertissement' by Dubois to 1748 translation.

(23) ibid.

(24) Gedoy, De l'éducation des enfants in Oeuvres Diverses, 1745, p.5.

This was an important point which would in time oblige reformers to turn from seeking inspiration for their educational ideas in the past to examining more closely the precise needs of eighteenth century monarchical France. Moreover, as will now be evident, the eighteenth century Frenchman saw the Romans very much through French eyes and in a haze of admiration which prevented them from exploring the exact nature of such concepts as 'patrie', 'vertu' and 'citoyen'. Unrelated as the Roman ideas remained to French society they did not demand a closer interpretation.

Much the same is true of the eighteenth century view of ancient Greece. Knowledge of the great men of Sparta and Athens was widespread - through ancient writings such as those of Plutarch as much as through later French versions such as Fénelon's Télémaque or Legendre de Saint-Aubin's compilation of facts, the Traité de l'Opinion. In matters of education as in other aspects a certain idealisation occurred, as has been shown most strikingly by M. Legagneux in his article Rollin et le Mirage Spartiate (25). Rollin's translation of Plutarch played down the more unpleasant aspects of Spartan education, emphasising that the children belonged more to the state than to their parents, and that their education was thus the responsibility of the legislator and not a private matter. But even earlier than Rollin the importance of education to the state was recognised and the need for a clear code of law emphasized. Mentor and Télémaque discovered on a visit to Crete that the basis for sound government lay in strong laws and that of these the most important were those on education:

(25) see Chapter I.

"on examinait les moyens d'affermir les lois, et de donner une forme solide au gouvernement pour le bonheur public. La première chose qu'il [Mentor] examina, fut l'éducation des enfants. Ils appartiennent moins à leur père qu'à la République, disait Mentor, ils sont les enfants du peuple, ils en sont l'espérance et la force, il n'est pas temps de les corriger quand ils se sont corrompus." (26)

The idealisation served the purpose of bringing the more important ideas clearly to the fore, and we find echoes of the form of words persisting down the years, a response to a dissatisfaction with contemporary education which could find no definite remedy of its own and had to be content with describing the systems of another era. Rollin, as will be seen in the next chapter, brought the world of antiquity and its ideas very much to the attention of the young student. Legendre de Saint-Aubin repeated the very significant idea of public education, not only as exemplified by Sparta, but also by the Persians and by Minos, the wise king of Crete who

"regardait l'éducation des enfants, comme un objet des plus importants à la république, et ses lois prescrivait la forme qui devait être donnée à cette éducation." (27)

whilst in Sparta

"L'éducation de tous les citoyens était égale et publique. Le soin et le détail de cette éducation était confié à un des principaux magistrats de Sparte, sous les ordres duquel on commettait un citoyen pour y veiller ... Toute cette éducation avait pour objet les vertus guerrières et l'obéissance." (28)

and in Persia

"Les lois des Perses veillaient surtout à une excellente éducation qui se rapportait entièrement au bien public." (29)

(26) Fénelon, Télémaque, the Hague, 1715, vol. II, p. 59

(27) Legendre de Saint Aubin, Traité de l'Opinion, vol. III p.434

(28) *ibid*, vol. III, p.453

(29) *ibid*, vol. III, p.483.

Thus the link between education and state was clearly established before Montesquieu's Esprit des Lois . If talk of reform until then was purely concerned with the content and forms of education, the political implications were nonetheless not far from recognition.

The Jansenist 'petites écoles' and the Oratorian colleges, founded from the early seventeenth century onwards, were a challenge to the Jesuit colleges since both ~~orders~~^{movements} were open to the influence of new, Cartesian, ideas. It was their rationalism which was later to enable the Oratorians to see the new educational theorising in a political perspective, when the Jesuits finally lost their hold in France and a national, government-directed education became a possibility. Owing allegiance first and foremost to an order based in France - unlike the ultramontane Jesuits - they accused the latter of not having a 'patrie'. It is not surprising that the Oratorians were among the first to benefit from the expulsion of the Jesuits.

But at the turn of the century it was true of both Oratorian and Jesuit colleges that in the question of morality they prepared their pupils ill for the world. They taught that man should act 'virtuously' according to the Christian doctrine so that he might receive similar treatment from others; not, therefore out of a sense of duty but in order that society might live in harmony. Diderot reacted against this vague philosophy:

"Un jeune homme au sortir de son cours de philosophie est jeté dans un monde d'athées, de déistes, de sociniens, de spinozistes et d'autres impies, fort instruit des propriétés de la matière subtile et de la formation des tourbillons, connaissances merveilleuses qui

lui deviennent parfaitement inutiles; mais à peine sait-il des avantages de la vertu ce que lui en a dit un précepteur, ou des fondements de sa religion, ce qu'il en a lu dans son catéchisme."(30)

Diderot demanded more definite rules for virtuous conduct and thought, albeit mistakenly, that he had found in Shaftesbury a science of human behaviour. But the malaise was growing: Shaftesbury, like Pufendorf, was seeking general principles based on reason. Pufendorf's theory of 'sociabilité' (man's consciousness of being a man among other men, as opposed to man's love of self, as seen by La Rochefoucauld, Pascal and Hobbes), Shaftesbury's theory that friends loved through humanity and, finally, Rousseau's conviction that man was capable of feeling pain for others quite independently of his own interest - all these were necessary before the notions of 'patrie' (30a) and 'bien public' could develop. It was not until Montesquieu's Esprit des lois in 1748 that the importance of having a moral philosophy directly related to the form of society in which the pupil lived began to receive serious attention. The dual morality of the triple education given in France must, Montesquieu insisted, be reduced to a single one if education was to be effective. It was Rousseau who finally sought a way out of the impasse. Until his Émile educational theories had always assumed that

"the purpose of education was to provide the embryonic mind with a reserve of culture and moral precepts which would return to save the eventual adult."(31)

Rousseau understood that in the child lay the makings of the man and he attempted in Émile to solve the contradictions between the natural child and man in society.

(30) Shaftesbury, Essai sur le mérite et la vertu, Amsterdam 1745, Diderot's Discours préliminaire, p.13-14

(30a) see Aulard, Le Patriotisme français... Paris, 1921

(31) Stewart, P. The child comes of age in Yale French Studies 1968, no. 40, p.139

A further form of education common in France for those who could afford it and who felt that the poor quality of college education was not acceptable was domestic or home-based tuition. This at least avoided the clash with the world-which college education entailed. It dated from the time of Montaigne and was chiefly an education in 'honnêteté'. Typical ^{examples} ~~examples~~ are L'École du Monde by Le Noble (1695) and Nouveau Traité de Civilité by Courtin (1719). Thus:

"Le premier devoir étant de bien vivre les uns avec les autres, on en verra les moyens dans ces deux traités; j'entends celui de la civilité et celui du point d'honneur." (32)

The art of living in society became as sacred a duty on the temporal level as the cultivation of religion on the spiritual:

"... on ne peut pas avoir une véritable piété sans être véritablement honnête homme selon le monde, ni être honnête homme sans être véritablement pieux. Ainsi tandis que la religion nous instruit de la voie du salut, il faut qu'une politique prudente nous instruisse de la manière dont on doit se conduire dans la pratique du monde, pour y arriver aux biens du corps, sans nous écarter de ce qui nous conduit au souverain bien de l'âme." (33)

It is, in fact, a training for the world in which the child will live.

The private pupil par excellence, for whom the first educational treatises were written, was the prince whose teachers had the duty and honour of working

"en même temps, et à la félicité des peuples, et à la gloire de celui qui fait régner les souverains." (34)

The ideal king must have

"un coeur généreux, intrépide, libéral, magnifique, sensible aux grandes

(32) Courtin, op.cit., 2e Avertissement, 1750 édition.

(33) Le Noble, op. cit., Préface.

(34) M.A. de Foix, L'art de former le coeur et l'esprit d'un Prince, 1688, p.2.

choses, aimant la gloire, doux, humain, compatissant, modéré, maître de lui - même, ferme, inébranlable, toujours égal, juste, équitable, ne se laissant jamais pénétrer, qu'autant qu'il le faut pour faire dire aux gens, que le Prince a un coeur digne de l'Empire." (35)

In other words, all the qualities of the 'honnête homme', coupled with some of the qualities of 'grandeur' to distinguish him from the rest of humanity, since he was the elect of God and ruled by divine right. An awareness of the king's duty towards his subjects was growing, however, and Fénelon has Mentor advise Télémaque:

"aimez vos peuples comme vos enfants: goûtez le plaisir d'être aimé d'eux et faites qu'ils ne puissent jamais sentir la paix et la joie, sans se ressouvenir que c'est un bon Roi qui leur a fait ces riches présents." (36)

Furthermore, the king was not an absolute monarch responsible only to God, but subject also to the law:

"Il peut tout sur les peuples, mais les lois peuvent tout sur lui. Il a une puissance absolue pour faire le bien, et les mains liées dès qu'il veut faire le mal." (37)

The king must excel in virtue and wisdom, so as to be a constant guide and example to his people:

" Le Roi ne doit rien avoir au-dessus des autres, excepté ce qui est nécessaire ou pour le soulager dans ses pénibles fonctions, ou pour imprimer aux peuples le respect de celui qui doit soutenir les lois. D'ailleurs le Roi doit être plus sobre, plus ennemi de la mollesse, plus exempt de faste et de hauteur qu'aucun autre. Il ne doit point avoir plus de richesses et de plaisirs, mais plus de sagesse, de vertu et de gloire que le reste des hommes. Il doit être au dehors défenseur de la patrie, en commandant les armées, et au-dedans le juge des peuples, pour les rendre bons, sages et heureux. Ce n'est point pour lui-même que les Dieux l'ont fait Roi

(35) *ibid*, p.191-2

(36) Fénelon, *Télémaque*, the Hague, 1715, vol. 1, p.22

(37) *ibid*, p.100-101

.... et il n'est digne de la royauté
qu'autant qu'il s'oublie lui-même
pour se sacrifier au bien public." (38)

Theories on the education of princes do not have great influence on the mainstream of the development of revolutionary educational ideas, but it is worth taking account of the shift in stress from the education of the divinely appointed prince, the first 'honnête homme' of the kingdom, to the education of the prince, father and servant of his people and first citizen of the kingdom, an example of virtue, wisdom and self-sacrificing devotion to the public good. This shift reflects a similar growing awareness of the common man and of his role as a subject becoming increasingly his role as a citizen. Other writers emphasize, with increasing frequency, the burdensome nature of kingship. Thus Rollin writes:

"C'est le caractère même de leur
grandeur d'être consacrés au bien
public." (39)

and Montesquieu describes 'l'âme du souverain' as

"un moule qui donne la forme à toutes
les autres." (40)

What is demanded of a king is scarcely humanly possible and Fénelon remarks:

"Les hommes sont, à la vérité, mal-
heureux d'avoir à être gouvernés
par un Roi qui n'est qu'un homme
semblable à eux; car il faudrait
des Dieux pour redresser les hommes." (41)

Rousseau likewise was later to conclude that

"Il faudrait des Dieux pour donner des lois aux hommes." (41a)

It seemed, therefore, that it would be impossible to educate a prince to become a perfect citizen-king, one for whom

(38) *ibid.*, vol. 1, p.101.

(39) Rollin, *Traité des études*, 1845 ed. vol. 2, p.325.

(40) Montesquieu, *Lettres persanes*, Pléiade ed. vol. 1, p.278.

(41) Fénelon, *Directions pour la conscience d'un Roi*, La Haye, 1747, p.145.

(41a) *Contrat social*, Pléiade ed. vol. 3, p.381.

"l'amour du peuple, le bien public,
l'intérêt général de la société est...
la loi immuable et universelle." (42),

one who, as ruler, was

"le premier et le plus obéissant
à cette loi primitive." (43)

Indeed, the solution to the nation's ills would not lie merely in the improvement of the sovereign's education - a fact which set the whole question of education on a political basis.

In the early part of the century there was thus considerable dissatisfaction with public education. Of the writings popular at the time, those which contained the seeds of future progress were concerned with private education (e.g. Montaigne, Fénelon, Locke). But the vague impasse was not clarified into criticism of the conflict between school and society but remained simply a distrust of the corrupting influence of school. Montesquieu wrote

"On reçoit dans les collèges une éducation basse. Je n'en puis rien dire de pis, si ce n'est que, ce qu'on en retire de mieux, c'est un esprit de bigoterie. Cent petites trahisons que l'on fait faire tous les jours à un jeune homme contre ses camarades, les perfidies qu'on lui inspire, peuvent bien servir à entretenir une certaine règle extérieure dans ces maisons, mais elles perdent le coeur de tous les particuliers." (44)

True as this was, upholders of private education got no nearer than believers in college education to defining the real failings of contemporary education, nor to providing a solution.

(42) *ibid*, p. 139.

(43) *ibid*, p. 139.

(44) Montesquieu, *Oeuvres complètes*, Pléiade edition, vol. I
p. 1421

The necessary new catalyst did not appear until around mid-century with the publication of Montesquieu's Esprit des Lois and the increasing diffusion of the works of Burlamaqui and, in translation, of Pufendorf and Grotius. With them a new science of politics was in being, in which education also was seen in a political framework. This view did not follow either from the tradition of the colleges nor from the private education for 'le monde'. It aimed at eliminating the conflict between education and the world, but its significance was not at first realised and for some time it remained purely theoretical.

Chapter One

The idea of public education in Rollin's Traité des études; the linking of the notions of 'citizen', 'civic virtue' and 'education'.

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Early in ^{the} eighteenth century an educational treatise was published which was to be widely used throughout the century and praised by those whose thinking paved the way for the Revolution. Rolland speaks of an

"ouvrage que l'Université de Paris se fait gloire de reconnaître... pour n'être que l'exposé de la méthode qu'elle suit dans ses écoles; ouvrage enfin, auquel dans ses Mémoires elle ramène presque à chaque page."(1)

Rousseau writes of the author as "le bon Rollin" (2) and Montesquieu of "le coeur qui parle au coeur" (3); even in the following century he was still considered an authority: Buisson in his Dictionnaire de pédagogie quotes Villemain's elogy of "le bon Rollin"

"ce maître si cordialement ami de la jeunesse, si vertueux par bonté de nature et par goût des lettres, véritable saint de l'enseignement..."(4)

Even when the distortion of this early eighteenth-century account of history was frankly recognised, its influence on the minds of its readers was given full credit. Lanson, while condemning Rollin as "un piètre

- (1) Rolland d'Erceville, B.G., Compte rendu....., Paris 1769 p. 6
 (2) Rousseau, J.-J., Emile, Pléiade edition, 1969, p.371
 (3) Gaudin, A.C., The educational views of Charles Rollin New York, 1939 p.29
 (4) Buisson, F. E., Dictionnaire de pédagogie et d'instruction primaire, Paris, 1887, vol. 2, part I p.2620

historien", considered that

"son cours d'histoire avec sa candide inintelligence du passé et son absence de critique est un cours de morale républicaine." (5)

The book, whose influence has been thus so widely acknowledged, was the Traité des Études (1722) and was the work of the ex-rector of the University of Paris, Charles Rollin (1661-1741). Suspected of 'Jansenist' sympathies he lost his post as ^{head of the College de Beauvais} ~~rector~~ and devoted himself to the Traité. It is thus the work of a man who taught in a University where 'Jansenism' was condemned but who was himself much influenced by Port-Royal and their brothers in progressive educational thinking, the Oratoire, in at least three ways which are important to our study: like them he believed in the importance of the study of history as a school of morals, like them he loved France, its history and institutions (unlike the Jesuits with their ultramontane ties), and recommended a study of French history, regretting that he himself knew too little, and with them he believed that the precious remains of innocence in a child must be strengthened by parents and teachers against the evil in man's nature:

"Il y a dans le coeur de l'homme, depuis sa corruption, une malheureuse fécondité pour le mal, qui altère bientôt dans les enfants le peu de bonnes dispositions qui y reste, si les parents et les maîtres ne travaillent pas continuellement à nourrir et à faire croître ces faibles semences du bien, restes précieux de l'ancienne innocence." (6)

Yet although his standpoint was so different from that which was to emerge later in the century with Rousseau's Emile, which stressed the basic goodness of man, his aim was the same as that of later educationalists: to teach

(5) Ferté, H., Rollin, sa vie, ses oeuvres et l'Université de son temps. Paris, 1902, p.344

(6) Rollin, C., Traité des études, Paris, 1845 ed. vol.1 p.10

what virtue is. It was here that Rollin, breaking with past tradition, struck a fundamentally new note: while remaining himself a good Christian he was able to recognise and admire virtue in the Ancients, and to separate the notion of virtue from religion, so that his division of studies comprised sections on religion, 'sciences' and 'moeurs'. In making virtue secular and linking it with the political well-being of the state and in emphasising, in consequence, the role of public education, Rollin prepared the way for Montesquieu's Esprit des Lois and Rousseau's Economie Politique.

But first let us glance at Rollin's reasons for believing in the value of the study of arts and sciences. They reveal his general attitude of tolerance towards all classes and foreshadow the day when knowledge will be demanded as a right for all, for he says that study 'transforms nations'

"en leur donnant des inclinations et des moeurs plus douces, une police mieux réglée, des lois plus humaines" (7)

which proves that

"dans les différents climats, les esprits sont à peu près les mêmes; que les sciences seules y mettent une si honorable distinction." (8)

While aware of the varied forms of education offered to the different classes of society, he seems to insist above all on the importance of universal education for the health of that great body, the state:

"En effet, qu'est-ce qu'une république ou un royaume, sinon un vaste corps dont la vigueur et la santé dépendent de celles des familles particulières et dont aucune ne peut manquer à ses fonctions que le corps entier ne s'en

(7) Rollin, op. cit., vol. I, p.3

(8) *ibid.*

ressente? Or n'est-ce pas la bonne éducation qui met tous les citoyens, et encore plus les grands et les princes que tous les autres, en état de remplir dignement leurs différentes fonctions?" (9).

If all nations could be made happier by education, and all would be capable of reaching the same level of civilization and humanity by this means, surely the question would one day be posed: why was this simple means to happiness, that great ideal of the eighteenth century, not used? The underlying structure of a society in which an educated elite lived at the expense of the ignorant masses would thus be exposed and forcibly weighed for its merits against the prospect of an entirely educated nation. But knowledge alone would not suffice to create a happy nation, and good teachers

"estiment peu les sciences, si elles ne conduisent à la vertu ... sans elles en effet faudrait-il faire tant de cas de ces sortes d'études, qui selon l'expression d'un sage païen (Seneca) ne seraient propres qu'à nourrir l'orgueil. Ils préfèrent l'honnête homme à l'homme savant, et en instruisant les jeunes gens de ce que l'antiquité a de plus beau, ils songent moins à les rendre habiles qu'à les rendre vertueux, bons fils, bons pères, bons maîtres, bons amis, bons citoyens." (10)

An echo of this last phrase is to be found at the end of Rousseau's Mémoire à M. de Mably (1740) on the education of his son, Sainte-Marie. Rousseau hoped to make of his young pupil

"un honnête homme, un cavalier poli, un brave officier, et un bon citoyen." (11)

(9) *ibid*, vol. III, p.208

(10) *ibid*, vol. I, p.9

(11) Rousseau, Mémoire à M. de Mably, Oeuvres, Pléiade vol.4 p.32

It is one of a number of references, direct or indirect, to Rollin, which show that Rousseau read him attentively and with appreciation and one may assume that Rollin's definition of a good citizen would be much in tune with Rousseau's own at a time when Rousseau had not yet formulated his ideas on the conflict between natural and social man. Even when later, in Émile, Rousseau came to reflect more profoundly on the nature of the citizen, he did not discard Rollin as he did "le pédant de Crousaz" (12), but acknowledged him as 'bon'.

Thus it was virtue which must be the basis of a society, and this was Rollin's second object; he was no longer content to speak only of forming the 'honnête homme' but finally found the two words which expressed all the rest: a 'bon citoyen' was an 'honnête homme' as well as 'bon fils', 'bon père', 'bon maître' and 'bon ami'. For the basic characteristic of the citizen was virtue. While men were made, Rollin believed, to live in society

("Pour peu qu'on examine la nature de l'homme, ses inclinations, sa fin, il est aisé de reconnaître qu'il n'est pas fait pour lui seul, mais pour la société" (13))

they could not, he felt, be held together unless they could sublimate their own lives in the life of the state, which was how Rollin understood the concept of virtue:

"Or c'est la vertu seule qui met les hommes en état de bien remplir les postes publics ... C'est la vertu qui lui (l'homme) donne le goût de la véritable et de la solide gloire (as opposed to the futile 'point d'honneur' of contemporary France) qui lui inspire l'amour de la patrie, et les motifs pour la bien servir; qui lui apprend à préférer toujours le bien public au bien

(12) Rousseau, Émile, Pléiade vol. 4, p.371

(13) Rollin, op. cit. vol. 1, p.8

particulier, à ne trouver rien de nécessaire que le devoir, rien d'estimable que la droiture et l'équité, rien de consolant que le témoignage de sa conscience et l'approbation des gens de bien, rien de honteux que le vice..." (14)

Rollin's belief in civic virtue came from his study of the Greek and Roman republics and he believed that a wise teacher would use history to inspire a love of virtue and a hatred of vice.

"Ce n'est pas sans raison que l'histoire a toujours été regardée comme la lumière des temps, la dépositaire des événements, le témoin fidèle de la vérité, la source des bons conseils et de la prudence, la règle de la conduite et des moeurs. Sans elle, renfermés dans les bornes du siècle et du pays où nous vivons, resserrés dans le cercle étroit de nos connaissances particulières et de nos propres réflexions, nous demeurons dans une espèce d'enfance ... On peut dire que l'histoire est l'école commune du genre humain, également ouverte et utile aux grands et aux petits, aux princes et aux sujets, et encore plus nécessaire aux grands et aux princes qu'à tous les autres." (15)

In a preliminary exposé of his aims Rollin showed how the seeds of morality would be sown:

"Ainsi les préceptes dont nous parlons ne sont quelquefois qu'un mot, qu'une courte réflexion; mais ce mot, cette réflexion, qui paraissent dans le moment même comme tombés et perdus, produiront leur effet dans le temps." (16)

One cannot, indeed, hope for all pupils to profit equally:

"C'est beaucoup qu'un petit nombre en profite; et ce petit nombre ne laissera pas d'être utile à la république. C'est la réflexion que faisait Cicéron en traitant une matière pareille à celle

(14) *ibid.*

(16) *ibid.*, vol. 1, p.18

(15) *ibid.*, vol.2, pp.159-160

dont je parle; et il avait marqué auparavant qu'on ne pouvait rendre un plus grand et plus important service à l'état que de travailler à l'instruction de la jeunesse, surtout dans un temps où, à cause de la licence effrénée des moeurs, elle avait besoin d'être retenue et arrêtée par tous les moyens imaginables." (17)

The latter part of this quotation is certainly indirect criticism of contemporary France: clearly Rollin felt that the means of reform was his - and the Ancients' - notion of civic virtue; when this is compared with the seventeenth-century ideal of 'honnêteté' one perceives an evolution from the old concept of service to the state, embodied in the king, to service of the nation for the common good. The University of Paris had as its aim to

"cultiver l'esprit des jeunes gens
Ensuite elle s'applique à rectifier et à régler leur coeur par des principes d'honneur et de probité, pour en faire de bons citoyens." (18)

for according to Henri IV's Règlements pour l'Université de Paris

"La félicité des royaumes et des peuples, et surtout d'un Etat chrétien, dépend de la bonne éducation de la jeunesse, où l'on a pour but de cultiver, de polir par l'étude des sciences, l'esprit encore brut des jeunes gens; de les disposer ainsi à remplir dignement les différentes places qui leur sont destinées, sans quoi ils seraient inutiles à la république; enfin de leur apprendre le culte religieux et sincère que Dieu exige d'eux, l'attachement inviolable qu'ils doivent à leurs pères et à leurs mères et à leur patrie, le respect et l'obéissance qu'ils sont obligés de rendre au prince et aux magistrats." (19)

Ideals identical with those of the Greeks and the Romans are expressed here: that young people should be trained to

(17) *ibid.*

(18) *ibid.*, vol. 1, p.1

(19) *ibid.*

play their role in the state, that men have a duty to be useful to the state and that they owe unbreakable allegiance to their country. However, the most significant assumption is that the sovereign prince and his magistrates embody the law and it is to them that the ultimate respect and obedience are due. There is no suggestion that men may ever be given an opportunity to work for their country in any but the situation in which they were born and no suggestion either that the prince and magistrates may not be worthy of respect because they do not truly embody the law or because they embody an unjust one. It is God who demands that men love their country and God who expects them to show respect and obedience to the king and his magistrates. Thus the matter is taken out of men's hands. There can be no dispute since God has so arranged the world. Rollin, by being able to conceive of society on a secular plane as well as - good Christian that he was - on a religious plane, and by considering the relationships between citizens instead of between individual subjects and their sovereign, offered a new vision of society. However, he does not himself appear to have been wholly aware of this and at times used the notions of 'honnêteté' and citizenship synonymously (20). Rollin himself was a deeply religious man: he has in fact been accused of bringing religion into his Traité too much (21). Nevertheless he succeeded in putting himself into another, pre-Christian, era and in observing the working of these pre-Christian states on their own merits - where men loved their country for its own sake, without the intermediary reason of God (although he at times deplores that such and such a person should have acted so

(20) see p. 27

(21) Ferté, op. cit. p.345

virtuously for quite the wrong reasons (see, for example, the story of Regulus, (22)). He was able to reconcile himself with the Romans because they, too, laid much stress on religion (albeit the wrong one); their order of allegiance corresponded with his: i.e. God, country, family. (Montesquieu and Rousseau in their turn were to accept the same order) Having stated this Rollin was able to give a picture of Roman and Greek allegiance to the state unblurred by the claims of Christianity. This is where the Jesuits failed. The aim of their education, as described in the preceding chapter, was to teach boys Catholic orthodoxy, i.e. to become citizens of the 'patrie' of Christianity which, of course, extended far beyond national boundaries and, in effect, handed over the power to direct men's lives to the Pope in distant Rome. Thus, although it is true that, as Ferté suggests in Rollin, Vie et Oeuvres, Rollin's education and above all his religion

"lui font un devoir de se resigner à vivre en sujet fidèle du roi très chrétien, quel que soit son mérite et son indignité; à lui obéir, parce que sa personne est sacrée et que son autorité vient de Dieu." (23)

yet it is also true that Rollin was imbued with the spirit of Roman and Greek republicanism and able to present it in a most favourable light to his pupils and even to use it to criticise obliquely certain aspects of contemporary France - its lack of patriotism, its vainglory, its love of luxury.

Rollin, then, used Greek and Roman history, the history with which he was most conversant, to teach moral values and attitudes towards society and we must now turn to his inter-

(22) Rollin, Histoire Romaine, Paris, 1738-41, 7 vols, vol.4,
 (23) Ferté, op. cit., p. 348. p. 163

pretation - at times very selective - of the ancient republics.

It is useful to describe in some detail the Roman and Greek ideals of patriotism as seen by Rollin, for the Traité was to be the reference book of generations of French students and it is from these concepts, which contrasted so sharply with the spirit of monarchical eighteenth-century France, that the ideal of a new type of education, relevant to the changing aims of France, was to spring.

In order to describe the virtue of the Roman citizen Rollin attempted to trace the origin of Rome in such a way as to show the rise of the spirit of the Roman citizen and to explain the survival of the Roman empire over such a long period: a survival which he believed to be due to this spirit (24). The tyranny and subsequent decline of Rome began with a "changement dans les moeurs et dans le gouvernement" (25). Love of 'la patrie' was, from the beginning, an essential part of the Roman and this was more than the ordinary "affection pour le lieu qui a donné la naissance". (26)

"Il semble que ce sentiment avait quelque chose de plus animé et de plus vif dans les Romains que dans aucune autre nation. Ils étaient toujours prêts à tout entreprendre et à tout souffrir pour son salut. Biens, repos, vie, gloire même, amis, parents, enfants, ils se croyaient obligés de tout lui sacrifier." (27)

This, Rollin explained, was because in Rome

"chaque particulier avait part au gouvernement: il avait un intérêt personnel à la prospérité de l'État, d'où dépendaient sa sûreté

(24) cf. Montesquieu

(25) Rollin, Histoire Romaine, vol. 7, p.598

(26) ibid, vol. 1, p.xii

(27) ibid, vol. 1, pp.xii-xiii

et son bonheur. Les succès publics étaient son ouvrage, parce qu'il y avait contribué par différentes voies: par la sagesse de ses conseils dans les délibérations, par la fermeté de son courage dans les combats, par le choix des Généraux d'armée et de magistrats dans les Assemblées. Or, il est naturel d'aimer son ouvrage, de s'applaudir avec complaisance sur le succès de ses entreprises, et de s'intéresser vivement à la conservation de tout ce qui nous appartient et de tout ce que nous possédons. Les Romains trouvaient tout cela dans le salut de leur patrie et c'est pour conserver tous ces avantages qu'ils sacrifiaient tout pour elle." (29)

It was in accordance with this principle of involving the citizen totally with the state that Rome subsequently accepted so many subject peoples as Roman citizens:

"en les intéressant par tous ces avantages au bien de l'état, il (Romulus) les y attacha par des liens si puissants et si volontaires, qu'ils ne furent jamais tentés de les rompre." (30)

Rollin proceeds to explain the source of this 'amour de la patrie':

"Aucun mauvais traitement ne pouvait étouffer dans leur coeur cet amour que la nature y avait imprimé dès leur naissance, et que l'éducation avait bien fortifié. On leur inculquait dès les premières années de l'enfance, qu'un fils ne peut jamais s'acquitter de ce qu'il doit à une mère, quand même elle oublierait les sentiments de la nature: et qu'un citoyen est toujours obligé à sa patrie, quelque ingrate et injuste qu'elle puisse être à son égard. De quoi un tel principe ne les rendait-il pas capables!" (31)

(29) *ibid*, vol. 1, Preface, pp. xii-xiv.

(30) Rollin, *Traité*, vol. II, p. 416

(31) Rollin, *Histoire Romaine*, vol. I, Preface, pp. xiv-xv

And later:

"A Rome, les particuliers ne séparaient point leurs intérêts de ceux du public. Ils regardaient les pertes de l'État comme les leurs propres ... Une telle disposition faisait la force de l'État, en liait toutes les parties et en composait un tout inébranlable et invincible. Ces sentiments qui se perpétuaient dans chaque maison par des exemples vivants, formaient de toute la ville de Rome, de toute la République, comme une seule famille ... Combien doit-on penser que cela contribua à nourrir dans ces sentiments les enfants les plus jeunes, et à en former dès leurs premières années, de zélés citoyens." (32)

Education fortified by example was the means by which Roman children grew up to love their country as zealous citizens; education by example is exactly what Rollin, in his histories, was trying to give the new generation in France. The parallel in both the last quotations between family and country is noteworthy. The citizens belonged together as in one family, owing obedience and a great debt, in the small circle to their parents and in the larger to their country. So great was the debt owed to parents and 'patrie' that no amount of ingratitude or injustice on the part of the latter could erase it(33). The parallel between family and state is repeated in Greek history:

"Il (Dion) les regardait toujours comme ses concitoyens et comme ses frères." (34)

It is thus obviously a part of Rollin's conception of the citizen that his position in the state was as natural

(32) *ibid*, vol. 1, pp.393-4

(33) *Histoire Romaine*, voll, pxiv-xv, "On leur inculquait dès les premières années de l'enfance, qu'un fils ne peut jamais s'acquitter de ce qu'il doit à une mère, quand même elle oublierait les sentiments de la nature: et qu'un citoyen est toujours obligé à sa patrie, quelque ingrate et injuste qu'elle puisse être à son égard."

(34) *Traité*, vol. 2, p.405

as that in his family. Despite the necessary "différence d'emploi et l'inégalité des conditions" (35), citizens of one town or state had therefore a special relationship with, and special obligations towards, each other, just as in a family.

A second link between the Romans, firmer even than love of country, and explaining why it was in the individual's interest to be a citizen, was love of liberty:

"Ils se figuraient, sous ce nom de liberté, un état où personne ne fût sujet que de la Loi et où la Loi fût plus puissante que les hommes." (36)

"C'est ce corps de Lois qui faisait à Rome la sûreté des citoyens en particulier et le salut de l'état en général..." (37)

Cicero emphasised the subordination of even the highest citizen to the law:

"Dans une république tout se rapporte aux lois. Les magistrats en sont les ministres, les juges en sont les interprètes: nous en sommes tous les esclaves, et c'est par cette soumission que nous sommes libres et indépendents, ne reconnaissant d'autre maître que la Loi." (38)

This was right, for it was natural.

"Il faut avouer que ces idées sont grandes, nobles, magnifiques: et elles paraissent telles parce qu'elles sont fondées dans la nature même et dans la vérité." (39)

Before the law all citizens were equal. The rights of the humblest were protected, the glory of the greatest not inviolate:

"Le plus léger soupçon contre un citoyen de vouloir donner atteinte à la liberté, faisait oublier dans l'instant même toutes ses grandes qualités et tous les services qu'il pouvait avoir rendus à sa patrie." (40)

(35) Rollin, Histoire Romaine, vol.I, Preface, p.xvi

(36) *ibid.*

(37) *ibid*, vol.II, p.153

(38) *ibid*, vol.II, p.154

(39) *ibid*, vol.II, p.155

(40) *ibid*, vol.I, Preface, pp.xvii-xviii

When Manlius Capitolinus was punished for incitement to revolt:

"Ce qu'ils (le peuple) voyaient, ce qu'ils entendaient, les pénétrait de la plus vive douleur. Mais toujours soumis à l'autorité légitime, ce même peuple s'était prescrit à lui-même des bornes qu'il n'osait franchir." (41)

Love of the law it was, too, which compelled Brutus to execute his own sons, and Rollin, describing this dreadful act, concludes that Brutus acted rightly in putting his role as a public person above his role as a private individual, though not inhumanly, since he showed a father's grief. Similarly in the case of Manlius:

"Le zèle pour la patrie dont il était dévoré, l'emporta sur les sentiments de la nature, et sur la tendresse paternelle... Manlius était père, mais il était consul. Il aimait son fils, mais il aimait encore plus la patrie. On sait qu'elle était l'idole des Romains, à laquelle ils se croyaient obligés de tout sacrifier: je dis obligés par les lois mêmes, qui réglaient l'ordre des devoirs. Les dieux avaient le premier rang, la patrie le second, les devoirs mutuels des pères et des fils n'avaient que le troisième lieu." (42)

An exception to the law was made in the case of Horatius, by the will of the people:

"Le peuple crut, qu'en faveur d'un si grand service, il pouvait oublier un peu la rigueur de la Loi." (43)

Citizens had certain rights in respect of the law: when it was first drawn up their opinion was sought and subsequently all citizens were entitled to elect their representatives. Rivalry between the two bodies of citizens, the patricians and the plebeians, broke out:

"Ce peuple généreux qui se regardait comme né pour commander à tous ses voisins ne pouvait consentir à se laisser réduire à une espèce de servitude par ses concitoyens." (44)

(41) *ibid*, vol.II, p.508

(43) *ibid*, vol.I, p.168

(42) *ibid*, vol.III, p.123-4

(44) *ibid*, vol.I, Preface, p.xxiii

However, Rollin contended that dissent between the two bodies did not weaken but, on the contrary, strengthened the state by preserving liberty. Authority remained "dans une espèce d'équilibre" (45). We are reminded of Montesquieu's theory of monarchy.

In Rome the citizens were divided into classes according to their station and although it was possible to rise to a higher class, the mutual respect between Senate and people which arose from the conviction that they were mutually necessary meant that there was little upward pressure. Honour accrued to actions rather than to station with the result that a humble farmer might be honoured, as in the case of Cincinnatus. On this point, as on others, Rollin praises the Roman "modération et sagesse". These qualities, together with "la justice, le désintéressement, l'amour du bien public" (46) were the spirit of the early Republic which were to disappear later and were no longer to be found in such great men (not great 'citizens') as Marius, Pompey and Caesar. (47)

To the characteristics of love of country and of liberty which were for him "le fond d'un Romain", Rollin joins "le désir de la gloire" to make up "le Romain entier"(48):

"Les fréquents exemples d'amour de la patrie et de dévouement au bien public dont Rome fut témoin dans ce temps de crise et qu'elle récompensa d'une manière si éclatante, allumèrent non seulement dans la noblesse, mais parmi le peuple même, cette noble émulation et ce beau feu de gloire qui fait tout entreprendre ... Ils se contentaient d'un bien médiocre, mais désiraient la gloire sans mesure."(49)

(45) *ibid*, vol.I, Preface, p.xxiv

(46) *ibid*, vol.I, Preface, p.lxx

(47) *ibid*.

(48) *ibid*, vol.I, Preface, p.xviii

(49) *ibid*, vol.I, Preface, p.xix-xx

And yet truly virtuous citizens would be ready, when called upon by their country, to sacrifice even their 'gloire'.

Finally Rollin admires amongst the Roman citizens in general

"un esprit attentif à mettre la vertu en honneur, à animer dans les citoyens un zèle actif pour la patrie, et à piquer d'une noble émulation tous ceux qui étaient en état de la servir." (50)

There was surely a lesson for Rollin's own France here and indeed he regrets, a little later, that such examples are so few and far between in his day:

"Quel malheur pour notre siècle, que ces sortes d'exemples y soient si rares, ou plutôt qu'ils ne s'y voient plus!" (51)

And yet one must recognise that the ideal of civic virtue, as Rollin saw it, was not so far removed from the ideal 'générosité' of the 'honnête homme', as is illustrated by the description of Cincinnatus who, on his son's disgrace,

"poussa la générosité plus loin... plus glorieux et plus content de sa pauvreté que les riches ne le sont de leurs trésors." (52)

Again, in the following passage, where Rollin shows how difficult and unnatural to man is the virtue citizenship demands of him, 'généreux' seems synonymous with 'vertueux'.

"L'amour de la vertu est dans la plupart des hommes si languissant et si faible qu'elle ne peut presque plus se soutenir si elle n'est portée à l'approbation et l'estime des hommes. Combien ce généreux mépris de la gloire est-il devenu glorieux pour Fabius et avec quelle usure ne lui a-t-il pas rendu ce qu'il paraissait avoir perdu et sacrifié pour le bien public?" (53)

Yet if the same vocabulary may in part express the ideals

(50) *ibid*, vol. I, p.386
 (52) *ibid*, vol.II, p.58

(51) *ibid*, vol.I, p.392
 (53) *ibid*, vol.5, pp.60-61

of such different societies, the attainment of these ideals was the province of the Romans and it would be hard to find a similar virtue and a similar confidence in the government in France. While the ordinary Roman citizen made financial sacrifices to cover the expenses of the Punic wars, where in France could one discover

"un pareil zèle, et un pareil amour du bien public? Mais aussi où trouve-t-on une bonne foi pareille à celle qui était à Rome la base du gouvernement? On a raison de la regarder comme la plus sûre ressource des États : mais afin qu'elle soit telle, il ne faut point souffrir qu'en aucun cas on lui donne la moindre atteinte." (54)

In other words, mutual confidence and total virtue in state and citizen were essential for survival. It was very different in France where the régime continued to survive despite an ever more decried laxness in 'les mœurs'

The qualities of the Greek citizen seem in essence to be the same as those of the Roman, but Rollin was critical of the limitation of privilege to those born in the city state:

"Les Romains évitèrent en tout temps la faute capitale que fit Périclès ... en déclarant qu'on ne tiendrait pour Athéniens naturels et véritables que ceux qui seraient nés de père et de mère athéniens." (55)

Many of the inhabitants of the city had therefore no interest in its welfare.

The quality Rollin so admired in the Romans, that of love of one's country above self, may be recognised again in his description of certain eminent Greek citizens. Of Aristides he said:

(54) *ibid*, vol. 5, p. 323-4

(55) *Traité*, vol. 2, p. 417

"C'était l'homme de la république; pourvu qu'elle fût bien servie, il lui importait peu par qui elle le fût. Le mérite des autres, loin de le blesser, devenait le sien propre, par l'approbation qu'il lui donnait ... Il ne songeait point à dominer dans Athènes, mais à rendre Athènes dominante..." (56).

Belief in such virtue was almost beyond the comprehension of the eighteenth-century Frenchman:

"Le désintéressement qu'il fit paraître dans le manieement des deniers publics, et l'amour de la pauvreté, porté, si l'on osait le dire, presque jusqu'à l'excès, sont des vertus tellement au dessus de notre siècle qu'à peine pouvons-nous le croire."(57)

In the Greek republics, as in Rome, the law was understood by the most ordinary citizen to be the foundation on which the state rested:

"Les Lacédémoniens, dans cette occasion, firent paraître une grandeur d'âme et une modération qu'on ne peut assez admirer. Car, s'apercevant que la trop grande autorité rendait leurs capitaines fiers et insolents, ils renoncèrent de bon coeur à la supériorité qu'ils avaient eue jusquelà sur les autres Grecs, et cessèrent d'envoyer de leurs chefs pour avoir le commandement de armées, aimant mieux avoir des citoyens sages, modestes, et parfaitement soumis à la discipline et aux lois du pays, que de conserver la prééminence sur tous les autres Grecs."(58)

Like the Romans, the Lacedemonians were filled with the virtue of moderation.

With respect for the law went respect for public office, and a demand for the highest virtue in the incumbents. Thus Aristides, himself a model of the highest virtue, believed that:

"le véritable citoyen, l'homme de bien, devait faire consister tout son crédit à faire et à conseiller en tout et par-

(56) *ibid*, vol. 2, p.353

(57) *ibid*.

(58) *ibid*, vol. 2, p.337

tout ce qui était honnête et juste."(59)

If not always observed, at least the principles of virtuous citizenship were held up before the Greek people and exemplified in certain men. This was not the case in France.

It was because of the constant awareness of this ideal that, when the public interest demanded it, Greek citizens and Roman could forget their private interests,

"tant les querelles même des citoyens étaient tempérées par le motif de l'utilité publique, et leurs animosités toujours prêtes à s'apaiser dès que le bien de l'État le demandait! et tant l'ambition, qui est la plus vive et la plus forte des passions, cédait et se conformait aux besoins et aux intérêts de la patrie!"(60).

For the Greeks, as for the Romans, 'la patrie' deserved the honour due to one's own parents, whatever injustices she committed towards the individual. Thus Epaminondas, despite

"la jalousie de ses égaux, la mauvaise humeur de ses concitoyens, les calomnies de ses ennemis et l'ingratitude de sa patrie", (61)

bore his sufferings with equanimity, for

"il en est de la patrie comme de ceux qui nous ont donné la vie, dont nous devons endurer les mauvais traitements avec soumission." (62)

Once again, as in the case of the Roman citizen, it was education which was the foundation of the Greek citizen's virtue and civic awareness. The virtues of Epaminondas

"ne furent pas moins l'effet de l'excellente éducation qu'il avait reçue que de son heureux naturel." (63)

And of the illustrious life of Dion, Rollin wrote:

(59) *ibid*, vol. 2, p.353

(61) *ibid*, vol. 2, p.398

(63) *ibid*. vol. 2, p.399

(60) *ibid*, vol. 2, p.356

(62) *ibid*, p.398

"Il n'y en a point certainement qui marque davantage quel est le prix de la bonne éducation." (64)

Lycurgus, legislator of the Spartans,

"regardait l'éducation des enfants comme la plus grande et la plus importante affaire d'un législateur. Son grand principe était qu'ils appartiennent encore plus à l'État qu'à leurs pères; et c'est pour cela qu'il ne laissa pas ceux-ci maîtres de les élever à leur gré, et qu'il voulut que le public s'emparât de leur éducation, afin de les former sur des principes constants et uniformes qui leur inspirassent de bonne heure l'amour de la patrie et de la vertu." (65)

Michel Legagneux, in his article Rollin et le mirage Spartiate (66), has pointed out that this passage, whose impact on later generations may be judged by the number of times certain phrases recurred in later educational writings, was by no means a straight translation from Plutarch's original life of Lycurgus. By omitting the more disagreeable aspects of Spartan education, by mistaking the true role of the 'agelai' and the 'irenes' of the Spartan school (translating them into the simpler and more acceptable concepts of classes and teachers), and by emphasising the aspects he most admired - the teaching, by means of a consistent, uniform state education system of love of country and of virtue - Rollin did indeed use Plutarch in part, consciously or not, to convey his own beliefs. Whether it was through a wish to avoid blame for his own convictions or through a belief that if he wished to express his ideas, these were the aspects which would be most easily comprehended by the men of his day or through a combination of the two, it is true that he did distort. Perhaps he did not wish to lay open to ridicule ideas in which he so firmly believed by mentioning the least acceptable parts of the Spartan way of life. The points he

(64) *ibid*, vol. 2, p.400 (65) *ibid*, vol. 2, p.369

admired in Spartan education accord with a philosophy which, where possible, Rollin sought to repeat and exemplify, notably in the education of King Cyrus of Persia. Yet it hardly seems possible that, as M. Legagneux suggests, the Spartan mirage arose at a stroke with the Traité de l'éducation; rather it would seem to accord, by emphasis and simplification, with a current of thought (66) which was sympathetic to the reforming minds of the day. Later, as will be seen, when the Spartan example became too remote for reformers eager for immediate action, Lacedaemonia was again seen in its entirety, and criticised and rejected by many (67). The idealised picture presented by Rollin, Legendre de Saint-Aubin and others nevertheless played its part in those early days of reform, as it would later for a Rousseau so aware of the limitations of his day that he had no examples to offer but the idealised ones of Crete, Sparta and Persia (68).

The description of the education of Cyrus is interesting in that, while repeating the ideas he expressed in his account of Spartan education, Rollin, obliquely critical of the training given to the princes of France, offers a theoretical model for the education of Kings. For Cyrus was brought up, not as the greatest and most privileged man in the country, but as the first citizen and therefore the one in whom the greatest virtue was necessary. True, Rollin does not use the word 'citizen' in connection with Cyrus, but, describing Persian education (which he considered excellent) he showed the qualities of civic

(66) cf. Fénelon's Télémaque and Montesquieu's Fable des Troglodytes.

(67) eg. Diderot's Refutation of 'De l'Homme, Assézat, vol.2 p.275 "Je ne blâme point les lois de Lycurgue, je les crois seulement incompatibles avec un grand État et un État commerçant." Voltaire, Correspondance, ed. Roth, vol. 14, p.82 : "Lycurgue fit des moines armés; sa législation fut un sublime système d'atrocité."

(68) Rousseau, Economie politique, Pléiade ed. vol. 3, p.261

virtue to be an integral part of the prince's education:

"Il fut élevé selon la coutume des Perses, qui pour lors était excellente. Le bien public, l'utilité commune était le principe et le but de toutes leurs lois. L'éducation des enfants était regardée comme le devoir le plus important et la partie la plus essentielle du gouvernement. On ne s'en reposait pas sur l'attention des pères et des mères, qu'une aveugle et molle tendresse rend souvent incapables de ce soin: l'État s'en chargeait. Ils étaient élevés en commun d'une manière uniforme... Ils allaient aux écoles pour y apprendre la justice, comme ailleurs on y va pour apprendre les lettres:"(69)

The parallel with Spartan education is striking: all the essential points are there, the points which will become the centre of the debate in the second part of the century. Since the public good was the aim of the state only general, uniform public education could achieve this, parents being ill suited by their nature; since the children are more vital to the state than to their parents it is the state which has the first say in their education, which is to consist essentially of a training in civic virtue and patriotism. That this is the philosophy Rollin wished to impart to his fellow countrymen can not be doubted. He even, in his section on the Gouvernement intérieur des classes, attributed these methods and aims to all the Ancients in general:

"Il ne faut pas.... s'étonner que les anciens aient recommandé avec tant de soin la bonne éducation de la jeunesse et l'aient regardée

(69) Traité, vol. 2, p.305

comme le moyen le plus sûr de rendre un empire stable et florissant. Leur maxime capitale était, que les enfants appartiennent plus à la république qu'à leurs parents; et qu'ainsi ce n'est point au caprice de ceux-ci qu'il faut abandonner leur éducation, mais que la république doit se charger de ce soin; que par cette raison les enfants doivent être élevés, non en particulier et dans la maison paternelle, mais en public, par des maîtres communs et sous une même discipline, afin qu'on leur inspire de bonne heure l'amour de la patrie, le respect pour les lois du pays, le goût des principes et des maximes de l'État dans lequel ils ont à vivre." (70)

Foreshadowing Montesquieu he added, significantly,

"Car chaque espèce de gouvernement a son génie particulier. Autre est l'esprit et le caractère d'un état républicain, autre celui d'un état monarchique. Or, c'est par l'éducation qu'on prend cet esprit et ce caractère." (71)

Clearly Rollin was no naive idealist, but rather a cautious one, not gifted with the brilliance of the Montesquieu of the Lettres Persanes, yet capable of recognising the failings, the lack of aims of the French system; in the light of this the following comment on Cyruss' education might surely be taken as a positive suggestion for a first step in the direction of reform:

"C'est le caractère même de leur grandeur d'être consacrés au bien public... Ils sont à tous parce que tout leur est confié..." (72)

(70) *ibid*, vol. 3, pp.209-210

(71) *ibid*, vol. 3, p.210

(72) *ibid*, vol. 2, p.326

In his Traité Rollin's aim was therefore not the old scholastic aim of knowledge for its own sake, but rather as a path to virtue, not only religious but above all, civic. History was to be the chief means to this practical education for

"(l'étude) nous présente pour guides et pour modèles les hommes les plus éclairés et les plus sages de l'antiquité, qu'on peut appeler en ce sens, avec Sénèque, les maîtres et les précepteurs du genre humain." (73)

He was not the first to appreciate the value of history for moral improvement; Bossuet, Nicole, Arnauld, Buffier before him had advocated it, although Rollin's wish to use it in the colleges of the University was an innovation. Nor was he the first to regard education as an apprenticeship for life: the honnête homme tradition had the same aim, and Fleury, for instance, wrote,

"On ne doit nommer étude, que l'application aux connaissances qui sont utiles dans la vie." (74)

Rollin's originality in French educational thought lies in his insistence that educated virtuous men were important no longer merely in their relationship to the King, but as citizens of a state nourished on the principle of civic virtue. This is clearly borrowed directly from the Ancients. As the century progresses a movement for a less self-centered morality than the old individualist morality of Montaigne, grew; there

(73) *ibid*, vol. 1, p.4

(74) Fleury, C. Traité du choix et de la méthode des études, p.87

was increasing emphasis on the virtue of 'bienfaisance' (75). People were no longer merely passive subjects of the King, striving to be honoured by him, but began to have relationship between themselves, as one citizen to another, all belonging to one state, so that by mid-century Rousseau was teaching altruism as a means to a happy society. (75a). Rollin, in educational theory, stands at the beginning of this trend in which man becomes important in his own right, and not merely as the King's servant.

College, then, was for Rollin a place to equip the future man with a citizen's virtues in order to live his life in society (like Locke, though in a different way, he considered the development of the whole character to be of paramount importance) and not merely a place in which to acquire professional skills, an educational aim which Rousseau was later to elaborate:

Rollin only indirectly criticised the contemporary political system, but his emphasis on the connection between the state and the individual citizen, and his wish to reform the education of the child in order to make him more aware of his role as a citizen, show

(75) see Mornet, D. Les Origines intellectuelles de la Révolution française, Paris, 1933, pp.109-111. According to Hatzfeld and Darmesteter the word 'bien-faisance' "Se trouve au XI^{ve} siècle dans un glossaire... mais reste inusité jusqu'au commencement du XVIII^e siècle où il est repris par l'abbé de Saint-Pierre. Admis Acad. 1762." Dictionnaire général de la langue française...

(75a) This is the conclusion of Emile and above all of La Nouvelle Héloïse, where the happiness of the small society surrounding the Wolmar family is based on mutual kindness.

that he felt much could be done to improve the system. He was the first to speak of education regardless of class, for the simple reason that he was speaking of educating the moral and not the professional man. His Traité, despite the resistance at the Concours Général of 1784 to an éloge of Rollin, described by Bachaumont (76), was surely a useful and sympathetic reference book for the later, more positive reformers. Although Lanson's opinion that Rollin's

"cours d'histoire avec sa candide inintelligence du passé et son absence de critique est un cours de morale républicaine" (77)

is perhaps somewhat exaggerated -it is only in the light of later thought that the "republicanism" of the Traité assumed such importance- it is nevertheless no doubt true in the long run that using Rollin's Traité

"L'Université en offrant Plutarque et Tite-Live à l'admiration des élèves destinés à vivre sous une monarchie absolue, cultiva dans leurs coeurs des ferments révolutionnaires qui éclatèrent en 1789." (78)

for it offered an insight into the spirit of republicanism and firmly established the notion of a civic virtue distinct from religious virtue. For later educational reformers the idealisation of the educational systems of Sparta and Persia in particular, by their insistence on the need for uniformity of

(76) Mornet, op. cit. p.331

(77) Lanson, Histoire de la littérature française, p.718, quoted by Ferté, op. cit. p.344

(78) Mornet, op. cit. p.344

of purpose and system, and the paramount importance of education to the survival of any particular type of government, focused attention decisively on the points which became central to the debate in the second half of the century.

From the Traité des études to De l'esprit des lois (1748); the preparation for life in society; concern at the lack of attention given to public education.

-o-o-o-o-

From the beginning of the eighteenth century to the publication of Montesquieu's De l'Esprit des Lois in 1748, educational thought on the whole changes little and the numerous books on aspects of education in general were written very much in the traditions already outlined, with, it is true, a certain amount of criticism, but none of it fundamental. Certain works, however, appeared, which were to be of value to later theorists: Rollin's Traité des Etudes, with its historical content so full of meaning for the eighteenth century, has already been discussed. Of great importance, too, were the works of political thinkers such as Pufendorf, Grotius and Burlamaqui.

Pufendorf's Des devoirs de l'homme et du citoyen, translated from the original Latin (1673) into French by Barbeyrac in 1707, did not at first have a far-reaching influence on educational thought, although by 1715 it had reached its third edition. It was only after Montesquieu's Esprit des Lois that, together with other works of political science, it became relevant for large numbers of people. Nevertheless it is worth discussing at this point, if only to show how lacking

in new initiative educational thought was at a time when in the political sphere much new theorising was going on, which was eventually to influence the educational world.

Of vital importance in this new thinking is the separation of social from religious morality. Pufendorf's argument rests on the separation of religious from civil law. Natural law, which may indeed come from God and maintains nothing contrary to theological law, shows man his obligations towards other men in society, civil law indicates his duties, and these are sufficient basis for a good and peaceful society. Theological morality relates only to the duties of the Christian:

"la plus grande différence consiste en ce que l'usage du droit naturel considéré en lui-même est renfermé dans les bornes de cette vie, puisqu'il tend uniquement à rendre l'homme sociable."(1)

Thus the virtues of pagan civilisation can be esteemed in their own right, even without the benefits of Christian Revelation. Society is founded on natural law and the morality taught is that based on reason. The most important natural duty of man is not to harm

(1) Pufendorf, Des Devoirs de l'homme et du citoyen, tels qu'ils lui sont prescrits par la loi naturelle, Geneva, 1748, (2 vols.) (1st transld. 1696) vol. 1, p.xl

others, and to remedy any ill he may cause. He has in addition a duty to regard his fellow men as natural equals.

"C'est-à-dire qui sont aussi bien hommes que lui."(2)

Men may also live in a state of nature, but

"dans la liberté naturelle chacun n'a que ses propres forces pour se défendre; au lieu que, dans une société civile, on a, outre cela, les forces de tous les autres. Dans l'état de la nature, personne ne saurait être assuré de jouir des fruits de son industrie: dans une société civile, chacun peut s'en promettre la jouissance paisible. Dans l'état de nature, on ne trouve que passions qui règnent en liberté, que guerres, que craintes, que pauvreté, que solitude, qu'horreur, que barbarie, qu'ignorance, que férocité: dans une société civile, on voit régner la raison, la paix, la sûreté, les richesses, l'ordre, la beauté, la douceur du commerce, la politesse, les sciences, l'amitié."(3)

Society thus brings security and prosperity and the rule of that most precious human gift, reason; but men do not find it easy to give up their natural liberty, and to submit to

"une autorité souveraine, ou à un gouvernement qui renferme le droit de vie et de mort sur ses sujets, et qui les oblige à faire bien des choses pour lesquelles ils ont de la répugnance, ou à

(2) *ibid*, p.132

(3) *ibid*, vol. 2, p.261

n'en pas faire qu'ils souhaitent extrêmement. La plupart des actions d'un citoyen, doivent aussi être rapportées au bien de l'Etat, qui semble souvent ne pas s'accorder avec celui des particuliers. Or l'homme naturellement aime fort l'indépendance: rien ne lui est plus doux que de faire tout à sa fantaisie: il cherche toujours son propre intérêt, sans se mettre fort en peine de l'avantage d'autrui, et il sacrifie aisément le dernier à l'autre."
(4)

Men must therefore be shown that their ultimate good lies in being good citizens, that the actions they must as good citizens do for the State, and which seem often to be opposed to their individual good, are in fact in their interest.

"Un animal véritablement propre à la société civile, ou un bon citoyen, c'est celui qui obéit promptement et de bon coeur aux ordres de son Souverain; qui travaille de toutes ses forces à l'avancement du bien public, et le préfère sans balancer à son intérêt particulier; qui même ne regarde rien comme avantageux pour lui, s'il ne l'est pas aussi pour le public; qui enfin se montre commode et obligeant envers ses concitoyens." (5)

Such "good citizens" .-how close they are to Rollin's ideal of the Ancients- are rare, since such lack of self-interest is contrary to man's nature, so

"Comme chacun se conduit selon les opinions où il est; et que la plupart des hommes ne jugent pour l'ordinaire des choses que par les idées aux quelles ils sont accoutumés de bonne heure, ou par celles qu'ils voient reçues communément;

(4) *ibid*, vol. 2, p.289.

(5) *ibid*, vol. 2. pp.289-290

y ayant très peu de personnes qui aient assez de pénétration pour examiner et découvrir d'elles-mêmes la vérité et les règles de l'honnêteté: il est de l'intérêt de l'Etat que l'on y enseigne publiquement des doctrines conformes au but naturel et à l'avantage bien entendu des sociétés civiles, et que les citoyens soient instruits comme il faut de ces principes dès leur enfance. Ainsi le Souverain doit établir ceux qui enseignent publiquement, les sciences qui ont quelque influence sur la tranquillité de l'Etat, et prendre garde qu'ils n'avancent rien qui soit capable de la troubler." (6)

Elsewhere Pufendorf speaks of forming

"des écoles publiques où l'on enseigne des choses conformes à la bonne politique." (7),

although parents also

"doivent former le corps et l'esprit de ces jeunes créatures, par une bonne éducation, qui les mette en état d'être utiles à la société humaine en général et à l'état en particulier; qui les rende sages, prudents, et de bonnes moeurs." (8)

It is thus the duty of the sovereign, be it monarch, senate or people, to provide for and supervise the education of the nation's young. So it is that, according to the convention on which society is founded, the citizen submits to the authority of the sovereign for the good of society and thus his own individual good; in other words the virtue demanded of

(6) *ibid*, p.305

(7) *ibid*, p.327

(8) *ibid*, p.281

the citizen in thus giving himself to the state is not a blind sentimental 'patriotic virtue', but a calculated and reasonable sacrifice for eventual gain.

The importance of education for the future of the nation was recognised in most educational writings, but it was not presented on the same scientific basis, nor, incidentally, does the logical consequence of education for the whole nation occur to any but one of the writers before Montesquieu. The inability of the majority to recognise that man is not by nature fitted to give up what he regards as his immediate personal good for the prospective good of society, (though ultimately his own also), the belief, instead, in the Christian virtues which would automatically make a man fit to live in society, without any need for formal contracts between ruler and ruled, are the crux of the difference between most educational writers before mid century and Montesquieu's Esprit des Lois and those who in the second half of the century studied and used the works of Montesquieu, Pufendorf and the other political theorists.

If we consider first some of the earliest eighteenth century writings we shall see just how vague and undefined are both the ideas and the terms used.

Writings in the "honnête homme" tradition, such as the Nouveau Traité de la civilité qui se pratique en France parmi les honnêtes gens (1719), by Courtin, and the Traité d'éducation chrétienne et littéraire of Coustel (1749) are based purely and solely on Christian ethics as a means of achieving a happy society. Thus civility, which is essential to the "honnête homme", is the result of modesty, which in turn is engendered by humility and Christian charity, according to Courtin:

"Il s'ensuit que la civilité d'un Chrétien est cet air charitable et honnête qui exhale, pour ainsi dire, de l'humilité fondée sur la charité chrétienne." (9)

Coustel goes further and separates education into Christian and pagan, of which the former is by far the more important:

"Ils (Christians) doivent... se mettre bien plus en peine de rendre leurs enfants agréables à Dieu par la piété et la vertu, qu'aux hommes par l'éclat de la vaine science." (10)

He does not hesitate to attribute the afflictions of a nation to the corruption of its people -not through the consequent corruption of the political system, but through the direct intervention of a wrathful God.

People must be

"fidèles dans leur trafic, exacts à s'acquitter des obligations de leurs emplois, assidus à leurs paroisses, et circonspects dans leurs moindres

(9) Courtin, A. op. cit. p.21

(10) Coustel, P. Traité d'éducation chrétienne et littéraire propre à inspirer aux jeunes gens les sentiments d'une solide piété et à leur donner le goût des belles-lettres. 1749, 2 vols., vol. 1, p.4

actions. Et c'est ce qui fait tout le bonheur des États." (11)

Otherwise

"le poids de leur propre corruption ne tarde guère à les entraîner dans toutes sortes de dissolutions et de désordres, qui attirent les malédictions de Dieu sur des pays entiers: car il ne faut pas chercher d'autres causes des misères et des calamités publiques, que les crimes et les dérèglements des particuliers." (12)

L'abbé Perneti in his Abus de l'éducation sur la piété, la morale et l'étude (1728) also treats "honnêteté" as derived from Christian virtue. Taking for granted that teachers of the young

"envisagent l'obligation de les former à la piété, comme le plus important de leurs devoirs" (13)

he regrets that teachers do not use the natural docility of children to lead them in the path of piety.

"Quels services ne rendraient pas à la Religion et à la République des maîtres qui porteraient leurs vues dans l'avenir", (14)

that is to say, taught their pupils to love God. The morality which should be taught,

"cet assemblage de qualités ou de vertus qui font l'honnête homme selon le monde..."(15),

is the Christian morality which demands uprightness, sincerity, good faith, firmness, humanity, moderation and modesty. These qualities which would form a good working basis for daily relationships between people,

(11) *ibid*, p.17

(12) *ibid*.

(13) Perneti, *op. cit.* p.3

(14) *ibid*, p.14

(15) *ibid*, p.70

are at present so neglected that Perneti despairingly asks:

"Quels époux, quels parents, quels citoyens
préparez-vous au monde par ces exemples
pernicieux "(16)

It is, however, really only a matter of individual relationships and the word 'citizen' is used here purely in a rhetorical sense to refer emphatically to the people, in their role as subjects of the French monarch, as distinct from their role as husbands or parents.

Perneti is deeply critical of the existing education, both public and private, for the lack of attention it pays to morality, although he finally decides in favour of public education, corrected by private in cases where parents can afford it. In his criticism of the low moral standard of education he is joined by the abbé Pluche, who devotes a section of his Spectacle de la nature, (1732) to the subject of education. Pluche is particularly bitter about public education, which he sees as preparing merely the exterior qualities of the 'homme du monde':

"On ajoute encore que l'éducation publique est un moyen de procurer à un jeune homme des liaisons que le temps et les occasions pourront rendre utiles.
Ce n'est pas assurément qu'on lui

(16) *ibid*, p.113.

souhaite ni grec, ni latin, ni piété, ni règle de conduite. Que ferait-on de tout cela dans le beau monde? On a bien autre chose à savoir. Mais il n'est pas mal qu'un jeune homme sache écrire un billet; qu'il ait quelque idée de l'histoire et surtout qu'il connaisse les Dieux, les Déesses de tout étage, leurs aventures, leurs merveilleuses métamorphoses; en un mot qu'il possède la fable." (17)

The young man who emerges from this process is perfectly equipped to decorate the 'beau monde' but totally inadequate to fulfil any useful function.

"Le temps des études expiré, car c'est le temps, et non le progrès qui règle tout, on met le jeune homme dans le monde: on lui procure même un emploi et un nom, mais sans l'épouvanter des fonctions qui y tiennent. Au contraire on lui fait observer qu'il y a tel ou tel moyens d'y suppléer, et de s'affranchir des servitudes gênantes. Il ne faut que savoir s'y prendre, se faire honneur du talent des subalternes, et sauver les apparences: ainsi tout devient un jeu. Le point qu'on lui recommande, le point capitale, est l'art de plaire." (18)

Whatever the intention of the educational system may be, the practical result is to create a façade:

"Je suis fort éloigné de penser qu'on ait un pareil but dans le plan d'éducation ordinaire. Mais par le peu de soin qu'on y prend de ramener tout à des vues chrétiennes et à l'amour de nos frères, cet agréable homme qu'on se félicite d'avoir tourné à souhait, est un homme de théâtre." (19)

Instead of concentrating on the exterior, it is important to educate the child to live in society, since

"il est sensible que Dieu s'est proposé de mettre

(17) Pluche, l'abbé N.A. Le Spectacle de la nature, ou entretiens sur les particularités de l'histoire naturelle, (9 vols.) vol. 6, pp.115-6

(18) *ibid*, pp.116-7

(19) *ibid*, p.130

ici, non des solitaires, mais des citoyens." (20)

"il s'agit pour les rendre sociables de les remplir à temps des connaissances d'usage et des motifs propres, soit à servir de frein à leurs passions, soit à incliner leur coeur à tous les devoirs du citoyen." (21)

Pluche, however, understands the basis of society in an entirely different way from the philosophers, for whom he has nothing but contempt:

"En effet la philosophie qui se vante de rendre les hommes sociables n'a ni connu la vraie origine de la société, ni assuré à cette société les vrais appuis qui la peuvent maintenir." (22)

Societies exist because it is part of God's design that men should love society. They are not based on mutual need and all past societies which found it necessary to

"aider l'instruction, tantôt par des lois pénales, tantôt par des idées d'honneur, de vengeance, d'amour de la patrie" (23),

were bound to fail.

"La raison n'a pas suffi pour faire des citoyens parfaits" (24).

It is Christianity which gives perfect justice to men, which leads to love of ones enemies and of ones country.

Thus we come to a new definition of citizen:

"Si la haine est la ruine de la société, et que l'amour en soit le lien sûr, il est clair que qui dit un vrai Chrétien dit un vrai citoyen, et si je cherche ici mon citoyen dans le Christianisme, c'est parce que je ne le trouve que là." (25)

(20) *ibid.*, p.4

(21) *ibid.*, p.131

(22) *ibid.*, p.6

(23) *ibid.*, p.15

(24) *ibid.*

(25) *ibid.*, p.16

Since all men live together, for each other's good, one need not question the order of society; subordination is for the good of all and children must be taught to a level in accordance with the station in which God has placed them. Thus once again we have an ethical, and not a political, citizen, and one, moreover, who has not the right to question the status quo, since all is based on God's immovable plan.

Similarly the Traité du vrai mérite de l'homme considéré dans tous les âges et dans toutes les conditions avec des principes d'éducation propres à former les jeunes gens à la vertu by Lemaître de Claville - a great success, passing through 18 editions between 1734 and 1761- accepts totally the order of things, identifying the King with the state and, while admitting that personal merit is important, insists that where two men of different class are equal in merit and knowledge, 'l'homme de qualité' is superior to the man of lower birth. The treatise follows faithfully in the tradition of 'honnêteté' (26) Children should be taught.

"La politesse, un goût juste et délicat, beaucoup de religion, et une probité à toute épreuve." (27)

There is an echo of Montaigne's

"plutôt la tête bien faite que bien pleine," (28)

in Lemaître's,

(26) Mornet, in his Origines intellectuelles de la Révolution française, 1715-1787 (Paris, 1933), calls it a "sorte de bréviaire des honnêtes gens qui voulaient mettre d'accord leur catéchisme et leur raison." (p.43)

(27) Lemaître de Claville, op. cit. vol. 1, p.16

(28) Montaigne, Essais, ed. Pléiade, p.149

"Je demande un esprit plus orné que surchargé,"(29)

but it is evident that this is in order to be able to live in 'le monde', as the preceding passage shows:

"Il faut savoir, mais préférablement à tout il faut savoir vivre. Je crois qu'on a l'essentiel de la science quand on sait tout ce qu'un galant homme doit savoir, quand on a assez de fonds pour bien remplir les devoirs de son état et assez d'acquis pour être souhaité dans un monde poli." (30)

Thus Lemaître's pupil is consciously being prepared for 'le monde', as opposed to the cloister, and his education is the logical one for the world in which he will live.

"D'ailleurs les plus scrupuleux savent bien que le monde demande une autre éducation que le cloître: et mon projet est de faire un galant homme, un parfaitement honnête homme, un homme de mérite, un homme de bien. Que la jeunesse commence par se faire un esprit de vérité, d'équité et de droite raison, on ne peut pas lui demander moins. A ce commencement de caractère ajoutez la bonté d'âme, le bon esprit, le don des manières, et le goût des bonnes oeuvres... c'est par ces quatre parties principales de caractère que j'essaie de vous conduire au vrai mérite."(31)

This is very much the same aim as Rousseau sets himself in his Projet pour l'éducation de Monsieur de Sainte-Marie.

The tradition of virtue combined with wit and taste goes back as far as Plato's philosopher, the "amateur de la sagesse universelle" (32). By virtue and true merit Lemaître understands not only the Christian "religieux, pieux, dévot", but also what the Germans understand by the word "virtuosus":

(29) Lemaître, op. cit. vol. 1, p.51.

(30) *ibid.*

(31) *ibid.*, pp.33-4.

(32) *ibid.*, p.112.

"La valeur dans la guerre, l'habileté dans les arts, les dons de la nature, les talents, l'érudition, l'excellence du cœur, la justesse et la force de l'esprit, de la fidélité à Dieu et à son Roi." (33)

In fact, he says,

"un homme vertueux et un philosophe chrétien sont, selon moi, termes synonymes." (34)

There follows a detailed analysis of the terms 'galant homme', 'honnête homme', 'homme de mérite' and 'homme de bien', and it is to the last that he gives his accolade, as being the one which resumes all the others, and is

"simple, vrai, humain, généreux, pieusement avare du temps, il en met tous les moments à profit pour l'éternité". (35)

It is a virtue which makes a man pleasant to live with, and brings possible military glory to his country, but certainly not to be identified with political virtue, and an awareness of the reciprocal duties of citizen and country.

Whilst conscious of the importance to the State of the education of its children -

"Rien n'importe plus à la gloire d'un État, que de jeter dans l'âme de ceux qui peuvent devenir d'excellents sujets, les semences de la plus haute vertu." (36)

Lemaître does not consider it to be the State's duty

(33) *ibid*, p.92

(34) *ibid*, p.93

(35) *ibid*, pp. 97-8

(36) *ibid*, p.32

to see that the right education is given. The example of good education which he chooses from antiquity is one of parental education: that of Alexander the Great. Clearly Lemaître is no revolutionary. His cautious exhortation:

— "Que chacun de nous, proportion et subordination gardées, mette suivant son état cet exemple à profit" (37),

pinpoints his acceptance of the order of things. A certain patriotism is desirable, and indeed necessary, but it is the old one in which King and State are interchangeable:

"Servons le Roi, servons l'État, c'est un devoir étroit. Mais aussi de tous les devoirs c'est celui qui vous conduit infailliblement à la gloire." (38)

Guillaume du Bellay is a model of virtue, possessed of a

"zèle ardent pour sa patrie, (une) fidélité inviolable pour son Roi." (39)

It is true that in using historical examples to inculcate good morals (history being, in his opinion, vital in education (40)) Lemaître encounters men who were models of virtue, although not subjects of a king. Such a one is Mark Anthony, amongst whose virtues is that

"Il avait toujours en vue le bien de l'État en tout ce qu'il faisait, et jamais ni son plaisir, ni son intérêt, ni sa gloire particulière." (41)

Such examples, frequently quoted at the time, are academic, in that as models for morality, one would be expected to adapt them to the contemporary French situation, so that for the Roman State which Mark Anthony served, the reader would substitute the French King and monarchy.

(37) *ibid*, p.36

(38) *ibid*, p.87

(39) *ibid*, vol. 2, p.84

(40) "Elle nous apprend la morale en nous proposant des exemples de vice et de vertu pour suivre les uns et fuir les autres." vol. 1, p.22

(41) *ibid*, vol. 2, p.86

Thus the education Lemaître advocates is for a limited section of society, a training in Christian morals and love of ones King and place of birth, a deep respect for the established system as a loyal subject - not citizen. A little science and certain accomplishments are necessary, but politeness and gallantry are equally important, so that one is equipped to live ones life smoothly in 'le monde' in ones allotted role.

The same type of acceptance is to be found in René de Bonneval's Eléments de l'éducation.

"Le principe invariable qu'un jeune homme doit suivre, c'est de reconnaître comme juste la forme de gouvernement auquel la providence l'a soumis, et d'y conformer toutes ses actions dans la pratique."(42)

However, a child's critical faculties should be trained to the extent that he may realise the faults of the system, for laws are human and all things human are fallible, but having realised this he must accept them philosophically. For Bonneval, an admirer of the "célèbre Fénelon" and the "illustre Rollin"(43) it is important to learn not only

"La politesse... si essentielle au galant homme que sans elle on a de la peine à le souffrir dans la société."(44)

but also something of the

"lois fondamentales de l'État dont on est sujet, et la partie des lois civiles dont l'exercice est habituel, et fait, pour ainsi dire, l'âme de la société."(45)

Thus we glimpse that the possibility of debate exists, only to be firmly told that we must accept that the sovereign knows best:

"Un jeune homme évitera donc, avec grand soin, tout genre d'altercation sur la préférence des monarchies, des républiques, des états mixtes; et il faut qu'il soit convaincu, que chaque

(42) Eléments de l'éducation, p.81

(44) ibid, p.9

(43) ibid, Préface

(45) ibid, p.52

nation a choisi ce qui convenait le mieux à ses mœurs et à ses besoins, de manière que, s'il veut bien balancer toutes les raisons, et faire attention à la diversité des esprits et des climats, du moins des pays policés, je ne sais pas s'il sera jamais en état de porter un jugement sur cette matière." (46)

Nevertheless de Bonneval seems to have a greater understanding of the Ancients' conception of citizen and state than, for example Lemaître de Claville. He realises it is not merely a private matter but of importance to the state, which should therefore take an interest in it, and he deplores the contemporary indifference to the subject:

"l'éducation des enfants importe ... à la Patrie" (47).

The state should indeed have a certain influence in it:

"Les enfants appartiennent à leurs parents: mais les uns et les autres appartiennent à la patrie. C'est à l'autorité publique à régler la forme des éducations relativement aux diverses professions d'un chacun; et sans gêner la liberté du choix, elle est l'arbitre de la discipline qu'on doit observer pour tendre à la perfection de chaque état.(48)..Travailler à former des hommes vertueux et raisonnables, c'est répondre immédiatement aux desseins de Dieu, c'est travailler pour la Patrie dans l'objet qui lui est le plus essentiel, et les Gouverneurs qui s'en acquittent bien sont, selon moi, les ministres du bonheur public." (49)

(46) *ibid*, pp.82-3

(47) Bonneval, Réflexions sur le premier âge de l'homme servant de supplément aux Éléments et Progrès de l'éducation, Paris, 1751, p.14

(48) *ibid*, pp.29-30

(49) *ibid*, p.52

Through education one is thus equipped to perform ones duty towards 'la patrie'.

"On est indigne de la société, lorsqu'on se contente d'en tirer des avantages sans réciprocité."(50)

Indeed not only is the relationship between citizen and state one of reciprocity, but in the case of officers of the state, just as for the Ancients, the state is more important than its servant:

"Il faut qu'un magistrat se dise: 'Je ne suis plus à moi, j'appartiens tout entier à la patrie;'"(51)

Yet despite the obvious admiration de Bonneval feels for the Roman and Greek republics and such model citizens as Cicero and Cato, he essentially desires to preserve the existing status quo, believing that in so doing one conforms with the wishes of those who know better and submits to the will of God. When he uses the word 'citizen' it is in an ill-defined sense, despite his relative awareness. Thus the expression 'bon citoyen' is a mere element in the description of the truly good and generous man:

"Le véritable généreux remplit tous ses devoirs; il est bon citoyen, bon parent, bon ami; la sagesse règle tous ses sentiments;"(52)

He has no wish to produce any of those philosophers who put freedom above all else, although he has no objection to those those who

"ont tellement l'air des honnêtes gens du

(50) *ibid*, p.25

(51) Bonneval, Progrès de l'éducation, suite des Eléments de l'éducation, Paris, 1743, p.28

(52) *ibid*, p.151

monde, qu'on n'aperçoit pas ce qui les distingue;...honnêtes, compatissants, bons citoyens, bons pères de familles;"(53)

Citizen, in practice, means merely a subject of the King who, while reasonably well informed on the law of the country, does not imperil the existing order, but lives the life of a good Christian, an 'honnête homme'.

Another writer who believed that the study of one's own law was necessary was the abbé de Pons, a champion of the 'modernes'. In his Nouveau Système d'éducation, published in 1718 in the Mercure de France, he argues that France has a literature and a history of which to be proud; and yet the abbé retains a love of Latin: a 'galant homme' should not be ignorant of it. His aim is at once to form an 'orateur' and 'philosophe' and an 'homme de bien'. His 'homme de bien', a good Christian, knows that

"la véritable grandeur de l'homme consiste dans la science et dans la vertu."(ie. Christian virtue)
"C'est la philosophie qui nous rend savants,
c'est la religion qui nous rend vertueux."(54)

Yet in this description of the ideal virtuous French subject, typically of its period in the combination of religion and reason, elements of the Roman ideals appear. Pons's pupil must become an orator and a philosopher; that is to say, he must become a public man, fit to serve the state in whichever way it needs him:

"L'homme savant et vertueux est de tout métier, de toute condition; il est bon à

(53) *ibid*, pp.160, 162

(54) Pons, l'abbé J.F. de, Nouveau Système d'éducation, in Oeuvres, Paris, 1738, pp.42, 44

l'Eglise, à la magistrature, aux armes,
au ministère politique."(55)

His "homme savant et vertueux" is in fact synonymous with
his conception of a good citizen:

"Un bon citoyen doit se multiplier, pour
ainsi dire, et servir sa patrie sous dif-
férents noms: le même homme qui chassa
l'ennemi de nos frontières dans ces der-
niers temps, se transforma en ministre,
pour négocier notre paix avec l'Empire."(56)

Some idea of the ancient vision of citizens all equal before
the law remains:

"Ces lois ont donc pour objet la sûreté
publique et le bon ordre entre les cit-
oyens; elles sévissent avec rigueur contre
quiconque attente à la vie, à l'honneur
ou à la fortune d'autrui."(57)

and yet the abbé continues:

"Un galant homme ne devrait pas ignorer
absolument les lois civiles de sa nation."(58)

Significantly he uses the expression 'galant homme' and not
'citoyen'; it is a 'galant homme', a polite, well informed,
versatile and eloquent man that he wishes to form, and not
really a citizen in the old Roman sense; but echoes of the
ideal Roman citizen remain and he would wish his pupil, for
instance, to be

"un peu moins surpris que moi de l'éminente
vertu de quelques héros de Corneille, parce
qu'il aura déjà bien des traits de ressem-
blance avec eux."(59)

The abbé thus most interestingly exemplifies this age of

(55) *ibid*, p.91

(56) *ibid*,

(57) *ibid*, pp.88-9

(58) *ibid*, p.89

(59) *ibid*, p.50

transition, when the virtues and institutions of the Ancients were admired without any recognition of the political implications of such an ideal for contemporary France, and at the same time a new respect for the study of French society and history was emerging.

Education for the world, the education of the 'honnête homme', had, however, its dangers, for the world was a corrupt place. Numerous writings of the period illustrate the fact. The very black picture painted by Crébillon 'fils' in his Égarements du coeur et de l'esprit has certainly a strong foundation of truth. The 'hero' is taught by the corrupter, Versac,

"C'est une erreur de croire que l'on puisse conserver dans le monde cette innocence de moeurs que l'on a communément quand on y entre, et que l'on y puisse être toujours vertueux et toujours naturel, sans risquer sa réputation ou sa fortune. Le coeur et l'esprit sont forcés de s'y gâter, tout y est mode et affectation. Les vertus, les agréments et les talents y sont purement arbitraires et l'on n'y peut réussir qu'en se défigurant sans cesse. Voilà des principes que vous ne devez jamais perdre de vue: mais ce n'est pas assez de savoir que, pour réussir il faut être ridicule. Il faut étudier avec soin le ton du monde où notre rang nous a placés, les ridicules qui conviennent le plus à notre état, ceux, en un mot, qui sont en crédit, et cette étude exige plus de finesse et d'attention qu'on ne peut l'imaginer..." (60)

(60) Crébillon, C.P. Jolyot de, Les Égarements du coeur et de l'esprit, Paris, 1961, ed, Etiemble, (1st publ. 1736-8) pp.169-170

A short comedy by Voisennon, of a more directly moral nature, entitled L'École du monde, points out the grave dangers of the world if one is not equipped with a good basis of 'sagesse'. It depicts two pupils of 'la Sagesse', otherwise named 'la Vertu', who, tiring of her drab appearance, try their luck in the world and only through their disillusioning experiences with 'l'Apparence', 'l'Inclination', 'le Monde' and 'l'Inégalité' come to realise the beauty of 'la Vertu'. The author of a poem entitled L'Éducation shows the same awareness of the dangerous vices of the world, "qui sous leurs pas creusent cent précipices." (61) Moreover he believes the malady to be specifically French:

"A peine ils (les traits d'honneur) sont semés
dans un élève
Chez les Français, que l'usage l'enlève
Aux soins heureux qui domptaient ses désirs;
Il a bientôt pour maître les plaisirs,
Qu'il cherche tous, sans choix et sans réserve." (62)

How different it is in Germany and England, where adolescents await without a murmur the moment when they may safely be granted their liberty!

"On rompt les fers de leur captivité,
Quand la raison en eux commence à luire." (63)

If only the sons of the great would spend their youth in reading and study instead of abandoning themselves to

"ce grossier et méprisable orgueil,
leur apanage et leur fréquent écueil." (64)

Educational theorists, too, speak often of the corrupt

(61) L'Éducation, attributed to Lavais, 1739, p.3

(62) *ibid*, p.6

(63) *ibid*.

(64) *ibid*, .25

society, as we have already seen in Pluche's Spectacle de la nature, some even giving it as a reason for their treatises. There were two schools of thought as to how best to prepare a child for the world and shield it from corruption. The first, the 'honnête homme' tradition, tried with varying emphasis, depending on the essentially 'mondain' or christian viewpoint of the writer, to teach both christian virtue and an understanding of man which would help the pupil to make his way in the world. The second method was public education, designed to shield the boy from the world until a strong enough Christian virtue had been formed in him for him to resist the evils of the world. Critics of public education countered with accusations that the world of the school was corrupt in itself and that the education there did not fit boys for the positions they would later hold. (65) As the anonymous author of the Lettre à M. de B. writes:

"(L'enfant) ne saura pas un mot ni de l'état d'un gouvernement, ni des causes de ses révolutions, de sa grandeur et de sa décadence, ni des lois d'une police, ni des devoirs d'un citoyen, ni des usages, des mœurs, du ton de la société, et ce qu'on appelle urbanité..."(66)

This letter, written not long before Montesquieu's Esprit des lois, shows that the idea of a citizen's duties, as outlined by Pufendorf etc., is becoming generally discussed, although no programme of civic instruction is proposed, nor

(65) see eg. Pluche, op. cit.: the description of the formation of the 'homme de théâtre', pp.114-130

(66) Lettre à M. de B. sur les désavantages de l'éducation publique, 1744, p.17

is it suggested that contemporary works on politics might usefully be studied in schools. Crousaz, for instance, when he mentions Pufendorf, does so merely to recommend his historical works.

Public education has, however, certain unique advantages to offer, the most important of which are a mingling of different sections of society, and experience in a small society, both of which are stressed by its advocates, and both of which point in the direction of the new ideas on training for a civil society. Crousaz, a teacher at Lausanne, later disparagingly referred to by Rousseau as "le pédant de Crousaz"(67), sees in public education a possibility of mixing the classes of society and a consequent raising of standards, even amongst the lower classes - "des fils même d'artisans"(68) - through examples. True, he would not wish to endanger the existing order of society and it is first and foremost the education of the rich which is important:

"L'éducation des personnes d'un certain rang est d'une toute autre importance que celle des gens du commun; elle influe tout autrement dans la société, et ceux-là servent ordinairement d'exemple et de règle à ceux-ci."(69)

True, also, that, in common with his generation, he is ignorant and mistrustful of 'les gens du commun':

"je sais seulement en gros que chez la

(67) Emile, ed, Pléiade, vol. 4, p.371

(68) Crousaz, Traité de l'éducation des enfants, the Hague, 1722, 2 vols., vol. 1, p.369

(69) ibid, p.362

plupart des personnes à qui je ne destine pas directement mon ouvrage, il y a beaucoup de malignité, peu de bonne foi, et de reconnaissance, beaucoup de paresse et de sensualité."(70)

Nevertheless he recognises the importance of educational reform to the state, a duty inescapably that of the sovereign.

"Je prendrai la liberté d'ajouter que rien ne me paraît plus digne d'attention; l'éducation des hommes a plus d'influence qu'on ne saurait dire dans la société, soit en bien, soit en mal, et s'il y a quelque chose qui mérite les soins de ceux qui la gouvernent, c'est le bon état des écoles, objet pourtant de leur indifférence."(71)

Crousaz supports his view that "les enfants ont un besoin infini d'éducation"(72) with quotations from Quintilian and Plutarch. Education has not always been recognised to be as difficult as it in fact is, and Crousaz once again finds himself in agreement with the Ancients on this point: education must fit one for life in society. Not only must it give a child

"un coeur plein d'aversion pour le vice et d'un attachement inviolable à la vertu,"(73)

and in particular for the Christian virtues, but it must equip him, as the contemporary system neglects to do, for his future life,

"qui consiste à s'entendre aux affaires du monde, à avoir des manières conformes à son rang, et à se distinguer dans son poste en servant dignement sa Patrie."(74)

(70) *ibid*, p.363

(71) *ibid*, p.365

(72) *ibid*, p.9

(73) *ibid*, p.30

(74) *ibid*, p.397

Education and society are thus closely linked:

"Ce bonheur de tous les hommes, c'est-à-dire, le bonheur de la société a encore une très grande liaison avec l'éducation qu'a reçue chacun de ceux qui la composent, et son lustre en dépend."(75)

Yet despite a certain emphasis on learning something of the laws and history of one's country, despite his preference for public education, Crousaz has basically the same aims as those of the rest of the writers so far discussed.

"On apprendrait dans les écoles, avec le Latin et les sciences, à vivre dans la bienséance et dans la politesse."(76)

The education of the great is of the highest importance to the country, since on them depends its future, yet throughout his argument Crousaz stresses the development of virtuous qualities in man as an individual, rather than as a citizen.

"Une des plus grandes utilités qu'on puisse tirer de l'histoire, c'est d'apprendre à trouver dans les dispositions du coeur humain, les causes de mille événements, dont la plupart ont de grandes influences dans la société."(77)

One must not be confused by the use of the expression 'amour de la patrie' and mention of citizen's virtue, for these are echoes of the past rather than a pattern for the new man. Crousaz thus visualises love of one's country as surpassing mere love of one's place of birth:

"Souvent un jeune homme s' imagine de remplir les devoirs d'un bon patriote, lorsque dans son coeur, il préfère le séjour où il est

(75) *ibid*, p.151

(76) *ibid*, p.369

(77) *ibid*, p.447

né à tous les autres, et que son amour propre le séduit, dans la comparaison, qu'elle lui fait faire de soi-même avec une infinité d'autres personnes au-dessus de qui il est charmé de se voir..Il serait à souhaiter qu'on trouvât le moyen de réformer les idées des hommes à cet égard et de leur présenter si souvent, et sous tant de faces cette importante leçon qu'ils ne la perdissent plus de vue, savoir qu'aimer sa patrie, c'est travailler de tout son coeur à se mettre en état de lui faire honneur et d'y faire régner la lumière, l'équité, le bon ordre."(78)

Moreover, as in ancient Rome and Greece, a citizen's moral qualities must be formed by his love of his country:

"Il faut que les motifs par lesquels on éloignera les jeunes gens du luxe, se tirent surtout de l'amour de la Patrie, de l'amour de la liberté, et de la grandeur d'âme... un enfant qui s'informe de bonne heure des occasions de faire du bien, à mesure que sa raison se développe, et qui préfère ces dépenses, à celles des meubles, des habits et de la bonne chère, ne saurait manquer de devenir un admirable citoyen, et d'être un jour à sa patrie une source de biens."(79)

Travel is desirable, since the broadening of a young man's mind will benefit his country. He will learn to be

"bon fils, bon père, bon maître, bon sujet, bon ami, économe, libéral, généreux..."(80)

Yet such a discussion is unreal. Whatever the noble ideals drawn from antiquity, the reality of contemporary Europe was different and the 'patrie' for which Crousaz prepared his pupils consisted not of citizens but of subjects. Crousaz warns:

"Celui qui voudrait aujourd'hui se proposer pour modèle l'exemple des anciens, soit en

(78) *ibid*, vol. 2, p.142

(79) *ibid*, pp.139-141

(80) *ibid*, p.533; cf. Rollin, Traité vol. 1, p.9

matière de guerre, soit en matière de politique réussirait peu."(81)

A hierarchical society is still for Crousaz the best type, being the natural consequence of human nature:

"J'ai ouï dire à un grand homme qu'il serait très utile aux princes d'être élevés dans des républiques: ils y apprendraient à connaître l'égalité qu'il y a naturellement entre les hommes, et ils comprendraient de quelle manière la nécessité de régler la société a obligé les hommes de s'écarter de cette parfaite égalité, en introduisant la subordination."(82)

In the hierarchical society, however, all men are equal before God.

"Ce n'est pas une petite instruction que d'apprendre qu'on est homme, soumis au même maître que les autres et aux mêmes lois de la Raison."(83)

Swiss though he was,

Thus Crousaz supports the old conviction, rationalised by many an eighteenth century writer, that monarchical societies exist for the common good, the strong protecting the weak, and, despite the admiration he shares with Rollin for Plutarch and Quintilian, retains a clear sense of the separateness of ancient and modern societies.

Similarly the Jesuit abbé Gedoyn, translator and admirer of Quintilian, understands that it is not possible blindly to imitate the Ancients but, probing deeper than Crousaz, *in a dissertation not published until 1745, but probably written much earlier,* exposes the discrepancy between the educational aims of the Greeks and Romans and those of contemporary France. Much as he

(81) *ibid*, vol. 1, pp.442-3

(82) *ibid*, vol. 2, pp.556-7

(83) *ibid*, p.557

admires the public education of which Quintilian writes, he realises that the young Romans Quintilian educated were to become orators and statesmen:

"Alors l'un ne différait guère de l'autre. L'éloquence menait à tout. Un orateur distingué parvenait aux plus grandes dignités de la République; même à la première." (84)

Unlike Pons, who believes this must therefore be so in France, Gedoyn realises that this is very different from the French system:

"Est-ce là ce que l'on se propose dans les collèges, et peut-on se le proposer dans une forme de gouvernement tel que le nôtre? Ce qui était bon pour les Romains, peut donc fort bien ne l'être pas pour nous." (85)

Without making any judgement on which kind of rule is better, Gedoyn points out that education must be related to the type of government existing in the country. It seems that his great love and understanding of the Ancients has helped him, as it later did Montesquieu, to see beyond the contemporary situation. He emphasises the importance of children to the state:

"La nature ne se perpétuant que par une succession continuelle d'individus en toute espèce, il est clair que les enfants sont partout, non seulement la portion la plus précieuse de l'État, mais encore sa seule espérance et toute sa ressource." (86)

Reaching the crux of the matter, Gedoyn understands that French education, which has many faults, must be rethought so as to form children suited to the life of modern France.

(84) Gedoyn, l'abbé N. De l'Éducation des enfants, in Oeuvres diverses, Paris, 1745, p.5

(85) *ibid.*

(86) *ibid.*, p.2

His actual suggestions for reform are somewhat disappointing, despite his demand for a wider curriculum and a more modern type of teaching. Once again his ultimate goal is to create an 'honnête homme' by giving him

"des lumières dans l'esprit, des sentiments vertueux dans l'âme, des grâces dans la personne."(87)

His suggestions are addressed to the "élite de la nation"(88), the most important being that greater care should be taken in the training and treatment of teachers, so that

"Il se formerait en France des Rollins, des sujets capables de bien élever notre jeunesse."(89)

As an abbé his approach to the teaching of morals is particularly admirable in its broadmindedness, for he believes

"que les moeurs sont de tout pays et de toute religion, que l'on entend par ce mot ces vertus morales que la nature a gravées dans le fond de nos coeurs, la justice, la vérité, la bonne foi, l'humanité, la bonté, la décence; que ces qualités sont aussi essentielles à l'homme que la raison même, dont elles sont une émanation..."(90)

This is a great advance on the attitude of any of the educational writers so far discussed in this chapter, for it means there need no longer be separation between Christian virtue and civic virtue.

The more pedantic Cours de Sciences of the Jesuit Père Buffier, tutor of rhetoric at the college of Louis-le-Grand,

(87) *ibid*, p.11

(88) *ibid*, p.28

(89) *ibid*, p.29

(90) *ibid*, p.48

allows also of a purely civic morality, in which virtuous conduct on the part of the individual leads to the general happiness of society and thus to the happiness of the individual.

"Je veux être heureux; mais je vis avec des hommes, qui comme moi veulent être heureux également, chacun de leur côté: cherchons le moyen de procurer mon bonheur en procurant le leur, ou du moins sans y jamais nuire."(91)

Reason is "le guide que les hommes indépendamment de la religion se font honneur de suivre"(92). The rational approach to social problems, codifying a civic morality in which the rights of men in relation to society are set out, is typical of an age in which the laws governing society are seen to be derived from human reason, independent of divine illumination.

"Les lumières surnaturelles, toutes divines qu'elles sont, ne nous montrent rien par rapport à la conduite ordinaire de la vie, que les lumières naturelles n'adoptent par les réflexions exactes de la pure philosophie."(93)

Groping for a definition of virtue and society, the Cours de Sciences is still, however, too cautious in its implications for it to lead to any new thinking, accepting as it does subordination in society and ultimately a superior Christian morality. (94)

(91) Buffier, le p. Cours de sciences sur des principes nouveaux et simples; pour former le langage, l'esprit et le coeur, dans l'usage ordinaire de la vie, Paris, 1732, p.1071

(92) *ibid*, p.1064; cf, Montaigne; Essais, ed. Pléiade, p.154. "Que sa conscience et sa vertu reluisent en son parler et n'aient que la raison pour guide."

(93) Buffier, *op. cit.* p.1069

(94) *ibid*, see Book.4, chap. 1 and chap. 23.

If we consider the 'discours' and 'thèses' of another Jesuit, the Père Porée, teacher at Louis-le-Grand, through whose hands passed Voltaire, Diderot, Turgot, Malesherbes and d'Argenson, we see that not only was monarchy and subordination accepted, but it was very highly esteemed. It is the monarchical régime which is "plus favorable à l'éclosion des qualités militaires"(95) and it is clear that a hero is for the Père Porée greater than a good citizen. He imagines Caesar living at the time when the republican spirit was at its height.

"Il pourra être ce même dompteur des Gaules, aussi infatigable que patient, mais on ne trouvera plus en lui le vainqueur de Pharsale, le conquérant de la Macédoine, de l'Espagne, de l'Afrique; ce ne sera plus César. Meilleur citoyen, il vous paraîtra moins héros..."(96)

The ancient republics, so admired since the Renaissance, are a poor model, inferior to contemporary monarchies.

"Gardez-vous d'envier la destinée des républiques, soit anciens (sic), soit modernes. Ce que n'aurait jamais pu, ou ne pourrait jamais vous procurer aucune République, vous le trouverez dans ce Royaume."(97)

Certainly the accusation of lack of patriotism, frequently levelled at the Jesuits, cannot be applied to the Père Porée. His delight in the military exploits of France, his belief that only under a monarchy, with its rewards of honours

(95) Servièrre, J. de la, Le P. Charles Porée (1676-1741), un professeur d'ancien régime, Paris, 1899, p.168

(96) *ibid*, p.173

(97) *ibid*, p.175

(conforming exactly with Montesquieu's future codification) can a great nation flourish, are attitudes which will be echoed by the nationalists of the mid eighteenth century (98).

The means most widely advocated for teaching morals was history, particularly ancient and biblical, but gradually, with the growing consciousness that France, too, was a nation with its own historical and literary heritage (99), the teaching of French and other modern history was seen to be important. Thus Crousaz writes

"Pour peu qu'on doit avoir de part aux affaires et au gouvernement de sa patrie, il importe tout à fait d'en savoir l'histoire. C'est là où l'on apprend le fondement de ses droits et l'origine de ses coutumes."(100)

Gedoyne and Rollin believed national history to be useful but were themselves more at home in the history of the Ancients, and indeed this was clearly far better documented. The reading of selections from Greek and Roman history was considered an excellent method of teaching simultaneously Greek and Latin and morals. The Selectae of Heuzet are typical:

"Mon dessein a été... de mettre entre les mains des enfants et des autres personnes qui commencent à apprendre la langue latine, quelque petit ouvrage, qui fût et facile à entendre, et utile pour les moeurs.... Les bons exemples, souvent plus efficaces que les préceptes, principalement sur l'esprit des jeunes gens,

(98) see chap. 6, part 1.

(99) see eg. abbé de Pons, Nouveau Système d'éducation, in Oeuvres, 1738, p.40: "Notre système d'éducation prit naissance dans un temps où nous étions des barbares; on fut forcé d'aller chercher dans les écrits des Grecs et des Latins, la première idée des sciences et des lettres qu'on se proposait de cultiver en France:....Grâce à la noble émulation des Français leur langue est aujourd'hui la plus savante de l'univers: le dernier siècle a donné à la nation des écrivains éminents dans tous les genres...Nous avons en ouvrages français de quoi fournir abondamment à l'éducation la plus complète..."

(100) Crousaz, op. cit. p.44

s'y présentent partout en foule et rendent la vertu plus aimable et plus respectable." (101)

It is instructive to see which type of action and which heroes were admired:

"Tantôt ce sont des généraux d'armée grecs ou romains qui, après avoir passé par les plus grandes charges de l'État, et avoir enrichi leur patrie des dépouilles de ses ennemis, meurent si pauvres, qu'ils ne laissent pas de quoi fournir aux frais de leur funérailles. Tantôt ce sont des pères, qui renoncent aux sentiments les plus tendres de la nature, pour assurer la liberté publique et maintenir la discipline militaire: ou des enfants, que la piété filiale remplit de courage et rend ingénieux pour conserver la vie à ceux de qui ils l'ont reçue. Les plus riches présents ne sauraient donner atteinte au noble désintéressement des Curius, des Fabricius, des Phocions, des Xénocrates. Les plus rudes menaces, la prison, l'exil, la mort, n'ébranlent point la fermeté des Catons, des Metellus, des Régulus. Les injures sont souffertes avec patience, dissimulées, oubliées, pardonnées. L'amitié y est sage, religieuse, fidèle: la libéralité prudente et industrielle. La frugalité de la table, et la simplicité dans les habits, dans les meubles, dans le logement, sont autant du goût des grands capitaines, que des philosophes. Les juges et les magistrats sont éclairés, justes, désintéressés. Les Rois ont des entrailles de pères pour leurs sujets. La vertu est pratiquée par l'amour du devoir, sans aucune vue de récompense: et rien ne paraît utile, s'il n'est entièrement d'accord avec la justice. En un mot on y voit rassemblé un nombre considérable de traits de morale et d'histoire, dont plusieurs peuvent servir de règles et de modèles pour différents états de la vie." (102)

(101) Heuzet, Selectae e profanis scriptoribus historiae, Paris, 1734, Préface, pp.iii, viii

(102) *ibid*, pp.viii-x

For more advanced pupils the works of Xenophon, Cicero etc. present Roman and Greek history in the original, whilst for beginners there are also many detailed French accounts (Rollin, abbé de Vertot, Doujat etc.). The same deeds, the same virtues constantly recur; the qualities of the Ancients, their self-control, disinterestedness and love of duty and of country were repeatedly before the mind of the French college boy. History teaches clearly that a decline in morals leads to the fall of even the mightiest state (103) and on the other hand one can, through a comparison of ancient and modern history, see that "le fond des moeurs" is

"tel aujourd'hui qu'il était il y a deux ou trois mille ans: d'où l'on peut tirer une preuve certaine de la bonté de la plus saine morale." (104)

Yet one would be wrong to assume that the author of these words rejects the Ancients as irrelevant; on the contrary, despite the long list of books on modern history which he gives, Lenglet du Fresnoy prefers the classical to the modern writers, for

"ils caractérisent jusqu'à l'intérieur des hommes; ils peignent les actions au naturel; et ils inspirent des moeurs." (105)

Certain modern writers, however, he considers exceptional, amongst whom is Rollin (106)

(103) see eg. Juvenel de Carlenças, Principes de l'histoire. Paris, 1733, pp. 173-4

(104) Lenglet du Fresnoy, P.N. Principes d'histoire pour l'éducation de la jeunesse... Amsterdam, 1737-8, vols, vol. 1, p.viii

(105) *ibid*, vol. 2, p.v

(106) *ibid*, vol. 2, p.vi. Carlenças, *op. cit*, p.172, and Lemaître de Claville, *op. cit*. vol. 1, p.16, share Lenglet du Fresnoy's opinion of the excellence of Rollin's historical writings.

Lenglet du Fresnoy's method is purely didactic. He presents his material in question and answer form. Thus his pupil is left in no doubt as to which qualities he should admire in the Romans:

"Demande: Que remarquez-vous de considérable sur l'histoire Romaine?
Réponse: On y remarque de grandes actions et de grands hommes en tout genre. Tant que Rome a été dans la médiocrité, les vertus morales s'y sont soutenues; on y a vu de la dignité, de la modération, de la grandeur d'âme, et un amour extraordinaire pour la patrie, qui portait les citoyens à entreprendre tout ce qui pouvait être utile au bien public, ou ce qui pouvait faire honneur aux simples particuliers.
Demande: Quand les Romains changèrent-ils de ces sentiments louables?
Réponse: Dès que les Romains eurent mis le pied hors de l'Italie, et qu'ils voulurent être conquérants, ils se corrompirent..."(107)

The Traité de l'opinion of Legendre de Saint-Aubin is, in principle, more objective, presenting opinions and short accounts of events. In practice the author's preference for contemporary, monarchical France is clear and we see the beginnings of a new nationalism revolting against the philosophy of the ancient republics.

"Il me semble qu'on inspire trop aux jeunes gens des maximes opposées aux nôtres. Qu'ils estiment les vertus des Grecs et des Romains; mais qu'ils ne se préviennent pas des avantages d'un gouvernement républicain, dont les Romains eux-mêmes ont relevé toutes sortes de défauts;"(108)

(107) Lenglet du Fresnoy, op. cit. vol. 2, pp.454-5

(108) Legendre de Saint-Aubin, Traité de l'opinion ou mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de l'esprit humain, Paris, 1741, 7 vols., vol. 4, p.523 Note: this does not appear in the 1735 edition.

Later, in a scathing attack on democracy, Legendre speaks with distaste of a state where

"les plus vils habitants...ont le droit
et le pouvoir de nuire aux plus illustres
et aux plus vertueux des citoyens."(109)

(the juxtaposition and seeming synonymity of these two latter adjectives is revealing.) Indeed a monarchical state can heighten the virtues of the republic: thus of patriotism Legendre says:

"Le caractère de la nation française est
de relever encore cet amour de la patrie
par l'amour de son roi."(110)

This is not a book which produces new facts: it simply juxtaposes different views and presents them in a way easily acceptable to polite eighteenth century society, with all the prejudices and presumptions of the day. Thus the description which summarises the education of the Ancients is considerably less emphatic than Rollin's description of Spartan or Persian education:

"Les législateurs ont donné beaucoup de
soins à l'éducation des enfants, se
fondant sur ce principe que les enfants
appartiennent bien plus à la république
qu'à leurs parents. C'est principale-
ment par l'éducation, que peuvent être
gravés, dans le coeur des jeunes citoyens,
l'amour de la patrie, le respect pour
les lois, un ferme attachement à tous
les devoirs, l'habitude de la subordina-
tion et de l'obéissance; enfin c'est la
seule voie d'introduire dans toute une

(109) Traité de l'opinion, Venice, 1735, vol. 4, p. 13.

(110) ibid, vol. 3, p.177

nation l'esprit du bien public, et un caractère général, décisif pour son bonheur et pour sa gloire. Lycurgue a regardé l'éducation des enfants, comme l'affaire la plus importante de l'état, et Platon en fait un des fondements de sa politique."(111)

Legendre omits to mention specifically compulsory public education and lists as an educational aim the acceptance of the principle of subordination rather than placing the emphasis, as the Ancients would, on the fact that all citizens are equal before the law and must submit equally to the sovereign will of the people.

Nevertheless, however tamely, the book reiterates Rollin's description of ancient education, and since it reached a wide public, amongst whom was Rousseau himself, it is a work of some significance.

In general there is little emphasis on the difference in circumstances between the ancient states and modern France and it is left to the few, as we have seen, (Porée, Gedoyn) to warn that it would be inconsistent and, indeed, impossible to try to model French civic life on that of the Ancients. The vast number of accounts of ancient history proves, however, how familiar school children must have become with the great actions of the Romans and Greeks, and how favourably their civic virtues were portrayed, even if with the proviso that theirs was still a pagan virtue, unilluminated

(111) *ibid*, vol. 4, pp.520-1

by Christianity.

On education, too, it is true that a very different system from the contemporary French one was being described in a way which could not fail to bring out the contrast between the two. Thus education in Crete was of paramount importance to the state and King Minos

"regardait l'éducation des enfants comme un objet des plus importants à la république et ses lois prescrivaient la forme qui devait être donnée à cette éducation."(112)

It was therefore necessary for the state to control the education of its young. In Sparta

"L'éducation de tous les citoyens était égale et publique. Le soin et le détail de cette éducation était confié à un des principaux magistrats de Sparte, sous les ordres duquel on commettait un citoyen pour y veiller...Toute cette éducation avait pour objet les vertus guerrières et l'obéissance,"(113)

By such means the state would be perpetuated. In Persia

"Les lois des Perses veillaient surtout à une excellente éducation qui se rapportait entièrement au bien public,"(114)

and more generally, as Mentor tells Télémaque,

"Ils appartiennent moins à leur père qu'à la République, (disait Mentor), ils sont les enfants du peuple, ils en sont l'espérance et la force, il n'est pas temps de les corriger quand ils se sont corrompus."(115)

(112) *ibid*, vol. 3, p.434

(113) *ibid*, vol. 3, p.453

(114) *ibid*, vol. 3, p.483

(115) Fénelon, Télémaque, vol. 2, p.59

In Rome, too, education was adapted to the state the future citizen would one day serve (116)

The need for the state to have certain educational aims and some degree of control over the education of its young is not, however, singled out as being relevant to France and the only idea of the Ancients on education which is reflected with any consistency in works of the period is the conviction that education is of importance to the state, a belief vague enough to shelter any educational aim whatsoever, be it the formation of the 'honnête homme', a good Christian, or a good citizen; hence the rhetorical cry of Crousaz in a work well read in France:

"Il me semble que je vois ma Patrie en feu," (117) when he cautions his native Switzerland to take more care of the education of her young.

One man alone challenges the whole system and makes concrete proposals for a complete reform. Dissatisfied with the present system -

"Tout le monde convient que dans l'éducation, il est incomparablement plus important au bonheur des enfants et de la société de les rendre moins colères, moins impatients ...en un mot moins injustes et moins mal-faisants qu'ils ne sortent du collège..." (118)

- the abbé de Saint-Pierre, like Montaigne a century and a half earlier, is concerned at the irrelevance of school

(116) cf. Gedoyn, op. cit.

(117) Crousaz, op. cit. vol. 1, p.6

(118) Castel de Saint-Pierre. l'abbé, Questions sur l'éducation des collèges, in Ouvrages politiques, vol. X, p.201.

studies to later life. Montaigne, chafing at the "subtilités épineuses de la dialectique"(119) over which children were obliged to waste their time and which could do nothing to amend their lives, said: "on nous apprend à vivre quand la vie est passée."(120) Saint-Pierre, for his part, would like less Latin and Greek and more training in "les habitudes vertueuses."(121)

A child will have three distinct duties: to himself, to his family and to his country. Saint-Pierre suggests improvements in the training of the ten to fourteen year old. His new course includes the study of politics, jurisprudence and of civil law, the courts and court procedure, all of which will enable the children to act as responsible citizens; it includes also the study of morals and the art of reasoning, studies which will make them more able to judge and act rightly, both in their private and public capacities; and finally it recommends a study of domestic economy, of direct use to each citizen in his private life. The key to the abbé de Saint-Pierre's suggestions lies in the entire relevance of the training the children should receive to the life they will lead when they grow up, both at home and in public life. It is entirely realistic, as is his further suggestion, that teaching should be done in French. This would imply, though Saint-Pierre does not say so, that children of lesser ability

(119) Montaigne, Essais, ed. Pléfade, p.162

(120) ibid.

(121) Saint-Pierre, op. cit. vol. X, p.202

would be able to follow the lessons. He would like one third of the school hours to be used for "exercices propres à inspirer plus d'ardeur pour l'observation de la justice et de la bienfaisance."(122) The whole institution of education - herein lies the novelty of Saint-Pierre's thought - would be governed and directed by a governmental bureau,

"qui parmi ses autres affaires (serait) chargé du soin de corriger l'éducation des collèges de manière que les écoliers emploient moins d'années de leur éducation et moins d'heures de la journée à s'exercer sur les langues mortes et sur des parties de sciences peu utiles, et par conséquent qu'ils emploient beaucoup plus d'heures de la journée aux divers exercices de la vertu."(123)

Thus the state should interest itself directly in the formation of virtuous subjects. Again, in Réflexions sur Socrates et Pomponius Atticus, he says

"Je suppose que le bon gouvernement ait en vue de rendre l'éducation des collèges plus vertueuse, en y faisant employer à peu près la moitié des heures de l'éducation à démontrer plusieurs vérités importantes aux bonnes moeurs et à faire pratiquer aux écoliers plus fréquemment des actions de justice et de bienfaisance."(124)

He therefore makes proposals for the composition of "ouvrages classiques de morale", to be organised by a "conseil d'éducation"(125)and revised at least every ten years.

(122) *ibid*, p.207

(123) *ibid*, pp.202-3

(124) *ibid*, p.200

(125) *ibid*.

The civic qualities a good education should form are clearly defined:

"Le bon citoyen est un homme que toute société désirerait pour membre si l'on connaissait ses talents et ses bonnes intentions. Non seulement il est juste, il cherche à rendre aux autres tout ce qu'il leur doit, et à ne leur demander que ce qu'ils lui doivent. Mais il est bon ou bienfaisant, c'est-à-dire qu'il cherche à leur donner plus qu'il ne leur doit, et à leur demander moins qu'ils ne lui doivent. Il regarde la tranquillité publique comme la base de la félicité du peuple. Ainsi il craint surtout les divisions et les parties qui peuvent diminuer cette tranquillité... Il croit qu'il ne faut dans un État qu'une autorité, qu'une volonté suprême pour entretenir la tranquillité... Il tâche de faire agréer de bons projets pour perfectionner le gouvernement présent." (126)

There is one important omission from Saint-Pierre's proposals: he does not suggest that education should be general, perhaps because he is suggesting amendments for the present situation rather than a revolution of it. Yet in his Réflexions sur Socrates et Pomponius Atticus he presumes that all members of a state have a moral training, whilst having no illusions as to human nature, for he firmly states that in cases where moral training has no effect the state must enforce through the police the laws established for the good of the community:

"C'est à la morale à conseiller, mais
c'est à la politique à ordonner, à se

(126) *ibid*, p.316

faire obéir, et à suppléer par de bonnes lois à ce qui manque de raison aux hommes pour se rendre heureux. "(127)

Thus Saint-Pierre relates intimately moral teaching to public utility, although he never uses the expression 'to form a citizen'. The aim, however, is certainly implicit and the expression 'bon citoyen' is frequently used. For instance the grown man is both 'homme' and 'citoyen' and if he has been brought up correctly he will know his duty.

"Le but d'un jeune homme sage et bon citoyen, c'est de perfectionner son esprit, principe de tous les talents, qui sont utiles pour augmenter notre bonheur et le bonheur des autres."(128)

So it is recognised that a child is brought up not only to become a man (as the 'honnête homme' school implies) but to become a citizen also, aware of his responsibilities towards his country.

An unquestioned acceptance of the monarchy is still the rule, and a conviction that it is the most suitable type of government for France. Indeed the King is the State: if the King is good the State is good and therefore in serving the King one serves the State. The principle of acceptance of the government under which one is born occasions no uneasiness, even in those who encourage an academic interest in the laws and constitutions of the country (eg. de Bonneval). It is therefore not possible to use the Ancients as models, since they were republicans and, moreover, pagans. Examples of individual valour, self-sacrifice and patriotism are

(127) *ibid*, p.329.

(128) *ibid*, p.336.

greatly admired, but they are not understood by most in their full sense as the actions of virtuous citizens, but simply as the deeds of great and noble men. It is felt, therefore, increasingly that the recent history of France and of her great men is of direct importance to France and there is a growing interest in the origins of the laws and rights of the land (Pons, Fontenay, Crousaz etc.) At the same time thinkers begin to see the similarity between the basic morality of the ancient and modern worlds (known as natural religion), and to speak of civic duties and rights in a more scientific manner, though still to be perfected by Christianity (eg. Buffier): the works of the political thinkers have not yet begun to have effect.

Since the belief in subordination is unshaken, it follows that it is the education of the highest which is of most importance, since they can give an example and thus benefit the whole country (Coustel, Fontenay, Duguet, Crousaz) and, there being no obvious reason why the education of the wealthy should be changed, the ideal continues to be the 'honnête homme' and good christian. There is indeed dissatisfaction with education, but it is directed at the over emphasis on Latin and Greek, the overcrowding in schools, or the lack of training in christian morality and when writers speak of forming citizens for the future of France, they use the term casually, almost inadvertently - presumably through long acquaintance with the classics - as a synonym for subject.

There is only one genuine innovator, the abbé de Saint-Pierre, who, distinguishing between 'homme' and 'citoyen', bears in mind the needs of the future citizen if he is to be able to serve his country well and, with unique logic, makes education therefore the responsibility of the government.

The abbé, though more distinctly aware of the real nature of the problems in France, and therefore of the radical nature of the reforms necessary, in the last analysis, idealist that he is, falls back on dreams:

"L'abbé de Saint-Pierre, qui était le meilleur honnête homme qui fût jamais, ne sait pour chaque inconvénient, dire autre chose, si ce n'est qu'il faut assembler dix honnêtes gens. On dirait que c'est un major qui choisit des soldats et qui dit: 'Il faut qu'ils aient cinq pieds, huit pouces.' Il faut que les lois commencent par travailler à faire des honnêtes gens, avant de penser à les choisir. Il ne faut pas commencer par parler de ces gens-là. Il y en a si peu que cela ne vaut pas la peine."(129)

The author of these words, none other than Montesquieu, has, as will be seen, a political approach which was to earn him both scorn and admiration, but which at last sets the philosophy of education firmly in a political framework.

(129) Montesquieu, Oeuvres, ed. Pléiade, vol. 2, p.1110.

Chapter Three

Montesquieu's De l'esprit des lois: educational thought acquires a political perspective. Rousseau develops this in his Economie Politique (1755)

-o-o-o-

"Aujourd'hui, nous recevons trois éductions différentes ou contraires: celle de nos pères, celle de nos maîtres, celle du monde. Ce qu'on nous dit dans la dernière renverse toutes les idées des premières."(1)

Against the general confused discontent with contemporary education the clarity of Montesquieu's statement is illuminating. Here indeed was the root of the trouble. Parental and college education were thus not only inadequate, but totally useless, since they were later completely obliterated by the education of the world. The idea of the education of 'le monde' being the definitive education could hardly please, however, since, as we have seen, 'le monde' was considered so corrupt. One cause of the confusion was the difference in aim of Christianity, under whose aegis all formal education was given, and that of the world, blatantly self-seeking.

"Cela vient, en quelque partie, du contraste qu'il y a parmi nous entre les engagements de la religion et ceux du monde; chose que les anciens ne connaissaient pas."(2)

The Ancients, on the other hand, had a very clear idea of the mould in which they intended to cast their citizens, a mould directly linked with their type of government, and Montesquieu's great achievement in this field was to develop

(1) Montesquieu, Esprit des lois (1748), Oeuvres complètes, Pléiade ed., vol. 2 p. 266

(2) *ibid*

the idea of education in a purely political framework for his contemporaries.

His study of the ancient and modern states led him to conclude that there were various kinds of government possible, each of which could endure as long as it remained faithful to its spirit, its 'principe'; it was the role of the law to safeguard this, the law being exactly suited to each individual nation:

"Il faut qu'elles se rapportent à la nature et au principe du gouvernement qui est établi, ou qu'on veut établir; soit qu'elles le forment, comme font les lois politiques; soit qu'elles le maintiennent, comme font les lois civiles."(3)

The spirit of the laws for Montesquieu was the set of relationships these have with a whole range of different factors which he enumerates at the beginning of the Esprit des lois. From this he moves to a broad analysis of the different types of government: republican - that is democratic or aristocratic - monarchic and despotic, before defining the crucial 'principe' of each government, "ce qui le fait agir".(4) Logically the next step is to examine the laws of education, "les premières que nous recevons" (5) and thus vital to the continuation of the particular type of government for which they were formed.

"Comme elles nous préparent à être citoyens, chaque famille particulière doit être gouvernée sur le plan de la grande famille qui les comprend toutes. Si le peuple en général a un principe, les parties qui le composent, c'est-à-dire les familles, l'auront aussi."(6)

Obviously, since the principles of governments differ:

"Les lois de l'éducation seront donc différentes dans chaque espèce de gouvernement."(7)

(3) *ibid*, vol. 2, p.237-8
 (4) *ibid*, vol. 2, p.250
 (5) *ibid*, vol. 2, p.261

(6) *ibid*, vol. 2, p.261
 (7) *ibid*, vol. 2, p.261-2

The laws of education are thus with inescapable logic related to the government of each country.

It is therefore the 'principe' of each government which is the deciding element in the education of its young. In a monarchy the laws of education will aim at honour, in a republic at virtue, and in a despotism, where education is nil, they will have as their object fear. In a monarchy - Montesquieu is certainly thinking of France - in contrast with Rollin's suggestions for the improvement of college education,

"ce n'est point dans les maisons publiques où l'on instruit l'enfance que l'on reçoit... la principale éducation; c'est lorsque l'on entre dans le monde, que l'éducation en quelque façon commence. Là est l'école de ce que l'on appelle honneur, ce maître universel qui doit partout nous conduire."(8)

'Honneur', the principle of a monarchy, is ambitious, seeking distinction and favour. It is, in fact, a false honour, but

"n'est-ce pas beaucoup d'obliger les hommes à faire toutes les actions difficiles, et qui demandent de la force, sans autre récompense que le bruit de ces actions?"(9)

The virtues taught in monarchies are thus of a very peculiar type:

"Les vertus qu'on nous y montre sont toujours moins ce que l'on doit aux autres, que ce que l'on se doit à soi-même: elles ne sont pas tant ce qui nous appelle vers nos concitoyens que ce qui nous en distingue."(10)

Or, as Montesquieu puts it more harshly, in his Pensées

morales:

"On reçoit dans les collèges une éducation basse. Je n'en puis rien dire de pis, si ce n'est que ce qu'on en retire de mieux

(8) *ibid*, vol. 2, p.262

(10) *ibid* vol. 2, p.262

(9) *ibid*, vol. 2, p.257

c'est un esprit de bigoterie. Cent petites trahisons que l'on fait faire tous les jours à un jeune homme contre ses camarades, les perfidies qu'on lui inspire, peuvent bien servir à entretenir une certaine règle extérieure dans ces maisons, mais elles perdent le coeur à tous les particuliers."(11)

However disagreeable a picture this may present the principle is correct: in a monarchy each strives to attain glory for himself, but what makes the whole system run smoothly is the fact that:

"l'éducation dans les monarchies exige dans les manières une certaine politesse. Les hommes, nés pour vivre ensemble, sont nés aussi pour se plaire."(12)

It is no matter that politeness and truth spring from pride and a desire to please. What matters is the effect of these qualities on the continuing existence of the monarchy. In fact the 'honnête homme' formed by this type of education

"a toutes les qualités et toutes les vertus que l'on demande dans ce gouvernement"(13)

The character of the 'honnête homme' is depicted in a new light, one which shocked Montesquieu's contemporaries considerably;

"Là l'honneur, se mêlant partout, entre dans toutes les façons de penser et toutes les manières de sentir, et dirige même les principes. Cet honneur bizarre fait que les vertus ne sont que ce qu'il veut, et comme il les veut: il met, de son chef, des règles à tout ce qui nous est prescrit; il étend ou borne nos devoirs à sa fantaisie, soit qu'ils aient leur source dans la religion, dans la politique ou dans la morale."(14)

It is this 'honour' which prevented the Vicomte d'Orte from carrying out the order of Charles IX to massacre the Huguenots in his district. It is the 'honour' which appears

(11) Pensées morales, Pléjade ed, vol. 1, p.1421.

(12) De l'Esprit des Lois, Pléjade ed. vol. 2, p.263.

(13) ibid, p.264

(14) ibid, p.264

in Corneille's plays. Cinna, the would-be rebel, submits, as honour demands, to the goodwill of his sovereign, for the needs of personal honour and obedience to an absolute sovereign had in France been harmonised a good century earlier, at the time of Mazarin. In the eighteenth century its force is as strong, even for a philosopher such as Voltaire: in Les Scythes Hermodan, the Scythian, in love with the exiled Persian, Obéide, says:

"J'aimai dans ces Persans les mœurs nobles
et fières;
Mais je n'ignore pas que l'on doit respecter
Ceux qu'en exemple ^{ou peuple} un Roi veut présenter.
Et la simplicité de notre République
n'est point une leçon pour l'état monarchique"(15)

Even the republican Rousseau admired the colour and dash of the nobility (15a), and made of his *Émile* an 'étourdi', a man who did not calculate what he would gain from every action, unlike Rousseau's own bourgeois compatriots, with whom, by 1764, he was disillusioned.(16)

Montesquieu himself had a liking for limited, free government (that is, one where the government has been established by the law(17)). A prince may not be perfect, but if he is given power he will probably rule better than a number of subordinates each seeking personal power, for

"Tous les hommes sont des bêtes; la plupart
des princes sont des bêtes qui ne sont pas
attachés... La plupart des princes, à tout

(15) Voltaire, Oeuvres de théâtre, Paris, 1767, vol. 6, p.187.

(15a) Confessions, Pléiade vol. 1, p. 182-3

(16) Rousseau, Lettres écrites de la montagne, Pléiade, vol. 3, p.881
"Vous surtout, Genevois, gardez votre place... Vous n'êtes ni Romains, ni Spartiates; vous n'êtes pas même Athéniens. Laissez-là ces grands noms qui ne vous vont pas. Vous êtes des marchands, des artisans, des bourgeois, toujours occupés de leurs intérêts privés..."Lettre 9.

(17) Montesquieu, Oeuvres complètes, vol. 1, p.1152:

"un peuple libre n'est pas celui qui a une telle ou une telle forme de gouvernement: c'est celui qui jouit de la forme de gouvernement établie par la Loi."

prendre, sont plus honnêtes gens que nous. Peut-être que dans la partie qui nous est confiée, nous abusons du pouvoir plus qu'eux."(18)

On the other hand

"Les ministres travaillent toujours contre la liberté: ils haïssent les lois parce qu'elles gênent toutes leurs passions"(19)

"Plus le prince a de grandeur plus le ministre est petit; et plus le ministre a de grandeur, plus le souverain est petit."(20)

Thus it was not Montesquieu's intention to portray unfavourably the qualities required by a monarchy, in order to dismiss them and to present a republic as the only possible type of state and a republican education as the only reasonable one. He wished simply to stress that the 'virtues' taught in a monarchy were necessarily very distinct from those taught in the ancient republics, and all talk of imitating republican virtues in a monarchical state must be regarded as irrelevant. In so doing he aroused the wrath of both the Jansenists and the Jesuits, unable to believe that anyone should have the temerity to suggest that not 'vertu' but 'politesse', 'bien-séance', 'galanterie', 'flatterie' and 'ruse' were the essential characteristics of the subject of a monarchy. Indeed the Jesuits must have felt themselves particularly attacked, since they educated many of the most distinguished men in the country. The Jansenists wrote:

"Qui l'aurait cru, que pour rendre parfait le gouvernement monarchique, il fallût que les membres de l'état fussent destitués de vertus et remplis de vanité? A ce compte on devrait bannir de toutes les monarchies la religion chrétienne."(21)

The criticism is irrelevant, arising from a complete misunderstanding of Montesquieu's conception of 'vertu'.

(18) *ibid*, vol. 1, p.1437

(19) *ibid*, vol. 1, p.1444

(20) *ibid*, vol. 1, p.1443

(21) Nouvelles Ecclésiastiques, 9 Oct. 1749

For Montesquieu 'vertu' is not Christian, but "l'amour des lois et de la patrie"(22). Crévier indeed glimpsed an essential part of the true spirit of Montesquieu's republican virtue: that it is hostile to the outsider:

"L'amour de la patrie est sans doute une vertu, et même une vertu féconde en grandes actions. Mais elle n'est point toute vertu. Elle est même compatible avec l'injustice et la cruauté envers ceux qui peuvent nuire à la patrie, et alors elle cesse d'être vertu."(23)

For Crévier this is further proof that Montesquieu's 'vertu' is not "cette vertu pure qui recherche l'honnête et le juste en soi"(24). Rousseau was to be the first to recognise and accept this hostility as integral to the idea of patriotism. For him there was for the first time a clash between 'humanité' and 'bienfaisance', between the wider world of mankind and the narrower society of fellow citizens

Montesquieu took his notion of patriotic virtue from the Ancients(25).

"la plupart des peuples anciens vivaient dans des gouvernements qui ont la vertu pour principe"(26)

It implies

"un renoncement à soi-même, qui est toujours une chose très pénible"(27)

Far easier is education for a monarchy, since

(22) Montesquieu, Esprit des lois, Pléfade ed. vol.2, p.267

(23) Crévier, J.B.L. (pupil of Rollin, completed latter's Histoire romaine) Observations sur le livre de l'Esprit des lois, 1764, Paris, p.181

(24) ibid

(25) v. Levin, L.M. The political doctrine of L'Esprit des lois - its classical background, which shows the extent of Montesquieu's debt. New York, 1936

(26) Montesquieu, Esprit des lois, Pléfade vol. 2, p.266

(27) ibid p.267

"l'honneur des monarchies est favorisé par les passions, et les favorise à son tour."(28).

Therefore

"C'est dans le gouvernement républicain que l'on a besoin de toute la puissance de l'éducation"(29)

The old Troglodyte, founder of the Troglodyte republic, knew well the burden of virtue and understood why it was that the Troglodytes asked him to become their King:

"Je vois bien ce que c'est... votre vertu commence à vous peser. Dans l'état où vous êtes, n'ayant point de chef, il faut que vous soyez vertueux malgré vous: sans cela vous ne sauriez subsister, et vous tomberiez dans le malheur de vos premiers pères. Mais ce joug vous paraît trop dur; vous aimez mieux être soumis à un prince et obéir à ses lois, moins rigides que vos moeurs."(30)

It is only in a republic that 'virtue', in the sense of 'amour des lois et de la patrie', is necessary to this degree. Montesquieu also speaks of 'citizens' in a monarchy, it is true, and whoever is a citizen must be imbued with "un esprit de citoyen":

"L'esprit du citoyen n'est pas de voir sa patrie dévorer toutes les patries... L'esprit du citoyen est le désir de voir l'ordre dans l'Etat, de sentir de la joie dans la tranquillité publique, dans l'exacte administration de la justice, dans la sûreté des magistrats, dans la prospérité de ceux qui gouvernent, dans le respect rendu aux lois, dans la stabilité de la monarchie ou de la république. L'esprit du citoyen est d'aimer les lois, lors même qu'elles ont des cas qui nous sont nuisibles, et de considérer plutôt le bien général qu'elles nous font toujours que le mal particulier qu'elles nous font quelquefois. L'esprit du citoyen est d'exercer avec zèle, avec plaisir, avec satisfaction, cette espèce de magistrature qui dans le corps

(28) *ibid* p.266-7.

(29) *ibid* p.266.

(30) Montesquieu, Lettres Persanes, Pleiade, vol.I, p.153

politique est confié à chacun: car il n'y a personne qui ne participe au gouvernement Un bon citoyen ne songe jamais à faire sa fortune particulière que par les mêmes voies qui font la fortune publique."(31)

Nevertheless such a spirit is only necessary to an imperfect degree in a monarchy - subject to the laws of honour - for in the last resort the continuance of the state depends on the King and it is therefore he who has the "souveraine puissance ... qu'il exerce selon des lois établies".(32) The crime of an individual citizen no longer threatens the structure of society, so that it is not necessary for the individual to be virtuous: "L'État vous en dispense".(33) The law takes the place of virtue.

"Je sais très bien qu'il n'est pas rare qu'il y ait des princes vertueux; mais je dis que, dans une monarchie, il est très difficile que le peuple le soit." (34)

In this way in a well ordered monarchy ,

"Tout le monde sera à peu près bon citoyen, et on trouvera rarement quelqu'un qui soit homme de bien; car pour être homme de bien il faut avoir l'intention de l'être, et aimer l'État moins pour soi que pour lui-même."(35)

Similarly, in an aristocracy the burden of the virtue of moderation, principle of the aristocracy, is assumed by the governing ~~minority~~ on behalf of the whole people.

Thus it is only in a democracy that total political virtue is necessary:

"Cet amour est singulièrement affecté aux démocraties. Dans elles seules, le gouvernement est comme toutes les choses du monde: pour le conserver il faut l'aimer."(36)

(31) Montesquieu, Pensées, Pléiade, vol.1, pp 1143-44

(32) Esprit des Lois, Pléiade, vol II, p.251

(33) ibid, p.255 (34) ibid,

(35) ibid, p. 256-7 (36) ibid, p.267

In a monarchy or a despotism it is sufficient if the ruler loves it and wishes to conserve it: and which ruler would not:

"On n'a jamais ouï dire que les rois n'aimassent pas la monarchie, et que les despotes haïssent le despotisme."(37)

Thus in a republic the conservation of the State depends on educating the children in political virtue:

"Tout dépend donc d'établir dans la république cet amour; et c'est à l'inspirer que l'éducation doit être attentive."(38)

The unedited conclusion of the fable of the Troglodytes repeats the point:

"la base sur quoi est fondée la vertu de votre peuple: c'est sur l'éducation."(39)

In a republic, which must by its nature, Montesquieu believes, be small,

"on peut donner une éducation générale, et élever tout un peuple comme une famille."(40)

Despite the fact that Montesquieu here offers no actual plan for the education of citizens in a republic, apart from the general idea that it is by example that children will learn, and a hint that public education is appropriate, it is his ideas on education in a republic, as opposed to a monarchy, which will provide scope for future thinkers to build on.

If his actual suggestions on education were not of great originality, in the wider political sphere Montesquieu was, in linking the concepts of 'citizen', 'virtue', 'patrie' and education, formulating for the first time something

(37) *ibid*, vol. 2, p.267

(38) *ibid*.

(39) Lettres persanes, Pléiade ed. vol. 1, p.378

(40) De l'Esprit des lois, vol. 2, p.270

of great importance: the idea that the function of education was to form citizens who saw their own good in relation to the good of the whole community was ripe for acceptance.

For echoes of it one has only to read Duclos' Considérations sur les mœurs:

"On forme des savants... Mais on ne s'est pas encore avisé de former des hommes, c'est-à-dire de les élever respectivement les uns pour les autres, de les faire porter sur une base d'éducation générale toutes les instructions particulières; de façon qu'ils fussent accoutumés à chercher leurs avantages personnels dans le plan du bien général, et que dans quelque profession que ce fût ils commençassent par être patriotes."(41)

At the same time, in the face of violent opposition and a great deal of misunderstanding, Montesquieu revealed the contradictions and dishonesties in contemporary education: the fact that education in 'Christian' and 'pagan' virtues was not logical (an idea which had already begun to disturb educators) and that education in school and education after were irreconcilably opposed. Others, such as the abbé Perneti, Pluche and Lemaître de Claville paid lip-service to the notion that the future of the country depended on the young: none pursued the argument to its logical conclusion. People admired the education of the Ancients: Montesquieu put his finger on the important point: "leur éducation n'était jamais démentie."(42) His solution, educating young Frenchmen in the principle of 'honneur', was not, however, considered acceptable and it is here that Rousseau was to intervene.

Thus Montesquieu for the first time put education in a

(41) Duclos, Considérations sur les mœurs... Berlin, 1751 p.17

(42) Montesquieu, De l'Esprit des lois, Pléiade, vol.2, p.266

political perspective: there was nothing in his ideas for the psychologist, nor for the educationalist. Education became a political instrument necessary for the continuation of the particular type of government in existence.

In his theory of primitive and positive law Montesquieu made no abrupt departure from the tradition deriving from Aristotle. His originality lay in his stress on the nature and principle of each government and on the fact that this allowed him to relate every aspect of civil life, and above all the laws of education, to the law of the country. He abstained from committing himself to any one type of government:

"Je ne pense nullement qu'un gouvernement
doive déguster des autres." (43)

It is possible that, at least in his youth, he would have preferred the ideal republic so temptingly portrayed in the fable of the Troglodytes, but it is equally likely that he preserved, along with other philosophers and as his condition made very natural, a liking for the grace and worldliness of the monarchy. In any case in the eighteenth century admiration of the citizen was tempered by the realisation that he was likely to be a 'commerçant'. In the chapter on education in a monarchy traces of Montesquieu's admiration may be found: the tone is certainly not entirely condemnatory and Montesquieu must have sympathised with the closing portrait of the 'honnête homme'.

Nor did Montesquieu wish to condemn the monarchical type of government as unjust. On the contrary, as did many of his contemporaries, he saw it as the only possibility for

(43) Montesquieu, Pensées, Pléiade, vol.1, p.1153

a nation the size of France. He would have favoured the retention of certain feudal elements in a strong monarchy, elements which, despite the repressions following the Fronde, had not entirely disappeared (44). For he feared a degeneration into despotism if the legislative and executive powers resided in one hand and therefore favoured representative intermediary bodies of nobles and of the people, as in the case of England.

D'Argenson exemplifies a different view of the monarchy, for he believed the ideal to be a strong King, such as Louis XIV had been, reigning over a willing people, for

"Un monarque qui n'a plus à songer qu'à gouverner, gouverne toujours bien, car son intérêt est toujours celui de l'État."(45)

For this there is no need of an intermediary body. The 'tiers état', which had contributed to the decline in political importance of the nobility and of the feudal power in the previous century, had at the same time increased the authority of the King,

"ce qui nous prouve, quoi qu'on en dise, que la démocratie est autant amie de la monarchie, que l'aristocratie en est l'ennemie."(46)

The ideal monarchy would therefore be one where the King commands and his subjects agree with his decisions, thus all furthering the good of 'la patrie' without the intervention of an aristocratic body.

"nous n'en avons pas besoin. L'autorité démocratique n'a d'autre inconvénient, que d'être trop divisée pour se faire obéir. Il faut donc la régler, la diriger, et ce doit être par un esprit unique qui influe sur le corps entier de l'État, sans

(44) V. Goubert, P. L'Ancien Régime, Paris, 1969, vol. 1, ch. 1.

(45) d'Argenson, V.P. de, Considérations sur le gouvernement... Amsterdam, 1784, pp.173-4

(46) *ibid*, p.143.

avoir d'autre intérêt que le général;
telle est l'autorité royale dans son
principe et dans ses influences."(47)

Under Louis XIV such a system had indeed developed. With his ministers he had built up a strong central government, and if taxes and laws still varied in different parts of the kingdom, at least all the government functionaries there, the 'intendants' and their aides, were directly responsible to Versailles. With this centralisation grew up a strong notion of service - administrative now, instead of only military - to King and country, a new patriotism. It was a new sentiment: ideally love of the public good instead of the old egotistical love of personal honour, although this love of the public good was in no way aggressive towards outsiders before the mid-eighteenth century. Love of humanity took precedence, in theory at least, over even one's own country. As Montesquieu says:

"Si je savais quelque chose qui me fût utile, et qui fût préjudiciable à ma famille je le rejetterais de mon esprit. Si je savais quelque chose utile à ma famille, et qui ne le fût pas à ma patrie, je chercherais à l'oublier. Si je savais quelque chose utile à ma patrie, et qui fût préjudiciable à l'Europe ou bien qui fût utile à l'Europe et préjudiciable au genre humain, je le regarderais comme un crime."(48)

Crévier, indeed, noted the possibility of a conflict between Montesquieu's 'vertu' and humane behaviour towards outsiders, but it was Rousseau who finally declared that patriotism and love of humanity were incompatible.

Despite the new idealistic notion of service, of

47) *ibid*, p.272

48) Montesquieu, Pensées, Pléiade, vol. 1, p.981.

patriotism, the parliaments usually fought for their own good and power in reality and, as the century advanced, increasingly opposed sovereigns who had not the strength of their illustrious predecessor; yet it nevertheless remained the hope of even the 'philosophes' up to the time of the Revolution that the country would be saved by the just administration of a strong ruler aided by wise and just ministers, of whom the finance minister, Necker, seemed for a time to offer the perfect example and the greatest hope for France. Thus it is that Rousseau could admire Plato, whose Republic was not one in his own sense of the word, but ruled by a philosopher king, whilst Voltaire and Diderot, too, pinned all their hopes on a philosopher king and admired those whom they believed to fulfil this ideal, blinded, in their enthusiasm, to the dictatorial character of the rule of Frederick of Prussia and Catherine of Russia (49).

Thus even the most critical writers still hoped to amend the present system, believing it to possess the elements necessary to lead to a stable government, rather than to overthrow the whole. Montesquieu's threefold system is therefore a perfectly realistic one and we may accept that the education he proposes for a monarchy, to all appearances so much less morally attractive than his republican education, is not offered in irony, but genuinely, as the ideal and only one for a type of government which could in its way be as good as any republic, and which seemed the only hope for France.

Yet realistic as Montesquieu's theory was, it was, for

(49) cf. the physiocrats in the Ephémérides du citoyen, chap. 6, part 2.

the moment, still unacceptable and indeed incomprehensible: no great flood of educational writings followed, but in 1751 La Condamine published a Lettre critique sur l'éducation. Whilst not making the political link so central to Montesquieu's theory, La Condamine's work is nevertheless more radical in tone than any since that of the abbé de Saint-Pierre: indeed he implies that whilst to some the abbé might pass for a visionary, in reality the only way to reform is indeed to plan for decades and even centuries ahead. La Condamine condemns most vigorously the irrelevance of school studies to life in society and insists on the importance, for the future citizen, of developing the faculties of comprehension and reason, reason to be perfected by virtue, which in its turn will be finally illuminated by religion. (50)

Nevertheless, important as is this outright criticism of the existing system, it avoids what was now to become the focal point of educational reform: the interaction between form of government and education. Duclos, in his Considérations sur les mœurs de ce siècle, alone came close to the vital issues, and will be discussed in connection with Rousseau's theories (50a), influenced as he undoubtedly was, by his friend Rousseau.

For Rousseau, like Montesquieu, had been meditating for years on society, at first as an outsider, a Genevan and republican, full of distaste for the lack of morality of monarchical France, until, moving from social criticism to

(50) In 1755 Morelly, in his Code de la nature, described an ideal state where education is uniform and state controlled. It bears, however, so little relevance to eighteenth century France that it is mentioned here only to stress that its educational principles were the same, taken to an extreme, as those demanded by other reformers.
(50a) see chap. 4.

political, he found himself at the key to the whole issue: education. For him the question of education was integral to the whole question of politics: it grew out of his philosophy, emerging slowly as his political ideas crystallised.

It was during his stay in Venice as the secretary of the high-handed French ambassador, M. de Montaigu (1743-4), that Rousseau, disturbed by the faults of that much vaunted republic, began for the first time to meditate on the connection between the constitution of a country and the virtue of its people. Here for the first time,

"J'avais vu que tout tenait radicalement à la politique, et que, de quelque façon qu'on s'y prît, aucun peuple ne serait jamais que ce que la nature de son gouvernement le ferait être."(51)

This implied that the best type of government was the one which inspired the greatest civic awareness and virtue:

"ainsi cette grande question du meilleur gouvernement possible me paraissait se réduire à celle-ci: Quelle est la nature de gouvernement propre à former un peuple le plus vertueux, le plus éclairé, le plus sage, le meilleur enfin à prendre ce mot dans son plus grand sens?"(52)

Like Montesquieu, whose Esprit de lois he had occasion to study in depth whilst working as secretary to Madame Dupin, he arrived at the conclusion that all depended on the law. If "tout tenait radicalement à la politique", then education too was a political instrument. Already, in his first Discours, he had praised civic virtue in the few races who

(51) Rousseau, Confessions, ed. Pléiade, vol. 1, p.404
 (52) ibid, pp.404-5

"préservés de cette contagion des vaines connaissances ont par leurs vertus fait leur propre bonheur et l'exemple des nations."(53)

In Persia, for instance, "on apprenait la vertu comme chez nous on apprend la science."(54). He had reproached contemporary education with giving no grounding in morals and with teaching only expensive luxuries:

"C'est dès nos premières années qu'une éducation insensée orne notre esprit et corrompt notre jugement. Je vois de toutes parts des établissements immenses, où l'on élève à grands frais la jeunesse pour lui apprendre toutes choses, excepté ses devoirs."(55)

Already the distinction between academic learning and moral and civic education lead him to the devastating conclusion that:

"Nous avons des physiciens, des géomètres, des chimistes, des astronomes, des poètes, des musiciens, des peintres; nous n'avons plus de citoyens; ou, s'il nous en reste encore, dispersés dans nos campagnes abandonnées, ils y périssent indigents et méprisés."(56)

In a letter to Grimm a little later he emphasised the specific duty of the state to educate citizens:

"Il(57) m'apprend qu'on y (in colleges) enseigne aux jeunes gens je ne sais combien de belles choses qui peuvent être d'une belle ressource pour leur amusement quand ils seront grands, mais dont j'avoue que je ne vois point le rapport avec les devoirs des Citoyens, dont il faut commencer par les instruire."(58)

(53) Discours sur les sciences et les arts, Pléiade, vol. 3, p.11

(54) ibid

(55) ibid, p.24

(56) ibid, p.26

(57) Gautier, author of a refutation of the 1st. Discours which appeared in the Mercure de France, Oct. 1751.

(58) Lettre de J.J. Rousseau à Grimm sur la réfutation de son Discours par M. Gautier, Pléiade, vol. 3, p.63.

The form of government moulds its citizens. Rousseau alone with Montesquieu realised the extent to which Rome and Sparta consciously used this power to form certain characteristics which modern Europe, emphasising solely the 'honnêteté' of 'le monde', to the neglect of morals, was unable to do.

There is thus a great similarity between Montesquieu and Rousseau; for both the solution to the educational dilemma was political, both had the same idea of virtue, and it was Rousseau who understood Montesquieu when not only the Church and defenders of the faith such as Crévier, but also such philosophers as Helvétius and Voltaire failed to see the significance of his Esprit des lois. Virtue for each was love of one's country, obedience to its laws, and subordination of one's private will to the general will. They differ, however, in that Rousseau believed virtue should be the principle of any republic, that is any popular or legitimate government - for Rousseau authority in a legitimate government is derived from the people - and Montesquieu believed it could only exist in a democracy or an aristocracy. For Montesquieu it was then logical to work out a type of education suited to each form of government: virtue should be taught in a republic, honour in a monarchy, and frankly nothing - except fear - in a despotism. For Rousseau the answer was less simple: it was possible to work out a system of education for a legitimate state, and indeed there was only one possibility, which he was to state unequivocally

in his Encyclopédie article, Économie politique^(morale et) (1754):

"L'éducation publique sous des règles prescrites par le Gouvernement, et sous des magistrats établis par le souverain, est donc une des maximes fondamentales du gouvernement populaire ou légitime." (59)

But what was to happen in the vast majority of countries in which there was no unity of interest between people and rulers, but where, on the contrary,

"le gouvernement et le peuple auront des intérêts différents et par conséquent des volontés opposées" (60),

states which Rousseau classes as 'tyranniques'? Montesquieu was able to find perfect logic in teaching children to become 'honnêtes gens' in a monarchy. For Rousseau there was only one type of education possible: it was a question of teaching love of ones country and its laws, or simply nothing at all.

It was in the article Économie politique^(morale et) that Rousseau first worked out in depth his ideas on the relationship of state and education and found himself obliged by the revolutionary implications of these to caution and silence on all that most nearly concerned France; it will be helpful to follow in some detail his argument, for his ideas on the type of state for which to educate children, the role of the citizen in the state, and even his omissions, are all of the

(59) Économie politique, Pléiade, vol. 3, p.260-1

(60) ibid, p.247

utmost importance to Rousseau's principles of education.

The article begins by distinguishing between families, which, following the course of nature, are ruled by the father as long as he is the strongest, and ruled sympathetically because he follows the voice of nature, and nations which, by contrast, must be run according to laws which replace nature, for the interest of the leader is likely to be contrary to that of his people:

"En un mot, les abus sont inévitables et leurs suites funestes, dans toute société, où l'intérêt public et les lois n'ont aucune force naturelle, et sont sans cesse attaqués par l'intérêt personnel et les passions du chef et des membres."(61).

The voice of nature is thus a false guide to the ruler "s'il n'est retenu par la plus sublime vertu"(62) There follows the description of the 'corps politique', which shows how the well-being of the whole body depends on the health of each and every part of it. Its life is the 'moi commun' and without constant contact between all parts of the 'moi commun' the body, the state, will die. The well-being of the whole body *politic* is thus the measure of each action and the source of the laws which govern it. It is thus possible to work out a moral code on which the state should act: this may still

(61) *ibid*, vol. 3, p.243

(62) *ibid*, p.254

be unfair to outsiders (63), since it is intended only for the good of its members, so that the larger the community, the more just and universal its rules. Clearly then, there may be conflict between ones duties towards the smaller group to which one belongs - perhaps the army, the senate or a religious order - and the larger state. In this case it is always to the will of the larger community that one owes allegiance as a good citizen.(63a)

"mais malheureusement l'intérêt personnel se trouve toujours en raison inverse du devoir, et augmente à mesure que l'association devient plus étroite et l'engagement moins sacré; preuve invincible que la volonté la plus générale est aussi toujours la plus juste, et que la voix du peuple est en effet la voix de Dieu."(64)

No solution is yet suggested to the conflict between private and public interest, but instead Rousseau goes on to illustrate how frequently the so called general will is in fact the will of only a fraction of the people, both in ancient Athens (65) and in the contemporary world where the question of whose will should be followed, the magistrates' or the people's, has long been decided, "d'une manière par la pratique, et d'une autre par la raison."(66) States can therefore be divided into two types, popular and tyrannical.

"La première est celle de tout état où règne entre le peuple et les chefs unité d'intérêt et de volonté: l'autre existera nécessairement partout où le gouvernement et le peuple auront des intérêts différents et par conséquent des volontés opposées."(67)

(63) Emile, Pléiade, vol. 4, p.248

(63a) cf. Montesquieu; up to this point their principles accord, but Rousseau, because of the conflict between personal and general interests, is to put a limit on the size of community to which one can owe loyalty: it can no longer be the whole of humanity.

(64) Economie politique, Pléiade, vol. 3, p.246

(65) cf. 1st. Discours, p.12: Athens represents decadence and the dominance of the wrong values - arts and luxuries.

(66) Economie politique, p.247 (67) *ibid*

Men, on entering into society, have given up their freedom, but only in order to acquire a new freedom: that of obeying the law:

"C'est à la loi seule que les hommes doivent la justice et la liberté. C'est cet organe salubre de la volonté de tous qui rétablit dans le droit l'égalité naturelle entre les hommes." (68)

Thus whereas for Montesquieu the law is a "rapport constant", for Rousseau it is the expression of the "volonté générale". The nearest example Rousseau, with some irony, can find of a state where in fact the general will is given precedence over that of the rulers is China, so that France and the rest of Europe are evidently tyrannies. It is not enough, however, to create a state in which the law is respected and obeyed:

"S'il est bon de savoir employer les hommes tels qu'ils sont, il vaut beaucoup mieux encore les rendre tels qu'on a besoin qu'ils soient; l'autorité la plus absolue est celle qui pénètre à l'intérieur de l'homme, et ne s'exerce pas moins sur la volonté que sur les actions. Il est certain que les peuples sont à la longue ce que le gouvernement les fait être.." (69)

We touch thus upon the subject of state education, but Rousseau goes no further than to say that the whole art of the ancient governments lay in forming men who loved the law, whereas

"nos gouvernements modernes qui croient avoir tout fait quand ils ont tiré de l'argent, n'imaginent pas même qu'ils soit nécessaire ou possible d'aller jusque-là." (70)

(68) *ibid*, p.248

(69) *ibid*, p.251

(70) *ibid*, p.252

But having hinted at the foundation on which to build the virtuous state Rousseau goes on to define virtue, the particular will coinciding with the general will, and there follows a description of what happens in a state where the citizens do not love the law and conform their will to the general will. This is contrasted with the state where the citizens love their duty and the authorities cultivate this love by their example and work. As earlier, Rousseau points out that the love of the laws and ones country must be in the citizen: it is not a passive condition, but an active one which must be taught:

"Ce n'est pas assez de dire aux citoyens, soyez bons; il faut leur apprendre à l'être; et l'exemple même, qui est à cet égard la première leçon, n'est pas le seul moyen qu'il faille employer: l'amour de la patrie est le plus efficace..."(71)

Instead, however, of explaining how to teach this fundamental love of country, Rousseau now enters into a discussion on patriotism, concluding that to be active love of ones fellow men must be in some way limited:

"Or comme ce penchant en nous ne peut être utile qu'à ceux avec qui nous avons à vivre, il est bon que l'humanité, concentrée entre les concitoyens, prenne en eux une nouvelle force par l'habitude de se voir, et par l'intérêt commun qui les réunit..."(72)

He emphasises the care and protection the "patrie" owes in return to each and every member of the community. It is only among the most noble, brave and free nations that examples

(71) *ibid*, p.254

(72) *ibid*, p.254-5

of such protection can be found: Sparta, Macedonia and Rome.

Rousseau has now built up an image of the ideal legitimate State, where men are virtuous through love of their country and its law and all know that their particular good lies in the general good. Such a society is the opposite of natural, being run according to laws deriving from human reason, or even divine inspiration. He has several times made it clear that although such societies may once have existed, or may exist far away, it is certainly not in contemporary France that they may be found, and he has hinted at the basis of the virtue on which such a society depends: the training by the state of its young to love the country and its laws.

On several occasions he has touched on this, the root of the political system, and yet it is only now, halfway through the article, when it has become sufficiently clear how happily all could live in such a society, but equally, by implication, how impossible such a society is in the Europe of his time that Rousseau reaches the key of his thesis: all depends on the education of the young. Rousseau completely understands how important this is, just as Montesquieu did, and if he fails to give education its rightful, logical place at the beginning of his work, it is certainly with intention:

"Je finis cette partie de l'économie publique, par où j'aurais dû la commencer. La patrie ne peut subsister sans la liberté, ni la liberté sans la vertu, ni la vertu sans les citoyens; vous aurez tout si vous

formez des citoyens; sans cela vous n'aurez que de méchants esclaves, à commencer par les chefs d'État."(73)

The link between "liberty", "virtue" and "citizen" as Rousseau understands these words has already become so clear that Rousseau's logic has taken on the same inevitability as Montesquieu's. We cannot but believe at this point that, in fact, "vous aurez tout si vous formez des citoyens". Rousseau's system of education therefore consists in training children from the earliest age.

"C'est du premier moment de la vie qu'il faut apprendre à mériter de vivre; et comme on participe en naissant aux droits des citoyens, l'instant de notre naissance doit être le commencement de l'exercice de nos devoirs."(74)

They must be taught

"à ne jamais regarder leur individu que par ses relations avec le corps de l'État".(75)

Rousseau quickly fends off criticism from those who might claim his ideas are merely utopian: such education has existed:

"Non seulement la philosophie démontre la possibilité de ces nouvelles directions, mais l'histoire en fournit mille exemples éclatants!"(76),

and he repeats with even greater acrimony his verdict of the first Discours: there are very few true citizens to be found in eighteenth century France:

"s'ils sont si rares parmi nous, c'est que personne ne se soucie qu'il y ait

(73) *ibid*, p.259

(74) *ibid*, p.260

(75) *ibid*, p.259

(76) *ibid*, p.260

des citoyens, et qu'on s'avise encore moins de s'y prendre assez tôt pour les former."(77)

Since the state is not natural, but run according to laws deriving from the general will, it is obvious that the key institution, education, cannot be left to nature, that is to the parents of the children. It is only in their combined capacity as citizens that they can teach the wider duty of the citizen towards the state, rather than towards himself, or the smaller societies to which he may belong:

"comme on ne laisse pas la raison de chaque homme unique arbitre de ses devoirs, on doit d'autant moins abandonner aux lumières et aux préjugés des pères l'éducation de leurs enfants; qu'elle importe à l'État encore plus qu'aux pères.....L'éducation publique sous des règles prescrites par le gouvernement, et sous des magistrats établis par le souverain, est donc une des maximes fondamentales du gouvernement populaire ou légitime."(78)

Children will be taught love of their country from the earliest age and grow up loving their fellow-men and the good of the whole community more than themselves.

"Si les enfants sont élevés en commun dans le sein de l'égalité, s'ils sont imbus des lois de l'état et des maximes de la volonté générale, s'ils sont instruits à les respecter par-dessus toutes choses, s'ils sont environnés d'exemples et d'objets qui leur parlent sans cesse de la tendre mère qui les nourrit, de l'amour qu'elle a pour eux, des biens inestimables qu'ils reçoivent d'elle, et du retour qu'ils lui doivent, ne doutons pas qu'ils n'apprennent ainsi à se chérir mutuellement comme des frères, à ne

(77) *ibid.*

(78) *ibid.*, p.260-1

vouloir jamais que ce que veut la société, à substituer des actions d'hommes et de citoyens au stérile babil des sophistes, et à devenir un jour les défenseurs et les pères de la patrie dont ils auront été si longtemps les enfants."(79)

Of the three nations which have used public education in the past: Crete, Sparta and Persia, each produced excellent citizens. Amongst larger nations, and again, by implication, in France, such education is not possible, but other reasons at which Rousseau only hints - "d'autres raisons que le lecteur peut voir aisément"(80) - have also prevented its use in modern times. Certainly the reader can easily guess the reasons if he has read the article attentively, so frequent are the veiled allusions to France and its lack of freedom and legitimacy: the fact that the nearest state where the "volonté générale" is important is China, the fact that no-one bothers to educate citizens in France, and above all the overall picture of a state so entirely different from contemporary France with its self-interested ruling class.

The nation is thus the creation of the government and its laws, amongst the most important of which are the laws on education. But what are the implications for a state which is not, in Rousseau's sense, legitimate? This is only hinted at: there can be no citizens, and this is obviously why in practice no-one has bothered to educate citizens and why contemporary education follows the false lure of money instead of

(79) *ibid*, p.261

(80) *ibid*, p.261-2

realising the formative influence it could have on citizens for the well-being of the whole community. Public education is thus not possible in a tyranny but by omission Rousseau makes it clear that any other sort of education has little point, since it has no relation to the nation, but only serves to perpetuate the selfish interests of individuals and thus of a type of government which keeps people in inequality, strife and unhappiness.

For Montesquieu education is the keystone of the social structure and therefore takes its logical place in his treatise immediately after the laws: laws are "des rapports constants", and so are the laws on education by which education is intimately related to the type of government. For Rousseau there is no such tidy, all embracing theory: there are legitimate states and non-legitimate or tyrannical states. He defines first exactly what a legitimate state is and how citizens must behave - morals in fact become political - before reaching the climax: the means of creating such a morality in the nation. He has thus transferred the debate from the old struggle between religion and a corrupt world to a political plane: the struggle is now against an unjust society. It is in fact a far more dramatic treatise than the Esprit des lois; and perhaps Rousseau had need of all the powers of persuasion he could muster, for the state he describes is indeed utterly out of keeping with France and yet it is the only one in which he saw any hope of a just

society. Rousseau did indeed think, though with reservations, that such a state might exist in Geneva (81) and at the time he composed the Économie politique was also writing a very eulogistic dedication to his second Discours (82) which he addressed to the 'Conseil Général' of Geneva. It was an illusion which was not to endure; indeed by 1764 the same Rousseau who had written of his Genevan education that it made him a Roman at the age of twelve was writing in his Lettres de la montagne that the Genevans should abandon all pretensions of being comparable to the citizens of the ancient republics. (83)

By thus making education the climax of the Encyclopédie article, Rousseau, without putting into words his most revolutionary ideas, forces on his reader the acknowledgement that since the admirable state he has described is so different from contemporary France, and since there can be no compromise, education for the existing French society is also entirely pointless, as is all talk of citizens and virtue.

(81) See Lettre à Théodore Tronchin, 26 Nov. 1758:

"Vous faites une distinction très judicieuse sur la différence des Républiques Grecques à la nôtre, par rapport à l'éducation publique. Mais cela n'empêche pas que cette éducation ne puisse avoir lieu parmi nous, et qu'elle ne l'ait même par la seule force des choses, soit qu'on le veuille, soit qu'on ne le veuille pas. La preuve est qu'il y a une grande différence entre les artisans des autres pays et les nôtres.... L'éducation d'un ouvrier tend à former ses doigts, rien de plus. Cependant le citoyen reste; bien ou mal la tête et le coeur se forment." Correspondance complète, ed. Leigh, vol. 5, pp. 241-2.

(82) Lettre au pasteur J. Perdriau, 28 Nov. 1754:

"frappé des conformités que je trouve entre la constitution de gouvernement qui découle de mes principes et celle qui existe réellement dans notre République, je me suis proposé de lui dédier mon Discours sur l'origine et les fondements de l'inégalité..." *ibid*, vol. 3, p.55.

(83) 9e. Lettre: cf. quot. (16), p.101.

Chapter Four

Rousseau's Emile (1762) and
the contemporary debate.

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It might seem that having claimed in the Économie politique that public education was the only education worth giving, Rousseau would find it impossible to justify any other system. However his conception of public education aimed specifically at producing the good citizen who, by definition, belonged to his 'patrie'. In Émile he came to terms with the fact, already hinted at in the Économie politique, that France was no 'patrie', for it was not made up of men who had transferred their natural self-love to love of the collective society in which they lived. Hence the devastating statement:

"il n'y a plus de patrie, il ne peut plus
y avoir de citoyens. Ces deux mots, patrie
et citoyen, doivent être effacés des langues
modernes."(1)

But if in the modern states of Europe it was impossible to educate citizens, there was an alternative, an alternative understood by scarcely any of Rousseau's contemporaries: to educate the natural man outside or on the margin of society.

The idea of uncovering, beneath the veneer applied by society, natural man and his natural passions, as well as the natural religion and natural laws in accordance with which

(1) Émile, Pléiade ed. vol. 4, p.251

he should act, was a central concern of the philosophers of the Enlightenment. There emerged the belief that it was natural for man to be a prey to his passions, natural also for him to feel a love for his fellow-men, that 'humanité', "ce beau mot rebattu maintenant jusqu'à la fadeur"(2), and out of pity to wish to help others when it did not clash with his own interests, for which the term 'bienfaisance' was revived. Yet these 'natural' qualities were all defined in the context of society:

"Pour les philosophes du dix-huitième siècle, les valeurs humaines sont toujours en rapport avec le développement historique et social. On ne peut diriger les individus sans connaître les fins que se propose la société dans laquelle ils vivent. C'est la forme du gouvernement qui indique les tendances qui doivent prévaloir dans l'âme humaine."(3)

The 'philosophes' concluded that a happy society could only be achieved by developing the right qualities in man, moulding him through the knowledge acquired by centuries of civilisation. From Montesquieu, with his choice of three forms of society, to Helvétius's conception of a society cast in exactly the desired form through the all-powerful use of education, the 'philosophes' believed in perfecting natural man for society, for which he was naturally suited. Only the 'méchant' of Diderot(4) could remain outside. Diderot's 'méchant' was a passionate natural man, in whom the passion of self-love had not been transformed into a social love of his fellow

(2) Lettre à Franquières, Pléiade ed. vol. 4, p.1136

(3) Groethuysen, B. J.J. Rousseau. Les Essais XXXVIII, Gallimard 1949.

(4) see Spink, J.S. La Vertu politique selon Diderot, in La Revue des sciences humaines, 1963 for a discussion of the 'méchant' of Diderot.

citizens. He had no social urge, a defect which Diderot, originally concerned more particularly with monks, then generalised to all solitaries; Rousseau in his secluded retreat, 'l'Ermitage', felt himself to be included in the attack when he received a complimentary copy of Le Fils naturel, in the preface of which

"je fus surpris et même un peu contristé d'y trouver parmi plusieurs choses désobligeantes mais tolérables contre les solitaires cette âpre et dure sentence sans aucun adoucissement: 'Il n'y a que le méchant qui soit seul.'"(5)

There is here a vital divergence in the beliefs of Rousseau and Diderot. For Diderot it was unnatural for man to be egoistic and antisocial, natural for him to be social, as he emphasised in his translation of Shaftesbury's Essai sur le mérite et la vertu by changing 'natural affections' to 'affections sociales'. For Rousseau, on the contrary, there was a distinction to be made between pre-social man, completely independent and 'bon', and social man. Pre-social man is naturally self-regarding, naturally good:

"L'homme civil veut que les autres soient contents de lui, le solitaire est forcé de l'être lui-même ou sa vie lui est insupportable. Ainsi le second est forcé d'être vertueux, mais le premier peut n'être qu'un hypocrite, et peut-être est-il forcé de le devenir s'il est vrai que les apparences de la vertu valent mieux que sa pratique pour plaire aux h(ommes) et faire son chemin parmi eux."(6)

Personal experience confirmed this: he himself and the

(5) Confessions, Pléfade ed. vol. 1, p.455

(6) Mon Portrait, Pléfade ed. vol. 1, p.1125

peasants of Montmorency, members of the vast 'peuple' who were so much nearer to natural man than the civilised Parisian, were far more good and, indeed, in the example they gave of natural goodness, far more useful than any number of cultivated men of letters:

"Vos gens de lettres ont beau crier qu'un homme seul est inutile à tout le monde et ne remplit pas ses devoirs dans la société. J'estime moi les paysans de Montmorency des membres plus utiles de la société que tous ces tas de désœuvrés payés de la graisse du peuple pour aller six fois la semaine bavarder dans une académie..."(7)

It was thus on this natural 'bonté' of pre-social man, and indeed of the vast majority of the French population, (8) though totally impracticable for the latter, that Rousseau based his education of *Émile*. It was to be not only a physical, but also a moral education, in which the child should learn to listen to his own conscience. Whilst one might argue endlessly about beauty and truth, on good and kind actions there could be no two opinions. To act in accordance with this inner voice was for Rousseau to act as a man. Social man, however, required a quite different education: he must be 'dénaturé', made aware that his will, his every action, is only a fragment of the will and activity of the society to which he belongs.

Before examining more closely the effect of these two contrasting concepts on Rousseau's educational theories it would be helpful, in order to place them in perspective,

(7) Lettre à Malesherbes, no. 4, 1762, *Pléiade* ed. vol. 1, p.1143

(8) Émile, *Pléiade* ed. vol. 4, p.509

to consider the ideas that others, many of them closely connected with Rousseau, had on the subject at approximately the time Émile was being conceived and written.

In 1755 Grimm, influenced no doubt by Montesquieu with his emphasis on the particular loyalty a citizen owes to his government, attempted to distinguish between man and citizen, insisting that the remedy against

"l'immensité de nos états, la multiplicité et la confusion de nos lois, la lenteur et l'incertitude de notre justice, l'impunité du crime adroit et clandestin, et la faveur du pouvoir injuste"(9)

was in the public education of citizens,

"qui exige que non seulement ils soient formés en général à la vertu, à la justice, et à la raison, afin d'être hommes, mais qu'ils apprennent encore à regarder les maximes particulières du gouvernement sous lequel ils doivent vivre comme sacrées et inviolables, afin d'être citoyens, et qu'ils contractent de bonne heure cette affection pour le climat, cette prédilection pour leurs usages, pour leurs arts, pour leur façon de vivre, ces préjugés enfin pour leur patrie et pour leurs compatriotes qui tous assurent à un gouvernement ses forces, ses ressources et sa durée."(10)

He went so far as to conclude that public education of this type, which was epitomised in Spartan education, would perhaps be impossible in contemporary large monarchies, and this because modern man, lacking the same virtuous, honourable and disinterested devotion to his 'patrie', could not fairly expect from her more than security of his person and possessions.

"Ne travaillant plus pour la patrie, faisant tout pour nous-mêmes, pour notre gloire, pour

(9) Grimm, Correspondance littéraire, philosophique et critique. vol.3, p.123, Nov. 1755

(10) ibid.

notre élévation, pour l'agrandissement de notre fortune, il serait injuste d'attendre tout de la patrie, lorsque nous ne faisons rien pour elle. En nous garantissant la sûreté de nos personnes et la tranquille possession de nos biens, elle n'exige de nous que de ne point troubler la société, et de concourir pour le reste au bien public, autant que cela peut convenir à notre état, à notre honneur, à notre intérêt. Voilà la véritable situation de ceux qui vivent sous un gouvernement monarchique."(11)

Grimm then concluded that the only logical education in a monarchy was domestic:

"L'éducation y devient une affaire de famille dont le monarque n'est ni en droit, ni en état de prendre connaissance, et tout ce que les lois y peuvent faire, c'est, comme dans le reste, non de procurer le bien, mais d'empêcher le mal; c'est de pourvoir à ce que le pouvoir légitime des pères ne dégénère point en tyrannie envers les enfants."(12)

Rollin's vision of an ideal society, his 'Spartan mirage', moulding and moulded by its system of public education, has been understood so well that it is not only admired, but is now regarded as impossible in the existing political structure. Montesquieu's ideas on the relationship between education and type of government obviously met with Grimm's sympathy. When Rousseau, however, also in Montesquieu's tradition, extended the argument logically and developed a domestic education suited to a monarchy, Grimm was bitingly destructive in his criticism of this 'ouvrage didactique rempli de règles, de principes, de maximes.'(13) He felt there must be a relationship between public affairs and education

(11) *ibid*, p.124

(12) *ibid*.

(13) *ibid*, vol. 5, p.111

and, forgetting his own more logical conclusion in 1755, emphasises their interaction, condemning

"un auteur qui oublierait l'influence que le sort public et le sort domestique ont nécessairement sur l'éducation"(14),

for he could not understand Rousseau's underlying conviction that France was no 'patrie' in any sense but as a place of birth: he did not grasp the separation of the two parts of Émile's education: as a natural man first and later as a social man.

Yet the discussion on what constituted a 'patrie' had already been going on for some time and Rousseau was merely bringing out the conclusion others feared to draw.

Coyer, in his Dissertation sur le vieux mot de patrie, (1754) which, incidentally, Grimm sweepingly condemned as

"des lieux communs présentés avec un air de persiflage..."(15),

came close to suggesting that France was no longer a 'patrie' when he claimed that the word 'patrie' had almost dropped out of use and suggested that words do not become obsolete unless their meaning is no longer understood. For Coyer, as for later writers, a citizen was one who was useful to his 'patrie'.

"Qu'on ne me vante point un grand nom, il est très-petit si celui qui le porte est inutile à l'état."(16)

However the word 'patrie' had not yet acquired the connection with republic and political liberty which later came to be associated with it, but implied, on the contrary, a father

(14) *ibid*, p.113

(15) *ibid*, vol. 2, p.204-5

(16) Coyer, Dissertation sur le vieux mot de patrie, The Hague, 1755, p.31

and his children, even though the father must also submit to the law of the country. D'Aguesseau much earlier had suggested that only a republic could be a 'patrie'.

"ne dirait-on pas que (l'amour de la patrie) soit comme une plante étrangère dans les monarchies, qui ne croisse heureusement et qui ne fasse goûter les fruits précieux que dans les républiques?"(17)

Belonging to the parliamentary tradition which has been compared(18) with the Opposition in England, both of whom continually strove to return to first principles and a basically republican or aristocratic constitution, he praised the Roman republic, "la patrie plus forte que la nature", where "L'inflexible Romain immole ses enfants au salut de la république".(19) How unlike the eighteenth century monarchy where the subjects

"Déchargés du soin et privés de l'honneur du gouvernement....regardent la fortune de l'état comme un vaisseau qui flotte au gré de son maître, et qui ne se conserve ou ne périt que pour lui."(20)

Despairingly he asked

"Où trouverons-nous donc la patrie? L'intérêt particulier la trahit, la mollesse l'ignore, une vaine philosophie la condamne. Quel étrange spectacle pour le zèle de l'homme public. Un grand royaume, et point de patrie; un peuple nombreux et presque plus de citoyens. (21)

However d'Aguesseau's vision of the citizen is still not embracing enough, concerning, as it does, chiefly the magistrates and servants of the State, each of whom must as true

(17) D'Aguesseau, 19e. Mercuriale, 1715, in Oeuvres, Paris, ed. 1819, vol. 1, p.229

(18) Oxford Conference on Civic vocabulary in the 18th. century, paper given by D.J. Fletcher: Patrie, patriote, patriotisme, 1959.

(19) D'Aguesseau, op. cit. p.230

(20) ibid.

(21) ibid., p.233

citizens be

"comme la voix de la patrie, qui réclame toujours la règle et la loi, qui dans les temps difficiles proteste sagement pour le bien public, et dans les jours plus tranquilles rappelle le souvenir de l'ancien ordre de l'état, et ramène la patrie à ses véritables principes;" (22)

As the century advanced the term 'citoyen', with its ancient connotations of service to the republic deriving from the Greek and Roman states, and even the expression 'patriote' (a borrowing from the English), with the specific idea of loyalty to a whole social structure, rather than simply to a place, became more and more widely used. (23) Aulard has traced in depth the progress of the idea of patriotism in France, the dual origin from classical antiquity and from nationalism in the face of enemy hostility from the time of Jeanne d'Arc onwards. (24) Nationalism took on a new lease of life during the Seven Years War, when books with titles such as Préservatif contre l'anglomanie, by Fougere de Montbron and La Différence du patriotisme anglais et français, by Basset de la Marelle, appeared. (25) All helped to crystallise the idea of a French monarchy distinct from any other country in the world. The feeling of aggressive nationalism, the more emotional concept of 'patrie', developing

(22) *ibid*, p.233-4

(23) *Patriote*: v. Fraser Mackenzie, Les Relations de l'Angleterre et de la France d'après le vocabulaire, Paris, 1939, vol.1, and Hatzfeld and Darmesteter, *op. cit.* vol. 2.

(24) v. Aulard, F.V.A. Le Patriotisme français de la Renaissance à la Révolution, Paris, 1921,

(25) see chap. 6, part 1.

from the time of Colbert, for whom 'patrie' and kingdom were synonymous, to the highly charged definition of Coyer:

"rien de si aimable, de si sacré ...qu'on se doit tout entier à elle, qu'il n'est pas plus permis de s'en venger que de son père, qu'il ne faut avoir d'amis que les siens... qu'il est beau, qu'il est doux de mourir pour la conserver,"(26)

and finally the scientific and philosophical analysis of Montesquieu and the other political scientists, all of these were necessary before the nation could be ready for the 1789 Revolution. Rousseau combined all three strands and, however much he may have been attacked by his contemporaries for his "destructive" (27) attitude in claiming that there was no 'patrie', was, in fact, the most realistic thinker of all.

In the circle of his acquaintances there was a considerable amount of discussion on education. Grimm was writing a book on the subject (and accused Rousseau of plagiarising his ideas in his Émile). In the Encyclopédie there appeared articles on Collège by d'Alembert and Éducation by Du Marsais, both of which were critical of the contemporary system: Du Marsais stressed the importance to the kingdom of the education of its children:

"leur éducation est donc l'objet le plus intéressant...pour l'état même, qui doit recueillir les fruits de la bonne éducation

(26) Coyer, op. cit. p. 18.

(27) v. d'Alembert's Lettre à Mlle. de Lespinasse, Correspondance complète de J.-J. Rousseau, ed. by R.A. Leigh Geneva, 1965-, vol. XI, p.277.

que reçoivent les citoyens qui le composent."(28)

(note the uncritical use of the word 'citoyen'), and went on to suggest that there should therefore be a type of education for each class of citizen.

"Il est évident qu'il n'y a aucun ordre de citoyens dans un état, pour lesquels il n'y eût une sorte d'éducation qui leur serait propre;"(29)

For the people he therefore proposed that

"comme il y a des écoles pour apprendre les vérités de la religion, il devrait y en avoir aussi dans lesquelles on leur montrât les exercices, les pratiques, les devoirs et les vertus de leur état, afin qu'ils agissent avec plus de connaissance."(30)

He was confident that

"Si chaque sorte d'éducation était donnée avec lumière et avec persévérance, la patrie se trouverait bien constituée, bien gouvernée, et à l'abri des insultes de ses voisins."(31)

D'Alembert went further in his article, for he attacked, several years before their dissolution, the Jesuits and the 'abus' of the educational system. He suggested that only the Government could correct these abuses:

"je conviens avec eux (ceux qui enseignent) que l'autorité supérieure du gouvernement est seule capable d'arrêter les progrès d'un si grand mal..."(32)

However the view of the 'philosophes' on education was very different from that of Rousseau, and becoming more and more orientated in a particular direction, it merits a separate

(28) Encyclopédie, article Education, vol. 5, p.397

(29) ibid.

(30) ibid.

(31) ibid.

(32) Encyclopédie, article Collège, vol. 3, p.636

discussion in a subsequent chapter.

Mme. d'Epina y, friend and patron of Rousseau for a certain time, had two children to bring up and was particularly anxious to give her son a fitting education. Duclos, the friend of both Mme. d'Epina y and Rousseau, advised her to make a Frenchman of him:

"Il ne s'agit pas ici d'en faire un Anglais, un Romain, un Égyptien, un Grec, un Spartiate; il est né Français, c'est donc un Français qu'il faut faire, c'est-à-dire un homme à peu près bon à tout."(33)

though by this he does not mean that the child should become a hypocrite, but, like Rousseau, rather scorns excessive politeness:

"j'aime mieux qu'il ait le courage d'être vrai, au hasard de passer pour brutal comme moi. Dans un pays comme celui-ci, c'est une petite monnaie courante dont tout le monde a ses poches pleines, et qui ne rend pas plus riche."(34)

In his Considérations sur les moeurs de ce siècle(1751) Duclos had shown the same awareness of distinct nationalities and had pondered on the benefits of education fitted to particular countries - with the emphasis on the country's character and spirit, however, rather than on its political status.

"quel parti ne tirerait pas de lui-même un peuple chez qui l'éducation générale serait assortie à son génie, à ses qualités propres, à ses vertus, et même à ses défauts?"(35)

He then went on to advocate the education, not of philosophers and men of letters, but of social man:

"on ne s'est pas encore avisé de former des hommes, c'est-à-dire de les élever

(33) Mme. d'Epina y, Mémoires, Paris, 1865, vol. 1, p.316

(34) ibid, p.320

(35) Duclos, Considérations... Berlin, 1751, p.17

respectivement les uns pour les autres, de faire porter sur une base d'éducation générale toutes les instructions particulières; de façon qu'ils fussent accoutumés à chercher leurs avantages personnels dans le plan du bien général et que dans quelque profession que ce fût, ils commençassent par être patriotes."(36)

In other words he advocated a national system of uniform public education in which children should be taught to consider themselves a useful part of the state, an idea which Rousseau was to put more succinctly in his Emile:

"l'homme civil n'est qu'une unité fractionnaire"(37)

Like Rousseau Duclos believed it was more important to be a useful and devoted member of the state, a patriot, than to excel in a particular profession, and like him also, he defended himself against the charge of Utopianism, giving as an example of successful national education the Spartan system, where

"on s'attachait d'abord à former des Spartiates. C'est ainsi qu'on devrait dans tous les états inspirer les sentiments de citoyen, former des Français parmi nous, et pour en faire des Français, travailler à en faire des hommes."(38)

Finally he denigrated private education, as distinct from public, which considers men "relativement à l'humanité et à la patrie"(39), because private education, which should "avoir égard à la condition, aux dispositions naturelles, aux talents personnels,"(39a) is poorly thought out. In general he would probably advocate a semi-private, semi-public education to cater for the two different aspects of man: the social and the

(36) *ibid.*

(37) Emile, ed. Pléiade, vol. 4, p.249

(38) Duclos, *op. cit.* p.19

(39) *ibid.*, p.21

(39a) *ibid.*, p.21-22

knowledge-seeking, but although he does not go as far as Rousseau, Duclos's theory has important points in common with Rousseau's: in particular the emphasis on educating a child for society and, moreover, for a particular society with which he must identify and where he must play a useful role.

Mme. d'Epinaÿ, still anxious about her son and the conflict between the education she would like to give him and that which he would subsequently receive in 'le monde', considered offering him the conventional guide to good conduct: service to 'la patrie'.

"Je dirai bien à mon fils qu'il est d'un homme vil de mal remplir les devoirs de son état; mais il verra tous les jours que ces hommes vils ne laissent pas que d'être considérés. Je lui dirai bien qu'on n'a droit à sa propre estime et à la considération publique qu'autant qu'on est utile à ses concitoyens, et que pour y réussir le vrai moyen est de se mettre en état de rendre des services à sa patrie;"(40)

She even admitted that the words 'citoyen' and 'patrie' had no meaning:

"je l'entends me demander ce que c'est que citoyen et patrie, et je me garderai bien de l'envoyer faire cette question dans le monde. On lui rirait au nez; on lui dirait qu'en France il n'y a jamais eu et ne peut y avoir ni l'un, ni l'autre."(41)

However, despite her realism up to this point, she was much disturbed by a conversation with Rousseau in 1757, the period when the latter was beginning his Emile, a conversation which she transposed into her novel, L'Histoire de Mme. de Mont-brillant.

(40) Mme. d'Epinaÿ, Mes Moments heureux, in Oeuvres, Paris, 1869, reprint of Geneva ed, 1759, vol. 2, pp.122-3,

(41) Letter to Tronchin, Oct. 1756.

(41) *ibid*, p.123.

Rousseau had arrived in his Economie politique at an impasse: obliged to conclude that, for reasons "que le lecteur peut voir aisément"(42) - and which he had not dared to state openly - public education in the large monarchical states of Europe was impossible, he had taken refuge in the historical examples of Sparta, Crete and Persia to illustrate how education should be taken out of parental hands and entrusted to the national authority. In Sparta, however, it was the uncorrupted morality, the true virtue and thus patriotism of the citizens which made education possible, and Rousseau, as no one else, saw that the lack of virtue in France, the consequent absence of love of the common good, rendered public education unthinkable in France as it was. This was the conclusion which so shocked Mme. d'Epinau. To understand it she would have had to accept on the one hand the premise of the future Contrat social: that society is unnatural to man, and that the unnatural process of education is the means by which he becomes a social being, and on the other hand the basis of Emile, that the education of a man living outside society should, in order to retain his natural goodness, be left to nature, and not to the parents. Here is the account of the conversation as recounted by Mme. d'Epinau in the Histoire de Mme. de Montbrillant:

"Tout à coup, je m'avise de dire: 'C'est une chose bien difficile que d'élever un enfant.- Je le crois bien, Madame, répondit René (-Rousseau); c'est que les pères et mères ne sont point faits par la nature pour élever, ni les enfants pour l'être.' Ce propos me pétrifia dans sa bouche. 'Comment dites-vous cela?' lui dis-je. Beauval, en éclatant de rire, ajouta ce que je n'avais osé ajouter:

(42) Economie politique, Pléiade ed. vol. 3, pp.261-2.

'Mais n'avez-vous pas, lui dit-il, un projet d'éducation dans la tête? - Il est vrai, répondit René du même sens froid; mais il vaudrait bien mieux qu'ils fussent dans le cas de s'en passer, et moi de ne le pas faire. Dans l'état de nature, il n'y a que les besoins auxquels il faut pourvoir, et cela sous peine de mourir de faim; que des ennemis dont il faut se défendre, et cela sous peine d'en être tué; que son semblable à produire, chose à laquelle le plaisir ne nous invite que de reste, sans la leçon de nos parents. Ainsi vous voyez que l'éducation d'un homme sauvage se fait sans qu'on s'en mêle; que la base de la nôtre n'est pas dans la nature et que, puisqu'elle n'est pas dans la nature, il faut qu'elle soit fondée sur des conventions de société, qui sont toutes pour la plupart bizarres, contradictoires, incompatibles tantôt avec le goût, les qualités de l'enfant, tantôt avec les vues, l'intérêt, l'état du père, que sais-je? etc., etc. - Mais enfin, nous ne sommes pas sauvages, lui dis-je. Bien ou mal, il faut élever. Comment s'y prendre? - Cela est fort difficile, reprit-il - Je le savais, lui dis-je; c'est la première chose que je vous ai dite, et me voilà aussi avancée. - Pour faciliter votre ouvrage, reprit René, il faudrait commencer à refondre toute la société, car, sans cette condition, vous serez à tout moment dans le cas, en voulant l'avantage de votre enfant, de lui prescrire dans sa jeunesse une foule de maximes fort sages, d'après lesquelles il reculera au lieu d'avancer franchement. Jetez les yeux sur tous ceux qui ont fait un grand chemin dans le monde; croyez-vous que ce soit en se conformant aux maximes scrupuleuses de probité qu'ils ont reçues de leurs pères? On n'ose leur dire d'être menteur, faux, etc.; mais on sent très bien qu'il faudrait qu'ils le fussent. Voilà l'embarras de l'éducation!"(43)

Thus Rousseau, taking up the question of the contradiction between the maxims of French education and success in society, which Mme. d'Epinaÿ had already clearly seen a year earlier, drew the conclusions that only he would be bold enough to draw:

(43) Mme. d'Epinaÿ, Histoire de Mme. de Montbrillant, ed. G. Roth, 1951, vol. 1, p.135-7

society would need to be totally revolutionised. So little did Mme d'Épinay understand Rousseau's argument that she wrote to Grimm, by then Rousseau's declared enemy, that she believed Rousseau held his opinions simply in order to shock.

(44) It was a logic far removed from such frivolity, however, which led Rousseau to elaborate his educational ideas in Émile and in an important section(45) of his novel, La Nouvelle Héloïse which he was meditating at the same period. To escape the impasse of the impossibility of good education, public or private, in France, Rousseau placed Émile outside society, and similarly the Wolmar family lived on the brink of society, in the pays de Vaud, an area administered by Bern, and thus a 'pays' but not a 'patrie'.

Despite the realisation among certain of Rousseau's contemporaries, including Mme d'Épinay, that neither public nor private education fitted children for life, but was, in fact, in conflict with it, that there should therefore be a relationship between education and the particular society the child was to live in, that there was no real 'patrie' to which to feel loyalty, only a geographical area and a King, despite

(44) Mme. d'Épinay, Mémoires, vol. 2, p.276:

"Je ne sais trop si je lui ferai tort de dire qu'il est plus flatté du plaisir de soutenir des thèses bizarres, que peiné de l'alarme que peuvent jeter dans le coeur de ceux qui l'écoutent des sophismes adroitement défendus."

(45) see Letter from Saint-Preux to Milord Edouard, Pléiade ed. vol 2, p.557 et seq.

all these ideas, Rousseau's Emile came as a shock, a revelation to a few, perhaps, an outrage to the vast majority and it can only be assumed that it aroused such strong passions just because it clarified ideas already in the air, and which were felt to be dangerous.

The advance Emile made on the Économie politique was, then, of vast importance. Whereas in the Économie politique Rousseau had only hinted that there was no liberty in France, and therefore no virtue, no 'patrie' and no citizens, in Emile this became explicit right at the beginning of the book, and with it the realisation that public education could not exist:

"L'institution publique n'existe plus, et ne peut plus exister; parce qu'où il n'y a plus de patrie il ne peut plus y avoir de citoyens. Ces deux mots, patrie et citoyen, doivent être effacés des langues modernes."(46)

Cautiously he added:

"J'en sais bien la raison, mais je ne veux pas la dire; elle ne fait rien à mon sujet."(47)

The reason is, of course, that France was not a legitimate state, but a country of self-interested individuals ruled by a self-interested monarch. The public education which existed in France was a mere farce:

"Je n'envisage pas comme une institution publique ces risibles établissements qu'on appelle Collèges."(48)

There all that children learnt was "mauvaises moeurs":

"abandonnons les pensionnaires des collèges et des couvents à leurs mauvaises moeurs, elles seront toujours sans remède."(49)

(46) Emile, Pléiade ed. vol. 4, p.250

(47) ibid.

(48) ibid.

(49) ibid., p.657.

Rousseau, logical to his argument, then abandoned the idea of public education in a country which was not a 'patrie'. Education must, after all, fit the child for the society he will grow up to live in. Education, which is of three types - from nature, men and things - must be consistent, for if there is conflict the pupil is badly brought up. In order to eliminate conflict, where a child is not to be brought up to live in nature, nature itself must be changed: the well-educated social man is therefore 'dénaturé', an idea abhorrent to many of Rousseau's critics.

"que faire quand (ces dispositions primitives) sont opposées? quand au lieu d'élever un homme pour lui-même on veut l'élever pour les autres? Alors le concert est impossible. Forcé de combattre la nature ou les institutions sociales, il faut opter entre faire un homme ou un citoyen; car on ne peut faire à la fois l'un et l'autre."(50)

This is in direct contradiction with all the accepted ideas of the time: the expression 'homme et citoyen' had become so familiar that one seemed automatically to follow the other. How, then, could one accept the idea of an opposition between man and citizen? Rousseau explained:

"L'homme naturel est tout pour lui: il est l'unité numérique, l'entier absolu qui n'a de rapport qu'à lui-même ou à son semblable. L'homme civil n'est qu'une unité fractionnaire qui tient au dénominateur, et dont la valeur est dans le rapport avec l'entier, qui est le corps social. Les bonnes institutions sociales sont celles qui savent le mieux dénaturer l'homme, lui ôter son existence absolue, pour lui en donner une relative, et transporter le 'moi' dans l'unité commune;"(51)

(50) *ibid*, p.248

(51) *ibid*, p.249

Any man from outside ones own society has no right to be treated as anything but a man:

"Tout patriote est dur aux étrangers; ils ne sont qu'hommes, ils ne sont rien à ses yeux!"(52)

The contemporary European, however, is neither man nor citizen:

"Celui qui dans l'ordre civil veut conserver la primauté des sentiments de la nature, ne sait ce qu'il veut. Toujours en contradiction avec lui-même, toujours flottant entre ses penchants et ses devoirs, il ne sera jamais ni homme, ni citoyen; il ne sera bon ni pour lui, ni pour les autres. Ce sera un homme de nos jours, un Français, un Anglais, un Bourgeois; ce ne sera rien."(53)

The education of the natural man is quite different from that of the citizen which was analysed in L'Économie politique, and which Rousseau was to apply in his Gouvernement de Pologne. Whereas the citizen is educated for a particular function in society, men in nature,

"étant tous égaux leur vocation commune est l'état d'homme, et quiconque est bien élevé pour celui-là ne peut mal remplir ceux qui s'y rapportent. Qu'on destine mon élève à l'épée, à l'église, au barreau, peu m'importe. Avant la vocation des parents, la nature l'appelle à la vie humaine. Vivre est le métier que je lui veux apprendre."(54)

Such an education, incidentally, is particularly appropriate, Rousseau feels, for the present time, for "nous approchons de l'état de crise et du siècle des révolutions"(55). If man

(52) *ibid*, p.248

(53) *ibid*, p.249-250

(54) *ibid*, p.251-2

(55) *ibid*, p.468

were educated simply to be self-sufficient he would stand a better chance of survival.

At the age of fifteen Émile

"se considère sans égard aux autres et trouve bon que les autres ne pensent point à lui. Il n'exige rien de personne et ne croit rien devoir à personne: il est seul dans la société humaine, il ne compte que sur lui seul... Il n'a point d'erreurs, ou n'a que celles qui nous sont inévitables, il n'a point de vices ou n'a que ceux dont nul homme ne peut se garantir. Il a le corps sain, les membres agiles, l'esprit juste et sans préjugés, le coeur libre et sans passions. L'amour propre, la première et la plus naturelle de toutes, y est à peine exalté."(56)

In this negative, unadulterated state of 'bonté' Émile

"a de la vertu tout ce qui se rapporte à lui-même. Pour avoir aussi les vertus sociales, il lui manque uniquement de connaître les relations qui les exigent, il lui manque uniquement des lumières que son esprit est tout prêt à recevoir."(57)

For whilst society may not be natural to man, Rousseau considered it, though inferior, to be a natural progression from the state of nature:

"selon moi la société est naturelle à l'espèce humaine comme la décrépitude à l'individu,"(58)

and again in the Profession de foi:

"L'homme est sociable par sa nature, ou du moins fait pour le devenir,"(59)

Indeed it is only in society that man will find his salvation; outside society there is no virtue, but only natural goodness.

(56) *ibid*, p.488

(57) *ibid*.

(58) Lettre à Philopolis, Pléiade ed. vol. 3, p.232

(59) Émile, p.600.

In the words of Château Rousseau's aim was to:

"racheter l'homme de la chute venue de la dépravation sociale; il vise une véritable rédemption. A côté de la société corrompue, il faut instituer une société rationnelle conforme à la nature. Tel est le plan que le Contrat résout sur le plan collectif, et l'Emile sur le plan individuel."(60)

Emile cannot therefore remain "un sauvage à reléguer dans les déserts, c'est un sauvage fait pour habiter les villes."(61)

"Emile n'est pas fait pour rester toujours solitaire; membre de la société il en doit remplir les devoirs."(62)

Before marrying Sophie Emile must learn his duties to society, he must become wise through a study of other nations and social institutions:

"il n'y a point de bonheur sans courage ni de vertu sans combat.... l'homme qui n'est que bon n'est bon que pour lui."(63)

For on entering marriage he will also enter society, even if he will eventually live only on its fringes.

"En devenant chef de famille, vous allez devenir membre de l'Etat..."(64)

He must learn what government, laws and 'patrie' mean, so that he can take his place in society. If when he learns of the duties of the citizen he should ask where his 'patrie' is he will learn that, though he may not have a 'patrie', he has at least a country, and to this, with its laws which guarantee relative peace and security, he owes his loyalty.

(60) Château, J. J.-J. Rousseau, sa philosophie de l'éducation, Paris, 1962, p.135

(61) Emile, p.484

(62) ibid, p.654

(63) ibid, p.817, 818

(64) ibid, p.823.

"qui n'a pas une patrie a du moins un pays. Il y a toujours un gouvernement et des simulacres de lois sous lesquels il a vécu tranquille. Que le contrat social n'ait point été observé, qu'importe, si l'intérêt particulier l'a protégé comme aurait fait la volonté générale, si la violence publique l'a garanti des violences particulières, si le mal qu'il a vu faire lui a fait aimer ce qui était bien, et si nos institutions mêmes lui ont fait connaître et haïr leurs propres iniquités?"(65)

He has a further debt to his country, for it is there that he has learnt morality and virtue.

"O Emile! où est l'homme de bien qui ne doit rien à son pays? Quel qu'il soit, il lui doit...l'amour de la vertu."(66)

Thus a 'pays' has laws to which in gratitude one owes obedience, even though it may have no citizens, in contrast with a 'patrie' which has both. Emile is thus led to choose a life apart from, but still belonging to, the country of his birth: he will be a natural man in society, leading a patriarchal country existence like Wolmar and Julie and the simple virtues of man will be perpetuated.

Thus, although Emile has been brought up to be simply 'bon', there comes a time when he must take his place in society and learn the necessary basis of social life, virtue, however faulty that society may be and however much Emile may therefore live in seclusion within it, only entering into the mainstream of social life if called upon to help his country in some way.(67) Emile's education is therefore not a Utopian

(65) *ibid*, p.858

(66) *ibid*.

(67) in La Nouvelle Héloïse Saint Preux's father, an inhabitant of the 'pays de Vaud' and therefore not technically a citizen of Bern, under whose rule Vaud lay, nevertheless fought for Bern, his country, if not his 'patrie', and therefore deserving of his loyalty.

dream, but the best that Rousseau could logically offer in the real circumstances of the time, since it was not possible to "refondre la société". At the crux of the opposition to Emile was indeed the contradictory nature of Rousseau's natural and social man, implying that change could be brought about, not by reform, as the 'philosophes' hoped, but solely by a complete reversal of society as it existed; in the development of his individual pupil Rousseau was able to resolve the dichotomy. Emile's natural human compassion for other men led him to seek their company, a movement paralleled in the development of the human race as a whole. Society, whilst not natural to man, was a natural development from the state of nature because of man's pity for his fellow human beings. Emile, amoral and asocial from birth, but full of natural 'bonté', was able to adapt quickly to the moral order governing relationships in society. Such a natural development on a national scale, however, was unthinkable in any existing society.

In any truly free society the only rational type of education would be public education. It was not a theme Rousseau could expand in his Emile, although he did there refer to Plato's Republic as "le plus beau traité d'éducation qu'on ait jamais fait", (67a) but in his Gouvernement de Pologne he developed in practical terms the theory of public education earlier adumbrated in the Economie politique. For, despite the compromise he was forced to make of accepting an aristocratic social structure,

(67a) Emile, Pléiade, vol. 4, p.250.

he believed he had found in Poland the ideal conditions of liberty in which to institute a public and patriotic education.

"L'éducation nationale n'appartient qu'aux hommes libres; il n'y a qu'eux qui aient une existence commune et qui soient vraiment liés par la Loi."(68)

There civic education would no longer come as the climax of education, as in Emile, but would be the very basis on which the whole educational programme was founded. As Rousseau had said in the Economie politique,

"former des citoyens n'est pas l'affaire d'un jour; et pour les avoir hommes il faut les instruire enfants."(69)

For it was through education that children could be taught to be patriots, an education which must begin at birth:

"C'est l'éducation qui doit donner aux âmes la force nationale, et diriger tellement leurs opinions et leurs goûts, qu'elles soient patriotes par inclination, par passion, par nécessité... Tout vrai républicain suçait avec le lait de sa mère l'amour de sa patrie, c'est-à-dire des lois et de la liberté."(70)

This education would be given by the most distinguished men in the country, for teaching would be a high national honour.

The system of education Rousseau proposed in the Gouvernement de Pologne would aim first and foremost to form Poles:

"A vingt ans un Polonais ne doit pas être un autre homme; il doit être un Polonais."(71),

in contrast with other nations:

(68) Considérations sur le gouvernement de Pologne, 1772, Pléiade ed. vol. 3, p.966.

(69) Economie politique, Pléiade ed. vol. 3, p.259

(70) Gouvernement de Pologne, Pléiade, vol. 3, p.966

(71) ibid.

"Un Français, un Anglais, un Espagnol, un Italien, un Russe, sont tous à peu près le même homme: il sort du collège déjà tout façonné pour la licence, c'est-à-dire pour la servitude."(72)

Rousseau thus showed how in a truly free country a national patriotic education would be possible, but that, in contrast to this, the education of citizens in a country such as eighteenth-century monarchical France would be impossible; that this, however, did not preclude educating individual children in special conditions to become good men whom it would later be possible to integrate into society, their natural goodness untouched and their awareness of their duties to their fellow men and country fully awakened.

The most important ideas of the Emile: the distinction between 'bonté' and 'vertu', between 'homme' and 'citoyen', seem to have been almost universally misunderstood: even a philosopher such as d'Alembert could see nothing in Emile but "une espèce de sauvage très instruit et très éclairé"(73) and considered that "on pourrait lui (Rousseau) faire le même reproche qu'il fait à la philosophie moderne, d'être plus habile à détruire qu'à édifier."(74)

Almost immediately after the publication of Emile criticisms and "amended" versions appeared. C de Leveson, for instance, offered a revised version of Emile, Emile chrétien, ou de

(72) *ibid.*

(73) D'Alembert, Lettre à Mlle. de Lespinasse, Correspondance complète de J.-J. Rousseau, ed. by R.A. Leigh, Geneva, 1965- , vol. XI, p.277

(74) *ibid.*

l'Education(1764), in which all the old terms such as 'former le coeur et l'esprit', and all the old ideas of the pre-eminence of christian morality and christian history reappear as if the author had not understood a word of Emile. It is true that a few more modern theories were also introduced, such as the need for a grounding in politics and jurisprudence, but these owed nothing to Rousseau, they were merely becoming more and more accepted in educational circles. Formey(75), Puget de Saint-Pierre(76), le père Griffet(77) and Chiniac de la Bastide(78) let loose a flow of invective, suggesting that Rousseau was only writing to gain himself the name of 'bel esprit'(79), that he exaggerated simply in order to be noticed(80), and tearing to shreds line by line the whole work(81). All missed entirely the point of the book: thus Chiniac de la Bastide continued to talk piously of teaching men to become "hommes et vrais citoyens", meaning by this that they were to "rendre aux Princes ce qu'on leur doit" in order to be of use to a society "qui ne peut se soutenir qu'autant que ceux qui la composent reconnaissent un frein qui les empêche de donner l'essor à leurs désirs criminels."(82) The brake on their "criminal desires" was, of course, religion and all those who tried to destroy religion - and de la Bastide

(75) Formey, J.H.S. Anti-Émile, Berlin, 1763.

(76) Puget de Saint-Pierre, Analyse des principes de M. J.J. Rousseau, The Hague, 1763.

(77) Griffet, le p. H. Lettre à M. D. sur le livre intitulé 'Emile', ou de l'éducation, Amsterdam and Paris, 1762

(78) Chiniac de la Bastide, J.-B. de, Le Miroir fidèle, ou entretiens d'Ariste et de Philindor. Cet ouvrage renferme des Réflexions politiques et morales, avec un plan abrégé d'éducation opposé aux principes du Citoyen de Genève, London and Paris, 1766.

(79) Chiniac de la Bastide, op. cit. Avant-propos.

(80) Griffet, op. cit. p.38.

(81) Formey, op. cit.

(82) Chiniac de la Bastide, op. cit. p.9.

implied Rousseau - were "ennemis de la patrie"(83). Griffet considered Rousseau "toujours outré, toujours excessif" and his work to be "chimérique"(84), but he was nevertheless disturbed by "les propositions énormes qu'il avance contre l'autorité des rois et contre la religion révélée"(85), and Formey similarly feared for the structure of French society as it then existed.

For him

"le vrai patriote est un homme éclairé, instruit de tous ses devoirs, et attentif à les pratiquer d'une manière exactement conforme à leur subordination....Un Français qui aime sa patrie, son Roi, sa ville, sa famille, et qui agit en conséquence, est un bon citoyen, meilleur peut-être que le Romain et le Spartiate, chez qui il y avait plus d'illusion et d'enthousiasme que de jugement et de réflexion."(86)

The idea of an opposition between man and citizen was incomprehensible to him. Puget de Saint-Pierre professed to be guided by "l'amour de ma patrie" just as much as Rousseau, but his ideas on educating a child for his country remained the old ones of education for the particular condition to which he had been born:

"Persuadé que le bonheur des petits dépend de la sagesse des grands, que les moeurs de ceux-là sont réglées par les moeurs de ceux-ci, jugez combien je m'estimerai heureux de le raffermir dans le goût de son état, et de préparer ainsi la félicité des provinces."(87)

(83) *ibid*

(84) Griffet, *op. cit.* p.38

(85) *ibid*, p.46

(86) Formey, *op. cit.* p.23-4

(87) Puget de Saint-Pierre, *op. cit.* p.68

But determined not to be outdone in patriotism he added:

"Il est une position égale à tous les hommes et elle m'importe essentiellement. C'est celle du Citoyen. Aussi le nom sacré de Patrie retentirait à tout instant dans ma bouche."(88)

This is mere lip-service and has no sense in the context of the previous statement, merely proving that Rousseau's ideas have once again been completely misunderstood.

The père Gerdil, though not afraid like Puget de Saint-Pierre that Rousseau would shake the foundations of christianity, did fear, nevertheless, that "il fera de mauvais Chrétiens et de mauvais Citoyens"(89). He understood Rousseau to mean that man was better off in nature than in society and that Emile was therefore to be brought up entirely for life in nature. He, too, evidently did not understand Rousseau's use of the words 'virtue' and 'citizen'.

The more reasoned tone of the Jesuit, père Berthier(90), did not hide the fact that he too feared for the continuation of the monarchy if Rousseau's ideas were taken seriously. The nation as he saw it must be led by a King who had its interests at heart and in return must render him total obedience.

More insidious than the virulent attacks of Formey and his ilk was the Instruction pastorale of le Franc de Pompignan, archbishop of Vienne. The archbishop seems to agree with all that

(88) *ibid*, p.68-9

(89) Gerdil, le p. G.B. Réflexions sur la théorie et la pratique de l'éducation, contre les principes de M. Rousseau. Geneva, 1764, p.4

(90) Berthier, le p. G.F. Observations sur le Contrat social de J.-J. Rousseau, Paris, 1789

is reasonable in Rousseau, correcting him where he goes astray, subtly leading his flocks back to the familiar paths of Christianity. Thus he agrees with Rousseau on the corruption of French society, where each man cares only for his interests and neglects all which transcends the individual; only to give a twist to the argument which is totally alien to Rousseau's line of thought: only in christianity will heroic selflessness, the sublime love of the public good, be found. This zeal to claim for christianity all the 'noble' sentiments of the eighteenth century pervades the whole Instruction. Both patriotism and love of humanity are, according to Le Franc, true representative of his class and doctrine, the teachings of the Bible. Man must love his fellow man, yet, says Le Franc, who has just rejected Rousseau's "Tout patriote est dur aux étrangers",

"La patrie, dont l'idée assez claire par elle-même ne peut que s'obscurcir par des explications, est l'objet le plus légitime de l'attachement des membres qui la composent... Rassemblée par des besoins communs, maintenue par les mêmes lois et le même gouvernement, source et appui de tous les biens dont un homme peut jouir dans l'état où la Providence l'a placé, elle a sur nous dans un degré supérieur, tous les droits de la famille à laquelle nous sommes liés par le sang."(91)

Thus Christianity is annexed to the support of the régime, as so often before:

"On sait que toutes les conditions, depuis le sceptre, jusqu'à la houlette, ont leurs devoirs tracés dans les livres saints; on sait aussi qu'ils fondent l'obéissance due aux ordres émanés d'une puissance légitime, non sur la crainte des châtements, mais sur le même titre qui engage les hommes à Dieu, c'est-à-dire sur le devoir de la conscience. Quelle plus belle leçon de patriotisme que d'ériger en

(91) Le Franc de Pompignan, J.-G. Instruction pastorale sur la prétendue philosophie des incrédules modernes, in Oeuvres complètes, Paris, 1855, vol. 1, p. 164

actes de religion les services rendus à la patrie? Mais la supériorité des maximes évangéliques sur celles d'une philosophie tout humaine, la nécessité de la religion pour former un parfait patriote, paraît surtout dans le sacrifice qu'exige le bien public."(92)

The idea that the true patriot submits to the established order becomes more explicit still:

"Est-ce que l'Évangile prêche la soumission à toute puissance légitimement établie, jusqu'à en faire un devoir de conscience...? Nous avouons cette doctrine."(93)

The compromising spirit of this speech, in which neither Montesquieu's love of humanity above all else, in the final analysis, nor Rousseau's firm fidelity to 'la patrie', emerges as superior, leaves only one clear impression: he who follows the teachings of the Church without question may have a clear conscience: he will necessarily be also a good patriot and a good subject.

One work did indeed appear, shortly after the publication of Emile, which gave proof of an understanding of the difference between natural man and social man. Beaurieu's Elève de la nature (1763) nevertheless showed an incomplete grasp of the basis of Emile; whereas Rousseau was at pains to integrate his natural man into existing society, Beaurieu's hero, Ariste, was brought up in total isolation from human contact so that his initiation into society became a perilous affair, a break as abrupt as that experienced by the medieval student on leaving his monastic school to enter 'le monde', a break, moreover, which could not be bridged: Ariste, unable to accept society without reform,

(92) *ibid*, pp.165-6

(93) *ibid*, pp.173-4

was compelled to return to his island, there to found a society based on laws acceptable to natural man. Ariste, deprived of human relationships throughout his childhood, has no moral training whatsoever, unlike Emile who in his relations with his tutor learnt at an early age the pre-social morality of natural man, the ability to feel pity, through an imaginative extension of self-love, for his fellow men.

Emile was thus, unlike Ariste, or, to take the other extreme, Crébillon's Meilcour, a moral being long before his travels to discover the meaning of 'patrie' and 'citoyen'. Like the children of Julie and Wolmar in La Nouvelle Héloïse his natural goodness and talents have been brought out by his education, which did no more than develop what was already in him. In La Nouvelle Héloïse Rousseau repeated the experience: Saint-Preux, partisan of the school of thought which believed in correcting and improving nature, is struck by the behaviour of Julie's and Wolmar's children. Julie explains that her husband believes that

"Tous les caractères sont bons et sains en eux-mêmes...il n'y a point...d'erreurs dans la nature. Tous les vices qu'on impute au naturel sont l'effet des mauvaises formes qu'il a reçues."(94)

To become a useful member of society the child thus educated has simply to learn to understand the moral relationships, the duties and obligations of man in society, and consequently too, since social man must be useful to his fellow citizens, his intellect must be developed as far as possible, for

"dans l'état civil où l'on a moins besoin de

(94) La Nouvelle Héloïse, Pléiade ed. vol.2 . p.563.

bras que de tête, et où chacun doit compte à soi-même et aux autres de tout son prix, il importe d'apprendre à tirer des hommes tout ce que la nature leur a donné, à les diriger du côté où ils peuvent aller le plus loin, et surtout à nourrir leurs inclinations de tout ce qui peut les rendre utiles."(95)

Nevertheless Julie and her family, like Emile, remain on the margin of society, prepared to fulfil their duties as members of society when called upon, but preferring to live in their own small society where the morality of social man is truly practised.

Whilst the psychological theory of Emile's education was studied with interest, the underlying implication, that this was the best that could be devised in a situation where the education of true citizens was impossible, was unacceptable. Despite the fact that Rousseau was at last drawing the logical conclusions from ideas which were on everyone's lips, his contemporaries, even his friends, misunderstood him, or at best only understood a fraction of his thesis: the central issue, that in a 'patrie' it was necessary to transform man's natural love of self, not into love of country through 'amour-propre', but into a fraction of the total common will of his people, remained incomprehensible. Six years after the publication of Emile Carracioli's definition of 'citoyen' shows just how little impact Emile and the ensuing discussion had on the thought of 'le beau monde', how little understood the concepts of 'citoyen' and 'patrie' remained:

(95) *ibid*, p. 567.

"On n'a jamais tant parlé de patriotisme et d'humanité, et si l'on en juge par les moeurs on ne fut peut-être jamais moins patriote. Le vrai citoyen est celui qui adore son Dieu, qui honore son Roi, qui respecte la Religion, qui aime l'Etat, qui n'en trouble jamais l'harmonie ni par des écrits irreligieux, ni par des discours téméraires..."(96)

whilst 'patriote' is a word

"qui se trouve dans la bouche de tout le monde, au bout de la plume de tous les écrivains du temps, et dans le coeur du plus petit nombre: tous ceux qui parlent ou qui écrivent contre la Religion ne sont ni citoyens, ni patriotes."(97)

(96) Carracioli, L. Dictionnaire critique, pittoresque et sentencieux, propre à faire connaître les usages du siècle, ainsi que ses bizarreries. Lyon, 1768, vol. 1

p.49
(97) *ibid*, vol. 2, p.209

Chapter Five

'National' education in the sixties: the crisis precipitated by the expulsion of the Jesuits (1758-68). Helvétius and the Parliamentarians - La Chalotais - Guyton de Morveau Rolland d'Erceville.

-o-o-o-o-o-

Until Rousseau writers on education had almost invariably been actively involved in teaching; they had consequently concentrated on the curriculum, on teaching methods and, since education was the domain of the clerics, on religion and religious morality. It was Montesquieu, the politician, who for the first time made it clear to the world that education belonged to the realm of politics, when he proved the dependence of a particular form of government on a particular form of education. Rousseau, the philosopher, upheld the idea that a government is dependent on the education given to the young, although, as has already been described, limiting constructive public education to one type of government, the republic. From the early 1760's onwards, that is to say after the publication of Emile, and under the impetus of the expulsion of the Jesuits and the sudden lacuna in the educational system, the more interesting and constructive writings were increasingly the work of politicians and philosophers.

One early forerunner of these must first be mentioned: this is Helvétius' De l'Esprit which had appeared four years prior to Emile in 1758. It was later to be followed by the posthumously published De l'Homme (1773), a bolder work which

- we may consider here also , as it was possibly circulated in manuscript form after its composition (about 1768) and the ideas in it were certainly discussed by Helvétius in the circle of his acquaintances (1).

Although Helvétius disagreed with Montesquieu on his theory of the 'principles' of the different forms of government, believing that all men are motivated by a longing for power and that virtue is only inspired in men by the lure of rewards and public esteem, nevertheless he was evidently well-versed in the theories of Montesquieu, and, consciously or not, indebted to him. Thus in De l'Esprit he defined clearly the link between education and the form of each type of government:

"L'art de former des hommes est, en tout pays, si étroitement lié à la forme du gouvernement, qu'il n'est peut-être pas possible de faire aucun changement considérable dans l'éducation publique, sans en faire dans la constitution même des états."(2)

Helvétius here refused to enter into details of a plan of reform which would be purely hypothetical(3). Despite the number of "gens éclairés" in the colleges

"qui connaissent également et les vices de l'éducation, et les remèdes qu'on y peut apporter..."(4),

the problems of reform in a monarchy were formidable; in a

- (1) v. Morellet's description of Helvétius' method of composition in J.-B. Séverac's Helvétius, choix de textes... (French philosophers. Les grands philosophes français et étrangers) Paris, 1909, pp.17-8
- (2) Helvétius, De l'Esprit, Paris, 1758, vol. 2, p.319
- (3) *ibid*, p.319: "L'on est à cet égard trop éloigné de toute idée de réforme, pour que j'entre dans des détails, toujours ennuyeux lorsqu'ils sont inutiles."
- (4) *ibid*, p.323

despotism, however, they became insurmountable:

"Quelques grands cependant que soient les obstacles qui, dans ces pays, s'opposent à la réforme de l'éducation publique, dans les états monarchiques, tels que la plupart des états de l'Europe, ces obstacles ne sont pas insurmontables: mais ils le deviennent dans les gouvernements absolument despotiques, tels que les gouvernements orientaux."(5)

This is why the preface of De l'Homme sounded the death knell for French education, for Helvétius wrote:

"Ma patrie a reçu enfin le joug du despotisme."(6)

The aim of education was

"de rendre les citoyens plus forts, plus éclairés, plus vertueux et enfin plus propres à contribuer au bonheur de la société dans laquelle ils vivent."(7)

In France there would now be no need for these qualities: knowledge, ideas, the search for a common happiness would all be lost:

"Les citoyens insensibles à la gloire, sont par la forme de leur gouvernement invinciblement entraînés vers l'ignorance et l'abrutissement. Alors les esprits sont la terre endurcie; l'eau de la vérité y tombe, y coule, mais sans la féconder. Tel est l'état de la France."(8)

All sense of national pride was lost when such a state of affairs arose, for it was only a nation united by a common aim, a common striving for glory through 'virtuous acts which could achieve a sense of national identity, a common happiness:

"Ce n'est plus sous le nom de Français que ce peuple pourra de nouveau se rendre célèbre: cette nation avilie est aujourd'hui le mépris

(5) ibid, p.325

(6) De l'Homme, de ses facultés intellectuelles et de son éducation, London, 1773, vol. 1, p.vi

(7) De l'Esprit, vol. 2, p.325.

(8) De l'Homme, vol. 1, p.vii

de l'Europe."(9)

It was in small, poor republics that education had the greatest influence, Helvétius maintained, for it was there that it was easiest to link the particular to the general interest by teaching virtues useful to society which society would reward. In De l'Esprit, Discours 3, chapter 23,

"On prouve ...que la production des grands hommes est, dans tout pays, l'effet nécessaire des récompenses qu'on y désigne aux grands talents et aux grandes vertus; et que les talents et les vertus ne sont, nulle part, aussi récompensés que dans les républiques pauvres et guerrières."(10)

It was obviously no new discovery that the ancient Greek states owed their conservation to the education they gave to their young:

"Sparte ne devait sa conservation qu'aux grands hommes qui naissaient successivement pour la défendre. Aussi, toujours occupé du soin d'en former des nouveaux, c'était sur l'éducation publique que devait se porter la principale attention du gouvernement."(11)

What was new in Helvétius, on the other hand, was the emphasis on the opposite case: the large state which did not need to depend on great men for its survival:

"Dans les grands empires, on sent rarement le besoin pressant d'un grand homme: les grands états se soutiennent par leur propre masse."(12)

The inevitable conclusion was that education was not necessary there; on the other hand Helvétius initiated a far more

(9) *ibid*, p.vi

(10) *De l'Esprit*, vol. 2

(11) *ibid*, vol. 2, p.323

(12) *ibid*.

scrupulous examination of the concepts of 'patriotic virtue' and 'bonté'. He called, in fact, for a more exact definition of key words, such as 'bon', 'intérêt' and 'vertu', emphasising that it was the ambiguity of these words which led to different views in morals, politics and metaphysics. It was the fault of the unsound education prevailing in France that the word 'bon' had never been logically considered in connection with morals and human actions. Actions were 'virtuous' in conformity with Christian ethics, but not 'good' in a purely human, terrestrial way.

"cette expression doit nécessairement renfermer l'idée de quelque utilité publique et... pour convenir en ce genre de ce qui est bon, il faut être précédemment convenu de ce qui est utile. Or, la plupart des hommes ignorent que l'avantage général soit la mesure de la bonté des actions humaines."(13)

This was a very different concept from Rousseau's, coinciding rather with the latter's idea of virtue, but it was a definite attempt to define a vague and indecisive expression. 'Virtue', similarly, was a word subject to numerous interpretations, according to the different countries, conditions, societies and times to which it was applied. In particular the Christian idea of virtue, with its emphasis on humility and the striving for the ultimate 'patrie' of Heaven, rather than any terrestrial 'patrie' was misleading, for without further analysis it was proposed as the aim for all good French citizens, regardless of the fact that such virtue was in reality unconnected with the working of the state. This vague Christian virtue

(13) De l'Homme, vol. 1, p.152

was used with increasing frequency in connection with 'la patrie'. Even the Encyclopédie succumbed to emotionalism:

"Lecteur, qui que tu sois, si tu a jamais goûté les attraits de la vertu, rentre un instant dans toi-même, sa définition est dans ton coeur."(14)

Virtue, in fact, for Helvétius, as for Rousseau, was only possible in society, only possible where men were grouped together with duties towards each other, and governed by ideas of justice and equity. Like 'good' actions the measure of 'virtuous' actions was utility. Only those actions which were "utiles au public et conformes à l'intérêt général"(15) deserved the title of virtuous. The ultimate ideal of virtue in this sense remained the perfect Greek or Roman citizen.

Education, Helvétius said, should not be left to chance. Expressions should be clearly defined so that the aims of education could be properly understood, and so that a system of education could be organised on a national basis by the government in accordance with these aims; but since the aim of education was to produce virtuous citizens, strong to defend their country, enlightened on its government and their role in it, and eager to contribute to the common good and happiness, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that it was only in small states, probably republics, that education was likely to make sense, and indeed Helvétius suggested that there was only one solution for too large empires:

"Dans de trop vastes empires, il n'est peut-être qu'un moyen de résoudre d'une manière durable le double problème d'une excellente législation et d'une parfaite éducation. C'est...de subdiviser ces mêmes empires en

(14) Encyclopédie, article Vertu, 1765, vol. 17, P.176.

(15) De l'Esprit, vol. 1, p.163

un certain nombre de républiques fédératives que leur petitesse défende de l'ambition de leurs concitoyens, et leur confédération de l'ambition des peuples voisins."(16)

Certainly in the great Catholic kingdoms of Europe there was little point in education:

"En vain essayerait-on de nombrir les différentes idées, qu'ont eu (sic) de la vertu les peuples, et les particuliers. Ce qu'on sait, c'est que le Catholique qui se sent plus de vénération pour le fondateur d'un ordre de fainéants, que pour un Minos, un Mercure, un Lycurque etc., n'a sûrement pas d'idées justes de la vertu. Or tant qu'on n'en attachera pas de nettes à ce mot, il faut selon le hasard de son éducation que tout homme s'en forme des idées différentes."(17)

The aims of the Church were in opposition to those of the State, those of the latter being terrestrial:

"Le Prince n'est vraiment fort que de la force de sa nation. Qu'elle cesse d'être respectée, le Prince cesse d'être puissant. Il désire et doit désirer que ses sujets soient braves, industriels, éclairés et vertueux."(18)

The aim of the Church, on the other hand, was to subject the minds of the people and demand a loyalty which was not national, but sectarian:

"Qu'est-ce que le sacerdoce exige d'une nation? Une soumission aveugle, une crédulité sans bornes et une crainte puérile et panique. Que cette nation d'ailleurs se rende célèbre par ses talents ou ses vertus patriotiques, c'est ce dont le clergé s'occupe peu."(19)

Helvétius therefore, as earlier writers, condemned the dualism of French education:

(16) De l'Homme, vol. 2, p.373

(17) ibid, vol.1, pp.165-6

(18) ibid, vol.1, pp.32-3

(19) ibid, vol.1, p.33

"En Europe, et surtout dans les pays Catholiques, si tous les préceptes de l'éducation sont contradictoires, c'est que l'instruction publique y est confiée à deux puissances, dont les intérêts sont opposés, et dont les préceptes en conséquence doivent être contraires et différents."(20)

It was thus totally impracticable to entrust the instruction of young citizens to the clergy. Education was equally impossible under a despotism because it suffered from a similar duality in the maxims taught. Thus, as Helvétius wrote in De l'Esprit,

"Voilà la source de la contradiction qui se trouve entre les préceptes moraux, que, même dans les pays soumis au despotisme, l'on est forcé par l'usage de donner à ses enfants, et la conduite qu'on leur prescrit. Un père leur dit en général et en maxime: Soyez vertueux, Mais il leur dit en détail et sans le savoir: 'N'ajoutez nulle foi à ces maximes, soyez un coquin timide et prudent; et n'ayez d'honnêteté, comme le dit Molière, que ce qu'il en faut pour n'être pas pendu.' Or dans un pareil gouvernement, comment perfectionnerait-on cette partie même de l'éducation, qui consiste à rendre les hommes plus fortement vertueux? Il n'est point de père qui sans tomber en contradiction avec lui-même, pût répondre aux arguments pressants qu'un fils vertueux pourrait lui faire à ce sujet."(21)

One is reminded of Rousseau's conversation with Mme. d'Epinau and of the Égarements du cœur et de l'esprit.(22) where the same double standard is pinpointed, or of Prévost's young Marquis, warned by a friend that the falsity of Court life may one day lead him to reject the good advice he had always given him,

"dont le but a toujours été de vous inspirer

(20) *ibid*, vol. 32

(21) De l'Esprit, vol. 2, pp.326-7

(22) see chapter 4, p.p. 142-3, and chap. 2, p.71.

de l'amour pour la vérité, de l'horreur pour le moindre artifice, et ce goût antique d'honneur et de vertu, que ni les espérances, ni les craintes n'altèrent jamais. Ces grandes qualités de l'âme, qui faisaient autrefois l'honnête homme et le héros, on en fait aujourd'hui des vertus de roman... Pourquoi aurait-on plus de droiture, plus de fidélité, plus de désintéressement que ceux avec qui l'on vit? On serait donc exposé continuellement à être leur dupe!"(23)

In the ideal state, believed Helvétius, the government should fulfil the duty of educating the young.

"Il est temps que sous le titre de saints ministres de la morale, les magistrats la fondent sur des principes simples, clairs, conformes à l'intérêt général et dont tous les citoyens puissent se former des idées également justes et précises."(24)

They should replace spiritual religion by "la religion de la renommée"(25), cultivating the passions which lead to patriotic virtue, contrary to the Church, which sought to stifle all passions, and the despotism, where the despot's interests conflicted with those of his subjects.

The instruction given to the young citizen was evidently of great importance; it was not only a matter of cultivating certain civic qualities, though these were vital, for without them there could be no good citizens:

"Il est peu de bons patriotes, peu de citoyens toujours équitables: pourquoi? c'est qu'on

(23) Prévost d'Exiles, A.F. Mémoires et aventures d'un homme de qualité qui s'est retiré du monde. ed. by Mysie Robertson, Paris, 1927, (1st published 1756) pp.70-71.

(24) De l'Homme, vol.1, p.43

(25) ibid, vol.1, p.60

n'élève point les hommes pour être justes; c'est que la morale actuelle...n'est qu'un tissu d'erreurs et de contradictions grossières: c'est que pour être juste il faudrait être éclairé et qu'on obscurcit dans l'enfant jusqu'aux notions les plus claires de la loi naturelle."(26)

A well educated child would see at once that the prime axiom of contemporary morality: "Ne fais pas à autrui ce que tu ne voudrais pas qui te fût fait", was only of secondary, domestic importance, and that the only true measure of virtue was "le bien publique, la suprême loi"(27). It was vital, therefore, to give a real knowledge both of the laws of the country and of the particular work a child was destined to perform in and for society. It was useless to spend years on Greek and Latin in order that pupils might read in the original what they could read in translation in a mere two or three months. Instead education must genuinely fit a child for his role as a citizen:

"Non que j'adopte les maximes trop austères de ceux qui croient qu'un jeune homme doit se borner uniquement aux études convenables à son état. L'éducation d'un jeune homme doit se mêler aux différents partis qu'il peut prendre: le génie veut être libre. Il est même des connaissances que tout citoyen doit avoir: telle est la connaissance et des principes de la morale, et des lois de son pays. Tout ce que je demanderais, c'est qu'on chargeât principalement la mémoire d'un jeune homme des idées et des objets relatifs au parti qu'il doit vraisemblablement embrasser."(28)

If one could not hope to create a nation of geniuses, one

(26) *ibid*, vol. 2, p.349

(27) *ibid*, vol. 2, p.358

(28) De l'Esprit, vol. 2, p.322

could nevertheless eliminate to a great extent the effects of chance, by developing the qualities and knowledge likely to be of use, thus creating a happy society:

"On ne doit pas s'attendre, à quelque degré de perfection qu'on porte la science de l'éducation, qu'elle forme jamais des gens de génie de tous les habitants d'un empire. Ce qu'elle peut, c'est de les y multiplier; c'est de faire du plus grand nombre des citoyens des hommes de sens et d'esprit... Un peuple où l'éducation publique donnerait du génie à un certain nombre de citoyens et du sens à presque tous, serait sans contredit le premier peuple de l'Univers."(29)

It is noteworthy that Helvétius, unlike so many of his philosopher contemporaries, did not consider limiting education to a certain section of society. This followed logically from his belief that all men were educable and potentially useful to the state; in order to be of service, however, a citizen should not receive more than a basic civic training before being directed more specifically into vocational training for the work he would later perform for society.

Clearly an education with the above aims could only be provided under a government which subscribed to these aims and instituted laws to establish such an education:

"L'expérience prouve que la probité de l'homme est l'oeuvre de son éducation; que le peuple est ce que le fait la sagesse des lois;"(30)
 "Une mauvaise forme de gouvernement est celle où les intérêts des citoyens sont divisés et

(29) De l'Homme, vol. 1, pp.221-2

(30) Ibid, p.361

contraires, où la loi ne les force point également de concourir au bien général."(31)
 "en tout gouvernement despotique et...en tout pays où la vertu est odieuse au Puissant, il est également inutile et fou de prétendre à la formation de citoyens honnêtes."(32)

Reform of education therefore implied for Helvétius and Rousseau a reform of the government and laws of the country: chapter X, section 10 is entitled:

"Toute réforme dans la partie morale de l'éducation en suppose une dans les lois et la forme du gouvernement."(33)

The moment for this might not arise for a long time, but the right situation would be recognisable,

"lorsqu'un peuple éprouve de grands malheurs, de grandes calamités et qu'un concours heureux et singulier de circonstances fait sentir au Prince la nécessité d'une réforme."(34)

In the meantime one could plan, but without hope of acceptance, awaiting the right moment. It was indeed an evident reference to the contemporary situation in France.

On the question of the respective advantages of private and public education Helvétius, as might be expected, believed wholeheartedly in the latter, not only because of the disciplinary advantages such as emulation and strict rules, so often quoted in support of public education, but also as the only education which could teach on a national basis a feeling of participation in the 'patrie'.

"(l'instruction publique) est la seule dont on puisse attendre des patriotes. Elle seule

- (31) *ibid*, p.363
 (32) *ibid*, p.367
 (33) *ibid*, vol. 2
 (34) *ibid*, p.368

peut lier fortement dans la mémoire des citoyens l'idée du bonheur personnel à celle du bonheur national."(35)

Helvétius thus proved certain precepts to be philosophical necessities in a republican education: convinced that all people were educable, he concluded that education only made sense in a small state where the private interest could be meaningfully linked with the public, and that the only possible education would be a national, secular one, teaching a single morality and with an identical purpose throughout the state.

The realisation was growing that, as Helvétius and Rousseau had already suggested, the aim and scope of education was really the realm of the statesman. As Grimm wrote of de la Fare's Le Gouverneur, ou Essai sur l'éducation(1768):

"M. D. L. F. ne sait pas qu'il faut être homme d'État quand on veut écrire sur l'éducation; que le législateur seul est le véritable gouverneur des enfants de son pays; qu'il faut commencer par avoir une excellente législation avant de pouvoir se flatter d'établir une bonne éducation; que les hommes ne s'élèvent que par des hommes et non par des gouverneurs à gages, par le grand air du pays qu'ils respirent et non par celui de la classe où ils sont renfermés, c'est-à-dire par l'esprit public qui règne dans leur patrie, et non par les adages du pédant qui les garde..."(36);

and this despite the fact that de la Fare was conscious that education was inextricably bound up with society:

"si la pratique des vertus sociales n'a de

(35) *ibid*, p.341

(36) Grimm, *op. cit.* vol. 8, p.111 (June 1768)

mérite et d'effet qu'en raison des rapports que nous avons les uns avec les autres, il faut convenir que l'homme isolé, libre et sans d'autres désirs que ceux de satisfaire les besoins naturels, doit être aussi insensible à la privation des idées, qu'il est indifférent à la succession mutuelle des jours et des nuits;"(37)

It is interesting to contrast this very positive statement of Grimm's, made, it is true, at a date when new lines of thought were emerging as a result of the enquiries and 'comptes rendus' drawn up at the closure of the Jesuit schools, with an earlier entry in 1755, where Grimm commented on the education of princes. Whilst criticising

"l'immensité de nos états, la multiplicité et la confusion de nos lois, la lenteur et l'incertitude de notre justice, l'impunité du crime adroit et clandestin, et la faveur du pouvoir injuste"(38),

Grimm, at this point, saw the only remedy in the education of the prince. A public education teaching civic virtue and the particular patriotic prejudices necessary for the survival of the state might earlier have made it possible to avoid such cumbersome machinery but now the selfishness engendered in the great European monarchies rendered unthinkable the mutual service and love of 'patrie' characteristic of citizens of the ancient republics(39). Private education became, therefore the only possible education under such a government. The fact that the size of eighteenth century monarchies impeded civic education was already increasingly being recognised

(37) De La Fare, Le Gouverneur, ou essai sur l'éducation, London, 1768, p.5

(38) Grimm, op. cit. vol. 3, p.123, (Nov. 1755)

(39) cf, pp.132-3

amongst thinkers, but from this awareness to the belief that education should be public and organised by statesmen, some shock to the educational system was necessary.

The year 1762 saw both the publication of Émile and the end of the Jesuit schools by order of the various Parlements. According to Grimm educational writings became a mania, but

"Le petit essai de M. de La Chalotais,... qui a paru l'année dernière, est le seul écrit sur cette matière qui mérite d'être conservé."(40)

for it was

"le seul ouvrage digne d'un magistrat et d'un homme d'état que nous ayons vu depuis nombre d'années."(41)

Only a philosopher and a statesman could have the breadth of view to understand that the pedantry of the schools, uniform throughout Europe, should be attacked, and social virtues taught instead of christian ones: justice, humanity, 'générosité' and 'bienfaisance' instead of humility, faith, hope and charity, for

"Ce qu'il y a de sûr, c'est qu'un bon chrétien doit méconnaître son père et sa mère, et qu'un homme qui a ces vertus sublimes fait ordinairement un fort mauvais citoyen."(42)

The Mémoire of the University of Paris was, therefore, at this moment of hope, a most disappointing document:

"Il eût été digne d'un siècle éclairé(car c'est l'épithète que nous aimons à donner au nôtre), de saisir le moment de cette révolution étonnante qui ôte aux Jésuites l'éducation de la jeunesse en France, pour tracer un plan plus sage, plus raisonné,

(40) Grimm, op. cit. vol. 6, p.58 (Aug. 1764)

(41) ibid, vol. 5, p.391 (Sep. 1763)

(42) ibid, vol. 5, p.261 (April 1763)

moins gothique que celui suivant lequel nous disposons des quinze ou dix-huit premières années de nos enfants. Tout le monde se plaint de l'insuffisance et des abus de l'éducation des collèges. Tout ce qu'on en peut dire de moins outré, c'est que les enfants en sortent complètement ineptes à tous les états de la société, à moins que vous ne comptiez parmi les professions celle d'un faiseur d'arguments ... Mais ce qu'on ne saurait dissimuler, c'est que les jeunes gens sortent des collèges sans savoir ce latin avec lequel on les a occupés plusieurs années de suite; ... Le Mémoire de l'Université n'indique aucun remède contre ces maux. Il s'étend beaucoup sur l'inconvénient de confier la jeunesse à des moines. Mais qu'importe de qui vos enfants apprennent à être absurdes; que ce soit des jésuites ou des prêtres séculiers, cela est assez indifférent."(43)

If men were obliged to be governed by prejudice, as it seemed they were, pure reason being beyond them, then it should be by the prejudices of 'amour de la patrie', of 'honour' and of 'heroism', instead of by superstition and fanaticism.(44)

Yet when one looks at the Mémoire itself one is struck by the use of the increasingly patriotic terminology. In speaking of education Combalusier links the fate of the country to the education of its young - a common enough idea, as we know, but nevertheless one whose actual importance for contemporary France was growing - and speaks of educating the young for their roles in society:

"Chaque individu, dès qu'il jouit de la lumière, fait partie du grand corps politique de l'État; il doit un jour en procurer ou

(43) *ibid*, vol. 5, pp.79-80 (May 1762)

(44) *ibid*, vol. 5, p.110 (July 1762)

favoriser les avantages; il est tenu surtout de n'en jamais troubler la tranquillité, l'ordre et l'harmonie. Il possède dès sa naissance un fonds qui peut être heureusement tourné vers l'utilité commune; mais ce fonds brut et informe, pour fructifier ainsi a besoin d'être défriché, nourri et soigné par des mains prudentes et habiles. Le défaut ou les vices de l'institution étouffent bien souvent les germes les plus précieux des talents et des vertus... La nation où les enfants auraient reçu la meilleure éducation possible, serait sans doute la plus formidable, la plus florissante et la plus heureuse; parce que tous les devoirs y seraient remplis avec intelligence et exactitude, tout y serait Citoyen, tout y serait dirigé au service de l'État."(45)

Similarly the argument that the children belong to the state is borrowed from the Ancients and leads to the conclusion that the state must therefore pay for and control education, so as to teach children social interdependence and social virtues from the very beginning of their lives. It is not only the children of the wealthy who are to be educated, but, on the contrary, a plan should be drawn up

"pour élever toute la jeunesse d'une nation, une institution commune également convenable à toutes les classes de citoyens, un enseignement préliminaire qui développe, manifeste et perfectionne toutes les dispositions naturelles pour les différentes fonctions dont le concours importe au bonheur et à la gloire d'un Etat."(46)

The teachers should be true "membres de l'État", with loyalties only to the state, thus excluding in almost all cases priests and monks, for

"Il n'a point l'esprit de sa patrie, il a celui de sa communauté."(47)

(45) Combalusier, F. de P. Mémoire de l'Université sur les moyens de pourvoir à l'instruction de la jeunesse et de la perfectionner. Paris, n.d. pp.2-4

(46) *ibid*, p.9

(47) *ibid*, p.12

It was therefore in their interest to educate particularly promising pupils for the Church and not for the State.

All these proposals would appear progressive, but unfortunately they are only proposals, with no concrete plan of reform behind them. On the contrary, the second third of the Mémoire is devoted to proving how apt the University is to fulfil just this function, for it is

"un corps considérable, uniquement composé de nos vrais concitoyens, établi de temps immémorial, et solennellement autorisé par les lois de l'Etat à cultiver les lettres et les sciences,...Les lois générales du Royaume, et les lois particulières portées par des statuts composés sous les yeux du gouvernement, et revêtus de l'autorité publique, sont leurs (i.e. the colleges') seules règles...Dans cette première école publique tout tend à la religion, aux moeurs, à la science, et au bien général de la patrie."(48)

So it seems that the only reform necessary is an extension of the powers of the University. Such complacency is typical of many 'reformers', but what is particularly noteworthy is that it follows the expression of a number of most 'patriotic' sentiments, showing how accepted these have become, sentiments and hopes which, when used by true reformers, will indicate the necessity for a radical change in the social system.

La Chalotais did, in fact, see the need for a complete reversal of the educational system, whilst attempting to plan realistically for the political realities of contemporary France. The expulsion of the Jesuits had left a large gap in the educational system; the change was good, for

(48) *ibid*, pp.21, 23-4

"Comment a-t-on pu penser que des hommes qui ne tiennent point à l'Etat, qui sont accoutumés à mettre un Religieux au-dessus des Chefs de l'Etat, leur Ordre au-dessus de la Patrie, leur Institut et des Constitutions au-dessus des Lois, seraient capables d'élever et d'instruire la jeunesse d'un Royaume"(49)

The education the Jesuits had offered had been contrary to the laws of the country:

"l'enseignement de la nation entière, cette portion de la législation qui est la base et le fondement des états, était resté sous la direction immédiate d'un régime ultramontain, nécessairement ennemi de nos lois. Quelle inconséquence et quel scandale!"(50)

It was therefore wrong and would have to be entirely reversed, for

"l'éducation devant préparer des citoyens à l'état, il est évident qu'elle doit être relative à sa constitution et à ses lois; elle serait foncièrement mauvaise si elle y était contraire..."(51)

Thus a political explanation is given, suggesting that a political solution is necessary, and, indeed, as La Chalotais opens his Réflexions préliminaires,

"C'est peu de détruire, si on ne songe à édifier. Nous avons une éducation qui n'était propre tout au plus qu'à former des sujets pour l'école. Le bien public, l'honneur de la nation, demandent qu'on y substitue une éducation civile qui prépare chaque génération naissante à remplir avec succès les différentes professions de l'Etat."(52)

(49) La Chalotais, Essai d'éducation nationale ou Plan d'études pour la jeunesse, 1763, p.13

(50) *ibid.*

(51) *ibid.*, pp.12-13

(52) *ibid.*, pp.1-2

Again one notices the use of a number of 'patriotic' terms: 'la nation', 'le bien public' and, most important of all, 'une éducation civile', but words here are not empty formulae; they have for La Chalotais a very real meaning. France is a nation, belonging to its citizens and with the right to educate them in its aims for the well-being of the society, and therefore:

"Je prétends revendiquer pour la nation une éducation qui ne dépende que de l'Etat; parce qu'elle lui appartient essentiellement; parce que toute nation a un droit inaliénable et imprescriptible d'instruire ses membres; parce qu'enfin les enfants de l'Etat doivent être élevés par des membres de l'Etat."(53)

Such a point of view did not automatically exclude all priests from teaching, but only those whose loyalties did not lie first and foremost with the state. The Oratorians, with whom La Chalotais himself was connected, were "dégagés des préjugés de l'Ecole et du Cloître"(54), 'citizens' and therefore worthy to be teachers, but on the other hand La Chalotais felt most strongly that it was wrong to exclude the married layman from positions which were in fact "purement civiles".

He saw two major evils in the contemporary education: scholasticism, unrelated to the role men would play in society, and a total lack of instruction in political and moral virtues. Ignorance had always led to corruption and vice:

"Les siècles les plus grossiers et les plus ignorants ont toujours été les plus vicieux

(53) *ibid*, p.17

(54) *ibid*.

et les plus corrompus. Laissez l'homme sans culture, ignorant, et par conséquent insensible sur ses devoirs, il deviendra timide, superstitieux, peut-être cruel. Si on ne lui enseigne pas le bien, il se préoccupera nécessairement du mal."(54a)

Clearly La Chalotais was unaffected by Rousseau's praise of ignorance and innocence in his first Discours. Like Rollin he saw the salvation of the nation in the spreading of every type of knowledge.

"On doit regarder les lettres dans un Etat, comme la source et l'appui des vertus humaines et civiles. Malheur aux nations chez qui l'amour des lettres viendrait à s'éteindre."(55)

Nevertheless intellectual training was not the sole aim of education; it had a wider and vital duty: to teach

"en quoi consistent les devoirs communs à tous les hommes."(56)

The only moral training the eighteenth century child received was in displaying a mask of virtue:

"des pratiques pour tenir lieu de vertu, et qui n'en sont que l'ombre."(57)

It was now essential to link education with the 'moeurs' of France, as that of the Ancients had been united with the nature of the state. In order to do this the basic details of its organisation must be taught:

"On a négligé ce qui regarde les affaires les plus communes et les plus ordinaires, ce qui fait l'entretien de la vie, le fondement de la société civile. La plupart des jeunes-gens ne connaissent ni ce monde qu'ils habitent, ni la terre qui les nourrit, ni les hommes qui fournissent

(54 a) *ibid*, p.3

(55) *ibid*, p.10

(56) *ibid*, p.20

(57) *ibid*, pp.20-1

à leurs besoins, ni les animaux qui les servent, ni les ouvriers et les artisans qui les employent; ils n'ont même là-dessus aucun principe de connaissance."(58)

This limited vision of society must at last be enlarged and a new general instruction, as recommended twelve years previously by Duclos in his Considérations, should become the basis of education for all classes, followed by further training in the particular profession or skill for which the child was destined. Overeducation of the common people was a danger which must be avoided, for it could lead to dissatisfaction which would quickly mean economic disaster for France (59). It would therefore be advisable to have few but good colleges for those who were to be professionally trained (inevitably the well-to-do), whilst offering the peasants a basic instruction in reading, writing, arithmetic and the catechism and teaching them "l'amour de la patrie et du bien public"(60) for,

"En un mot le bien de l'Etat demande que chacun s'attache à sa profession."(61)

and

"C'est au Gouvernement à rendre chaque citoyen assez heureux dans son état, pourqu'il ne soit pas forcé d'en sortir."(62)

In other words the government must educate in accordance

(58) *ibid*, p.21

(59) cf. Montesquieu, Mes Pensées, Pléiade ed. vol.1, p.1420-1: "Un des plus grands abus qui soit dans le Royaume est l'établissement des demi-collèges, qui sont dans les petites villes, où les artisans envoient aussi tous leurs enfants pour leur apprendre quelques mots de Latin. Bien loin que ceci soit favorable aux sciences, cela entretient l'ignorance: car, autant qu'il est utile qu'il y ait de bonnes académies dans les principales villes, où une certaine jeunesse soit instruite aux belles-lettres, autant est-il dangereux de souffrir dans de petites villes des demi-collèges, qui éloignent les artisans et petits négociants de leur état, sans les mettre en chemin d'en remplir bien un autre."

(60) La Chalotais, *op. cit.* p.32 (61) *ibid*, p.29

(62) *ibid*, p.31

with the needs of the nation, without taking away the liberty of the citizens, but simply by offering certain facilities, encouraging industry and ensuring that the right sort of text books were made available (63). To this end it was better to offer histories of modern times and particularly those of ones own country, for these were the most useful, being more immediately relevant to the morals, customs and way of life of the country. Teachers would find a number of writers helpful on general theory of education: Locke, the abbé Gedoyn, Fénelon, and particularly Montaigne, whom La Chalotais considered not nearly sufficiently appreciated, despite the fact that his Institution des enfants was so well known. For useful reading matter on moral and political virtue he recommended Fleury again, Xenophon (The Cyropaedia), Plutarch, the abbé de Saint-Pierre, Nicole, Locke and the abbé Terrasson (Séthos). It is significant that the majority of these writers were French.

The whole of La Chalotais' Essai is remarkable for the reasonable tone in which it is written. Condemning only the Jesuit form of education for its excessive pedantry and its devotion to an outside power, La Chalotais writes with enthusiasm but no fanaticism, his argument is logical and his proposals feasible in the contemporary setting without a major disruption of society, at least in theory. He is obliged, therefore, to accept a strict limitation of the

(63) The abbé de Saint-Pierre had anticipated thirty years earlier the need for good, government-sponsored text books. v. Oeuvres diverses, Paris, 1730, 2 vols. vol.1 p. 140, Projet pour perfectionner l'éducation.

degree of learning offered to different sections of society, and fails to grasp what the more revolutionary Rousseau and Helvétius understood: that in a society based on honour and subordination, principles like 'civic virtue' and 'citizenship' have only a very superficial meaning, since the lure of power and money is bound to be much stronger than the abstract and theoretical attraction of love of one's country from pure virtue; and that a civic spirit, and therefore civic virtue, were only likely to flourish in small states.

We see in La Chalotais's Essai for the first time a genuine attempt to set out a plan of civic education for the existing French monarchy. He tries to infuse into the Parliament's rather stilted aim of an education which

"puisse procurer à l'état des chrétiens, et des citoyens capables de remplir, dans le respect et la soumission qu'ils doivent au roi, aux lois de l'église et de l'état, et aux maximes du royaume, les différents emplois auxquels ils doivent être appelés,"(64)

something of the new striving for a patriotic virtuous love of France which is in the air. But his attempt is doomed to, at best, only partial success, firstly because the civic spirit could not truly flourish under the monarchy, and secondly because La Chalotais, like Diderot, Voltaire, Grimm and the physiocrats, while speaking of the natural equality of man, nevertheless believed that for the good of the state, different educations should be available for different children, not

(64) Arrêt du Parlement de Paris, 3rd Sep. 1762. Quoted by Crévier in his Difficultés proposées à M. de Caradeuc de La Chalotais... p.4.

on the basis of ability, but of class, though he excepted from these barriers the most gifted of the peasants, an exception which does not in itself restore the balance.

Voltaire congratulated him in a letter:

"Je vous remercie de proscrire l'étude chez les laboureurs. Moi qui cultive la terre, je vous présente requête pour avoir des manoeuvres, et non des clercs tonsurés."(65)

The plan is a noticeable advance, nevertheless, on d'Alembert's Encyclopédie article, Collège, which is concerned with the shortcomings of the colleges, the discipline, the pedantry and the corruption of morals, and fails to explore the broader issue of a public, state directed system of education, training citizens for the public good of the state. Rejecting the example of the Ancients on the principle that in an age of reason it was reason and not authority which should prevail, d'Alembert's theory of reform was based specifically on the needs of contemporary France. However, as he did not dare - or wish - to demand a major change in the social system, his criticism centred on the curriculum and method of teaching, rather than on the basic aims and structure, or lack of structure, of the entire educational system. Aware, like most other thinkers by this time, that education was a national affair and therefore, ideally, the responsibility of the government, he nevertheless stopped short of suggestions for the reform of public education, con-

(65) Voltaire, Correspondance, ed. Besterman, Geneva, 1953-1965 vol. 51, p.204 (28th Feb. 1763)

cluding that in present circumstances private education was better than public. Public education was relegated to the poorer, but still moneyed, classes, (66) and as for the poorest in the land, since d'Alembert was against free education -

"et je suis assuré d'avoir ici pour moi tous les professeurs les plus éclairés et les plus célèbres." (67)-

one must assume that they would have to do without any education.

Crévier, former pupil of Rollin, who after the latter's death completed his interrupted Histoire des Anciens, replied to La Chalotais's Essai with his Difficultés proposées à M. de Caradeuc de la Chalotais... He, as might be expected of one well-versed in the classics, was conscious that La Chalotais was writing as a public man in the interests of his his country:

"Le magistrat public est spécialement l'homme de la patrie," (68)

and full of praise for much of what La Chalotais suggested.

"J'y ai admiré ces sentiments qui caractérisent le grand génie et le grand magistrat." (68 a)

He had, however, one serious objection to La Chalotais's plan: the fact that the latter proposed to restrict education, as opposed to basic instruction, to the well-to-do, so as to avoid creating a class of literate malcontents no longer

(66) Collège, p.637: "...ne devrait être la ressource que des enfants dont les parents ne sont malheureusement pas en état de fournir à la dépense d'une éducation domestique."

(67) ibid, p.637

(68) Crévier, Difficultés... p.2

(68a) ibid, p.3

willing to work the land. There is an interesting reversal in roles here: Crévier, the more old-fashioned thinker, whose aim is to "former l'homme, le chrétien, le citoyen"(69), has more progressive views on the subject than La Chalotais, although the latter, in fact, has a far clearer idea of the concepts of 'patrie' and 'citoyen'. Crévier's notions of these terms are clearly those in current acceptance, that is to say a general desire for a state where all the subjects love their God and king, between which earthly and celestial allegiances there is no discrepancy. La Chalotais's thinking has a more philosophical basis which compels him to see that genuine education would be bound to upset the whole social order and that love of country on the part of the peasants could, in present circumstances, come only from ignorance. We have thus on the one hand a clear political awareness and on the other an awareness of the rights of every man to be educated, regardless of the society in which he lives. Only with the Revolution would it become possible to unite these views.

Whilst La Chalotais was at that time the only statesman actually provoked to write a dissertation on education by the problems raised by the expulsion of the Jesuits, other parliamentarians, like him, compiled 'comptes rendus' of the institutions of the Jesuits, following the example of the Parlement of Paris, and there was in these general criticism, echoing public opinion, of Jesuit education, the stagnation

(69) *ibid*, p.15

in their teaching methods, including the neglect of French language and history, the frequent inexperience of their teachers and, most important of all, their ultramontane allegiances. Thus Ripert de Montclar, of the Parlement of Provence wrote in his Compte rendu of 2nd. - 7th. October 1762

"Je ne crois pas qu'on puisse rien imaginer qui contraste d'avantage avec nos lois, que la direction de nos études et l'éducation de nos enfants livrées à un Général étranger et ultramontain..."(70)

The desire for the opposite - a national education - inevitably emerged and other parliamentarians, Saussin of Grenoble, Laverdy and Rolland d'Erceville of Paris, Guyton de Morveau of Dijon, stressed the "caractère précieux"(71) of national education under the direct control of the State. (71a)

The role of the colleges had to be reviewed, for they were no longer, as once, "des pépinières de novices"(72) and should, as Guyton de Morveau wrote, depend directly from the Government, in order to conform to the new aim, which was to form

"des sujets tels qu'ils devront être dans tout le cours de leur vie, quelque profession qu'ils embrassent; c'est-à-dire bons chrétiens, bons citoyens, hommes de bien et hommes du monde; ils (les maîtres) leur apprendront de bonne heure à concilier les engagements de la religion avec les engagements de la société, les devoirs avec les usages, les vertus avec les manières du monde..."(73)

(70) Ripert de Montclar, vol. 1, p.306

(71) Rolland d'Erceville, Compte rendu... Paris, 1769, p.4

(71a) For a list of parliamentary documents see J. Delvaille's La Chalotais, éducateur. Paris, 1911, Bibliography.

(72) Guyton de Morveau, Mémoire sur l'éducation publique, 1764, p. 33.

(73) *ibid.*

If Guyton de Morveau failed to explain satisfactorily how to bridge the all-important gap between Christian virtues and 'le monde', of which he was obviously aware, it was perhaps because he was still very young when, as Avocat Général du Roi au Parlement de Bourgogne, he wrote his Mémoire sur l'éducation publique, but there is no doubt that he too saw education as a political instrument:

"C'est un principe incontestable... que les lois doivent veiller sur la doctrine des écoles publiques, soit pour la rendre analogue à l'institution politique, soit pour la rendre uniforme et favoriser l'avancement des lettres;"(74)

and moreover, well versed in Montesquieu's arguments, he saw no point in education in societies where ignorance and fear are the principle: that is, in despotisms. Higher education must, however, for the good of society, be restricted. Whilst he believed, like Helvétius, that men have "une égale aptitude pour tout"(75), he feared that too general an education might draw too many hands from the cultivation of the soil and other work of vital importance to the state.

The fear was a very common one, as we have already seen. Rolland d'Erceville, in his Compte rendu of 1768, also tried to reconcile the principle that for the good of the state all men (and even women) should have a certain basic knowledge of religion, morals, reading, writing and the skills of their profession, with the prevailing reluctance to

(74) *ibid*, pp.24-5

(75) *ibid*, p.43, note 9

educate the common people to the point where they would become dissatisfied with their lot. He was at pains to prove that the general principle of the University, too, despite appearances, was to provide an education designed

"afin qu'il n'y ait aucune classe de citoyens qui ne soit à portée d'en éprouver le bienfait, et qu'il est utile que chaque membre de l'état puisse recevoir l'éducation qui lui est propre. En effet, faute de cette éducation, les plus grands talents seraient ignorés ou perdus pour la société."(76)

At the same time an abundance of colleges would be harmful and the principle of general education

"doit avoir ses bornes, et je suis bien éloigné de penser que ce principe autorise la multiplicité des collèges... L'on ne doit jamais perdre de vue ce principe, que, 'chacun doit être à portée de recevoir l'éducation qui lui est propre', or, chaque terre n'est pas susceptible du même soin et du même produit, chaque esprit ne demande pas le même degré de culture, tous les hommes n'ont ni les mêmes besoins, ni les mêmes talents, et c'est en proportion de ces talents et de ces besoins que doit être réglée l'éducation publique."(77)

The solution might well be, as a Plan général d'institution particulièrement destiné pour la jeunesse du ressort du Parlement de Bourgogne (1763) suggested, a fourfold system of schools: three for the different classes, and the fourth for further education in the humanities. In this way every subject in the kingdom would have a basic education which would save him from the enslavement of his own prejudices, or the numerous charlatans always ready to ensnare him.

(76) Rolland, op. cit. p.18

(77) ibid, pp.18-19

Like Guyton de Morveau and La Chalotais, Rolland considered education to be the concern of the state, quoting in his support Saussin, of the Parlement of Grenoble, who considered national education

"un principe d'ordre public, et une maxime d'état que l'on n'aurait jamais dû perdre de vue."(78)

Like the others he insisted that this was not to desire to undermine the christian faith, not the dangerous modern philosophy which, drawing men from the sacred yoke of religion, undermined at the same time all obedience to authority. On the contrary, a national education could be perfectly reconciled with the system of the University, the system of Rollin, the system exposed in the Mémoire of the University in response to the Arrêt of 3rd. September 1762. But it was important that equal opportunities should be offered to all citizens of France, and no more effective means could be devised of uniting a monarchy than

"une éducation commune qui répande partout les mêmes principes et les mêmes lumières."(79)

Already d'Aguesseau had suggested centralised education (80) and Rolland agreed wholeheartedly that it was desirable

"que des jeunes gens qui ont la même Patrie

(78) *ibid*, p.4,

(79) *ibid*, p.17

(80) Rolland, *op. cit.* p.16, footnote: "l'on sait que c'était l'objet qu'il se proposait dans les ordonnances qu'il a rédigés sur les Testaments, les Donations, les Substitutions etc..."

et qui sont destinés à servir le même Prince, et à remplir les mêmes emplois, reçoivent les mêmes leçons et soient imbus des mêmes maximes; qu'une partie de la France ne soit pas sous les nuages de l'ignorance, tandis que les lettres répandent dans l'autre la lumière la plus pure;"(81)

Such uniformity would serve to break down the barriers dividing the different regions of France and would, in short, strengthen "l'amour de la patrie" which d'Aguesseau had maintained was the "Lien sacré de l'autorité des Rois et de l'obéissance des peuples..."(82)

The question of secular teachers, as opposed to those belonging to the Church, Rolland considered sufficiently well discussed by La Chalotais and Guyton de Morveau, both of whom had shown it to be difficult for a man to owe equal loyalty to his Order and to the state.

Guyton de Morveau had argued that Lycurgus, Quintilian, Montaigne and Montesquieu would surely choose

"des hommes citoyens nés des lieux où ils habitent, guidés au patriotisme par les sentiments de fils, de parent, d'époux, de père, attachés à leur pays par leurs possessions, à leurs places par la gloire et l'intérêt, à la Loi par la nécessité d'une sujétion, qui ne connaît ni privilèges, ni prétexte d'immunité, et aux moeurs par l'habitude"(83),

in preference to

"un corps de gens isolés de l'État...qui ont brisé ces liens d'habitation, de prospérité, de parenté, d'intérêt commun, qui ont été l'occasion et la base de toutes les

(81) *ibid*

(82) d'Aguesseau, 19e Mercuriale, 1715, in Oeuvres, Paris, ed. 1819, vol. 1, p.229

(83) Guyton de Morveau, *op. cit.* p.83

lois civiles, et qui sont les ressorts de la législation; enfin qui ont changé cette ambition personnelle qui est l'âme d'une monarchie, pour l'ambition d'un corps hétérogène qui en est l'écueil."(84)

There is an interesting movement here from the egalitarian, self-dedicating republicanism of the ancients, which Lycurgus and Quintilian would have considered essential attributes of the citizen, to a concept of patriotism which frankly saw love of one's country as a passion experienced in the expectation of personal gain. Thus whilst de Morveau found in the religious corporations an obstacle to the national interest, on the grounds that they formed an alien community within the state, the ideal he favoured was still far removed from Rousseau's new vision of the citizen, and the finer points of Montesquieu's analysis escaped him. While Montesquieu, admittedly, called the inhabitants of a monarchy citizens, he distinguished sharply between these and the citizens of a republic; Guyton de Morveau, on the other hand, could speak in one breath of Lycurgus's citizen and the 'mondain' with his personal ambition(85). There was thus still much in the theorising of these philosophers which the statesmen - those, therefore, in a position to implement the new ideas - though well disposed towards reform, had failed to grasp. Easier to understand, and more currently popular, was Montesquieu's criticism of the rift between the morality taught in the monastic schools and that prevailing in the adult world:

"loin que l'austérité des moines fût un

(84) *ibid*, pp.83-4

motif de préférence, la stabilité des mœurs exigeait au contraire que l'on la regardât comme une raison d'exclusion, parce qu'elle introduit nécessairement un contraste entre les mœurs des Écoles et les mœurs du monde, et que cette contradiction est destructive de tous les avantages de l'éducation."(85)

Rolland himself refused to decide finally in favour of monastic or secular teachers; nevertheless he stressed the importance of having well trained teachers - which the religious orders often lacked - and, moreover, teachers who were first and foremost citizens, and he praised the Mémoire sur la nécessité de fonder une école pour former des maîtres selon le plan d'éducation donné par le Parlement en son Arrêt du 3 septembre 1763 of the abbé Pellissier, for such schools would form citizen teachers

"qui ne dépendront que de l'État; ils se consacreront, sous son inspection et sous son autorité, à un travail utile;"(86)

The necessity of schools for training teachers was clear to Rivard, teacher of philosophy at the Collège de Beauvais and a friend of Diderot. He wrote a Recueil de mémoires touchant à l'instruction de la jeunesse, (1763) which included a Mémoire on La nécessité d'établir dans Paris une maison d'institution pour former des maîtres. Education, he believed, should teach children to love their King and country by inclination and duty, and not merely to serve it from

(85) *ibid*, p.91

(86) Rolland, *op. cit.* p.38

self interest and ambition; in order to achieve this two reforms were necessary: a plan of education, not merely of studies, and a school to train teachers "habiles et appliqués à leur devoir."(87) The expulsion of the Jesuits provided a perfect opportunity for reform, a chance to direct education towards training children in love of "le bien public, le bien de la société"(88), as did the Greeks and Romans, but purified and ennobled by christianising this love into love of one's neighbour. Such an education could not be left to the discretion of the individual teacher:

"En général... c'est une maxime de très grande importance par rapport à l'éducation de la jeunesse, que la manière d'élever et d'instruire les enfants et les jeunes gens dans les écoles publiques ne doit pas être abandonnée au jugement et à la discrétion des maîtres."(89)

A complete programme of studies should therefore be laid down by one central body and teachers should be carefully trained before taking up their posts.

Rivard may also have been the author of an anonymous De l'Éducation publique (90), although Delvaille (91) suggests that Grimm would not have made the disparaging remarks he did(92) of the work of a collaborator of Diderot and leaves open the question of whether it is by Crévier or by an ecclesiastic

(87) Rivard, Recueil de mémoires touchant l'éducation de la jeunesse, surtout par rapport aux études, Paris, 1763, preface, p.xix

(88) *ibid*, p.208 l

(89) *ibid*, p.212:

(90) 1762; v. R. Mortier's article in Clartés et ombres du siècle des lumières, 1969, p.109: Les philosophes français et l'éducation publique.

(91) La Chalotais, éducateur, Paris, 1911

(92) Correspondance, vol.5, p.259 (15th. April, 1763)

who wished to defend the right of the clergy to teach. Whoever the author may be, the work adds little of substance to the debate, merely confirming a general trend. La Chalotais read it and was favourably impressed, because he agreed on the central issue, that

"La direction des Écoles appartient à la grande police de l'État... Il s'agit des enfants, qui sont l'espérance publique, et le bien propre de la patrie;"(93)

Both believed that education should be the direct concern of the King and uniform throughout the kingdom. The author of De l'Éducation publique belongs to the old tradition, however, in his belief that teachers should be "partie nécessaire du clergé"(94), and that it is the clergy's duty to provide and pay teachers.

The clergy had many defenders amongst those who theoretically approved of the new idea of a national education but refused to follow all the implications of the idea. An anonymous writer of the same period felt that religious communities had done much valuable work:

"je crois que ce serait leur faire une injustice, et en même temps priver la société d'une ressource sûre, que de les regarder comme incapables de contribuer à l'institution publique,"(95)

(always excluding, of course, the disgraced Jesuits.) The writer, himself a cleric of twenty years standing, does not

(93) Crévier, De l'éducation publique, pp.187-8

(94) ibid, p.199

(95) Lettre à M. l'abbé... sur cette question: Les gens de communauté sont-ils aussi propres à l'éducation publique que les particuliers? 1763, p.4

appreciate the now all important difference between the teaching of knowledge and the education of the citizen.

Another anonymous letter of August 1762 (96), inspired by the events of the year and the ardent discussion being conducted in many quarters, harks back nostalgically to the model plan of education offered by Rollin: for this writer no better plan is possible.

Thus whilst the plans of the parliamentarians proposed for the first time to the general public a national, patriotic education, run probably on a single plan by state-trained, secular teachers, attentive to the education of the citizen, with religious education, though still important, separated firmly from the civic side of education, many people continued to misunderstand the implications of the new line of thought.

(96) Lettre où l'on examine quel plan d'étude on pourrait suivre dans les écoles publiques.

Chapter Six

Part 1: 'National' education and the public good; various views of the relationship; the conflict between Christian and civic virtue; the fear of mass education.

-o-o-o-o-o-

By the mid sixties a point had been reached where it was no longer possible for even the most complacent to be unaware of the ferment of new ideas tending towards some sort of reform, although theories as to what form this should take varied immensely, from the most superficial reform of 'les moeurs' to the profoundest reform of society, with a corresponding remoulding of an inextricably linked educational system. The expulsion of the Jesuits had brought into the open once and for all the question of whether or not religious bodies should form the main teaching force of the country, or whether, on the contrary, the state should control all education. A growing sense of nationalism, of which the expulsion of the Jesuits was one result, was compelling new thoughts on the ideas of 'citizenship' and 'patrie' and at the same time the debate on the role, duties and rights of man in society, his right to education, and the formative influence of education for society became widespread. All these ideas could be viewed in very different lights: they could be seen for what in fact they were: symptoms of a society on the verge of eruption, or they could simply be

ascribed to the corruption of the day, the spirit of irreligion infesting the land and personified in the 'philosophes'. What is certain is that the crucial questions of national identity and of patriotism were now in common discussion, and a brief review of the different acceptances of these terms will help us to understand how the idea of a 'patriotic' education could be so very differently interpreted.

The period of the Seven Years' War (1756-1763) brought to the fore the anglophobic feelings exemplified by the writings of such men as Basset de la Marelle, l'abbé le Blanc and Fougeret de Montbron; Basset de la Marelle considered that

"les revers, loin d'affaiblir, ne font que donner de nouvelles forces au zèle patriotique des Français. S'il faut défendre l'État, ou soutenir l'honneur de la Nation, ce peuple fait céder tout intérêt personnel, tous besoins particuliers; il les immole sans regret à la cause publique et à la gloire de son nom."(1)

In contrast with this perfect patriotism, equal to that of the Romans at their greatest,

"en Angleterre il se trouve infecté de tous les vices qui causèrent la ruine de Carthage."(2)

The Roman example was still, for Basset de la Marelle, the ideal and although in reality the only common ground between Roman patriotism and French was a desire to defend their

(1) Basset de la Marelle, L. La Différence du patriotisme national chez les Français et chez les Anglais. (Discours lu à l'Académie des sciences, belles-lettres et arts de Lyons.) Lyon, 1762, p.65

(2) ibid., p.69. Cf. Lefèvre de Beauvray's Dictionnaire social et patriotique... Amsterdam, 1770; here, however the nationalism of the Anglophobe has extended to a conviction that French heroes were superior to those of ancient Rome and Greece; v. article, Patriotisme, p.393.

country gloriously (and in France even this desire was the privilege of the wealthy classes who had something to lose), yet the inconsistency in the comparison between a republic and an absolute monarchy was ignored as too minor to be mentioned.

The abbé le Blanc, also, was goaded by the war to prove that the French were at least as patriotic as the English and he, too, felt that adversity would prove it:

"la vraie sagesse, ainsi que le vrai bonheur, consiste dans l'attachement à ses devoirs de toute espèce, dont le premier est l'amour, et par conséquent la défense de la Patrie... (le patriotisme) est, à proprement parler, la vertu cardinale, sur laquelle la société civile est fondée. Un bon patriote est nécessairement un bon sujet. Les lois de son pays sont la règle de ses actions. Il préfère le bien public au sien propre." (3)

In his effort to prove his point Le Blanc neglects the peacetime aspects of patriotism, insisting rather on its bellicose nature.

Fougeret de Montbron speaks acrimoniously of the English as

"Ce peuple que l'on avait toujours connu pour le plus orgueilleux, le plus jaloux du succès de ses voisins, le plus intéressé, le plus ingrat et le plus féroce qui soit au monde..." (4)

Like Basset de la Marelle he scorns the English 'liberty' which has only led to civil war and, worst of all, regicide.

(3) LeBlanc, l'abbé J.B. Le Patriote anglais... Geneva, 1756, Preface

(4) Fougeret de Montbron, J.L. Préservatif contre l'anglomanie, Minorca, 1757, pp.6-7

He is driven to declare that liberty, "de tous les biens humains le plus précieux"(5), must nevertheless have its limits, for

"ne serait-il pas plus avantageux pour les honnêtes gens que l'on vécût sous un joug paisible? Au moins le mérite, le rang, et la naissance seraient distingués; et le peuple effréné, assujetti à la rigueur des lois, trouverait dans la subordination et l'obéissance pour lesquelles il est fait, le bonheur qu'il n'est point capable de se procurer lui-même."(6)

Too unbridled liberty is of benefit only to 'la canaille':

"Avouons-le, s'il existe en Angleterre une liberté, elle n'existe que pour la canaille."(7)

The poor standards of the English 'moeurs' make it hard to tell who is noble and who a peasant and for this the corrupt English education must take the blame:

"Quelqu'un qui aura passé un tiers de sa vie dans l'Université d'Oxford ou de Cambridge à s'enivrer, fumer, jurer et ce qui s'ensuit, pourvu qu'il entende son Homère, on le regardera comme un sujet du premier mérite..."(8)

Whilst French education, he modestly admits, is not perfect and the time spent in college could be better used, nevertheless

"heureusement on n'y perd pas de vue la partie essentielle et la plus nécessaire; je veux dire la science du monde et le savoir vivre. Si nous

(5) *ibid*, p.44

(6) *ibid*, pp.42-3

(7) *ibid*, p.45

(8) *ibid*, p.47

sortons des Ecoles moins chargés d'éru-
 dition classique que les Anglais, nous
 avons sur eux l'avantage d'être mieux
 éduqués et de ne point paraître tombés
 des nues lorsque nous entrons dans la
 société."(9)

In Fougeret de Montbron the link between a nationalistic
 (ie. ^{assenting} the superiority of the French nation over others) and
 politically conservative frame of mind, and satisfaction
 with the old 'honnête homme', 'école du monde' tradition
 is thus explicit and indeed he does elsewhere(10) say that
 the classical world and France have nothing in common and
 that it would be pointless to apply the Ancients' maxims
 of frugality to contemporary France: similarly it would be
 wrong to upset the social structure by changing the educa-
 tional system, for, after all, one has the consolation of
 knowing that if there are many above one in the hierarchy,
 there are also many below, or at least suffering as much:

"Quelque pauvre et infortuné que soit
 un Citoyen à Paris, il est témoin de
 la même misère dans un grand nombre
 de ses semblables; ce qui est une sorte
 de consolation, car la répartition des
 maux semble diminuer leur poids."(11)

Why disturb the balance of society by introducing new poli-
 tical, social or educational measures? One notes that the
 'misérables' of Paris are nevertheless dignified with the
 name of 'citoyens' and doubtless are assumed to feel the
 same patriotic fervour for France in her hour of danger
 as the wealthier 'honnête homme'. The gulf between ideals

(9) *ibid.*, p.46

(10) La Capitale des Gaules ou la Nouvelle Babylone. the Hague,
 1759-60.

(11) *ibid.* pp.179-180.

and reality in such conservatives as Fougeret de Montbron and Basset de la Marelle is thus immense.

For different reasons the liberals were also becoming more nationally minded. Montesquieu had admired the English notion of patriotism, as brought out in the discussions of Bolingbroke's Patriot Party (12), a patriotism which was a rational love of a chosen country with a clear conception of public service in fulfilment of one's debt of security. Yet he had found no conflict between such sentiments and a wider love of humanity (13). As de Jaucourt, in his Encyclopédie article, Patriotisme, wrote:

"mais le patriotisme le plus parfait est celui qu'on possède quand on est si bien rempli des droits du genre humain, qu'on les respecte vis-à-vis de tous les peuples du monde. L'auteur de l'Esprit de lois étoit pénétré des sentiments de ce patriotisme universel. Il avait puisé ces sentiments dans son coeur et les avait trouvés établis dans une île voisine.(14)

Like Bolingbroke's Patriots, Montesquieu tended to identify the private morality of the man and the public virtue of the citizen, making them the common attribute of the 'homme de bien'(15). The distinction between private ethics and civic virtue becoming thus blurred, a humane virtue is envisaged, capable at once of an unforced sense of civic

(12) see The Craftsman

(13) unlike Rousseau; cf. p. 110

(14) Encyclopédie, vol. 12, p.181.

(15) see the article by D.J. Fletcher in Studies on Voltaire and the eighteenth century, 1967, vol. 56, on Montesquieu's conception of patriotism.

responsibility towards a state worthy of such devotion, and of a wider "generous, disinterested Love of Mankind"(15a). For Voltaire, as for Montesquieu, the idea of patriotism had connotations with liberty and republics, but he saw a conflict between patriotism and humanity which saddened him.

"Il est triste que souvent, pour être bon patriote, on soit l'ennemi du reste des hommes."(16)

The finest civic virtue, he concluded, would be that of the universal citizen who, unambitious for his own country, desired only that all countries should coexist in harmony(17). For Rousseau, however, as has been seen, a conflict existed in practice between the 'patrie' and the outside world. A choice must be made. Within the 'patrie' there was, on the contrary, no conflict: Rousseau's Contrat social invalidated the idea of opposition and conflicting interests, being based on the harmony of wills, so that the famous English political liberty would serve no purpose. It was quite another type of liberty which the theorists for a new France required: the civic freedom to act according to the law which was the expression of the general will and which would not deviate for any individual will, be it that of the King himself. Attention was thus turned inwards in a practical attempt to reform French thought through education. Diderot, d'Holbach

(15a) The Craftsman, 15th. July, 1727

(16) Voltaire, Dictionnaire philosophique, article Patrie, Garnier ed. 1961, p.336

(17) ibid, p.337

and Mably all wrote in this vein, emphasising the need to train citizens to understand that their happiness lay in the national interest. Thus Mably wrote,

"comment n'aimerait-on pas enfin des lois qui nous apprendraient à trouver notre bonheur particulier dans le bonheur public?"(18)

At the same time Physiocrats were emphasising that the wealth of France lay in her soil. In the benevolent despot tradition they felt that the monarch should be the ultimate authority for the good of the nation, but their belief in the importance of cultivating the land led them to realise the importance of the tiller of the soil the lowest of the low in the French social order, and to stress that he should receive a certain education appropriate to his needs, in order that he should give the best possible service to the nation. Nevertheless, as will be seen, they felt that the limits of this education should be strictly defined, as they mistrusted the influence of mass opinion on the government and believed in an enlightened philosopher king.

This rough outline of the differing views of the French national interest gives some idea of the varied ways in which it was possible to approach the crucial question of education in the context of a heightened awareness of France as a nation with children to educate for her future. With this

(18) Mably, Bonnot de, Oeuvres, vol. 10, Principes de morale, p.213

background in mind we may now look at some of the prolific writings of the period and firstly at those of the old traditional school, of the Basset de la Marelle, Fougeret de Montbron type, even if they are mute on the actual question of politics.

The Instruction pastorale of Le Franc de Pompignan, already discussed in an earlier chapter (19), would serve as a justification to any of these writers: it is the voice of the Establishment speaking through its most emotional channel, the Church. Le Franc, décrier of the "philosophie des incrédules modernes"(20), hopes with all his heart "que le patriotisme soit aussi commun que son nom l'est devenu parmi nous."(21) For him the best patriot is a Christian "fidèle aux maximes de la religion."(22) Love of one's country is as natural as love of one's family:

"La patrie,....est l'objet le plus légitime de l'attachement des membres qui la composent. C'est une famille fondée sur le modèle de celles qu'enfante la nature."(23)

It has in greater degree all the rights of the family over its members. Such a concept the Christian religion approves, but this, argues Le Franc, is not enough: far from being an inward turning love, as Rousseau saw it, it is only a preparation for the yet greater love a Christian should bear

(19) see pp. 156-8.

(20) Instruction pastorale sur la prétendue philosophie des incrédules modernes.

(21) *ibid*, p.162

(22) *ibid*

(23) *ibid*, p.164

towards all men, for the world is a great 'patrie' composed of small ones. He goes on to prove that Christian schools are by far the most likely to teach "cet amour patriotique"

(24) from which

"coulent nécessairement les services qu'un Chrétien rend à sa patrie; ces services consistent dans l'accomplissement des devoirs attachés à la place qu'il occupe, dans l'exécution des ordres dont on le charge, dans le sacrifice, quand le bien public l'exige, de son repos, de ses biens, de sa vie même: or il n'y a pas d'école où ces différentes manières de servir la patrie soient autant recommandées et aussi solidement établies que dans celles de Jésus Christ... Quelle plus belle leçon que d'ériger en actes de religion les services rendus à la patrie?"(25)

No human philosophy can teach, as the Christian religion can, the perfect patriot's ability to make the sacrifices the 'bien public' demands, and Le Franc takes his adversary, Rousseau, to witness that men need a higher 'raison d'être' than themselves.

Here then is a reasoned analysis of the much used expression, 'bon citoyen et bon chrétien': one may assume these beliefs to underlie the writings of such as the père Navarre and the abbé Poncelet and it explains how, as the idea of nationhood grew, as distinct from both ideas of intellectual cosmopolitanism and the aggressive, nationalistic heroics of war, so the need to separate education from religion,

(24) *ibid*, p.165

(25) *ibid*, pp.165-6

already acknowledged by some at the expulsion of the Jesuits, was recognised; for only in separation could a true feeling of national identity be taught and a true national education, suited to the country, be instituted.

Le père Navarre, philosophy teacher at the Collège de l'Esquille, typifies the attitude of the more enlightened religious educationalists and, significantly, was awarded in 1763 the prize of the Académie des Jeux Floraux for his Discours on the subject, Quel serait en France le plan d'étude le plus avantageux? He puts much emphasis on the idea of educating Frenchmen in the manner appropriate to their nature:

"Pour donner à la France des sujets dignes d'elle, il importe d'abord de connaître parfaitement la nature du terrain qui doit servir de base à l'édifice de l'éducation publique..."(26)

He stresses also the value of studying French law, as opposed to Roman, for

"Est-ce donc à Rome que nous vivons, et non en France? Les lois d'une République peuvent-elles convenir en tout à une Monarchie?"(27)

There is thus an awareness, surely due to Montesquieu, that the needs of each nation are individual, varying according to its character, the nature of its government, and its religion:

(26) Navarre, le p. J. Discours qui a remporté le prix par le jugement de l'Académie des jeux floraux en l'année 1763 sur ces paroles: Quel serait en France le plan d'études le plus avantageux? p.4

(27) *ibid*, pp.15-6, footnote

"Il faut donc trouver quel serait en France le meilleur moyen d'inspirer des vertus morales, conformément au caractère des Français, les vertus chrétiennes suivant la religion des Français, les vertus politiques relativement au gouvernement de France."(28)

Therefore:

"Qu'on leur apprenne par principes ce qu'on doit à son Dieu, à son Roi, à ses parents, à sa patrie, à ses égaux, à ses inférieurs; c'est-là principalement ce qui nous importe le plus; c'est d'une telle institution que dépend le sort de toutes les races futures de l'état, la prospérité de l'empire, le maintien des lois et des bonnes moeurs."(29)

However the theoretical individualising of the needs of each nation ends abruptly when it comes to religion and thus to morality: in practice the morality and virtue taught is to be the universal Christian morality.

"Mais la sagesse d'un Socrate ne saurait être celle d'un bon Français, si elle ne le dispose à recevoir et à conserver dans son coeur les préceptes de la religion... la vertu qui ne serait pas entée sur le christianisme comme sur sa tige naturelle tomberait bientôt...et ne serait enfin que le fantôme de la vertu...Les sujets du Royaume le plus chrétien de l'univers ne doivent recevoir qu'une éducation toute chrétienne: ils suivront ainsi le guide infaillible de l'autorité légitime et ne cesseront jamais d'être citoyens."(30)

For the père Navarre there is no conflict between the idea of citizenship and a monarchy. A good French citizen is motivated by honour (cf. Montesquieu):

(28) *ibid*, p.17

(29) *ibid*, p.18

(30) *ibid*, pp.22-3

"L'honneur, ce sentiment né avec nous, pour qui la France est tout, et tout le reste n'est rien; cette passion de la gloire, passion favorite des Français, passion des grandes âmes, et qui enfante les grandes choses, supplée en nous toutes les vertus; et lorsqu'il ne reste à la France ni force, ni ressource, l'honneur lui fournit des citoyens qui font tout son espoir."(31)

Debate would be fatal to this spirit: it smacks too much of republicanism, a spirit dangerous and foreign to the French.

"Périsse en France cette éducation de mollesse et de lâcheté qui ne fait que des Sybarites raffinés, des célibataires par libertinage, des hommes sourds à la voix de la Patrie...Éducation presque républicaine, où l'on souffle l'esprit d'intrigue ou de cabale, esprit dangereux pour la nation française, si facile à s'enflammer, et si redoutable dans ses dissensions."(32)

A curious mixture of old ideas - 'servir le Roi et l'État' - and new - the need to understand the 'moeurs' and character of the French nation - thus exists, fused by the use of the popularised expressions 'citoyen français' and 'patrie', but the basis of Navarre's thought is the old one, implying no fundamental change in the curriculum, or, indeed, in the whole aim of education.

The Principes généraux pour servir à l'éducation des enfants, particulièrement de la noblesse française"(1763)

(31) *ibid*, pp.23-4

(32) *ibid*, pp.25-6

of the abbé Poncelet similarly belongs to the old school. Whilst admiring certain details of Rousseau's Émile, particularly the style, Poncelet feels driven to warn against the spirit of irreligion and independence of the book. Two vital factors do exist which demand the forming of useful citizens and reasonable Christians, and not of isolated Robinson Crusoes: 'la patrie' and 'la religion' and if there are any faults in the practices of either of them it is not for individuals to attempt to reform them. On the contrary, being fortunate enough to live in a moderate climate, and therefore politically between the extremes of the northern independence and the southern despotism, "ces peuples heureux" (33) have entrusted their interests to their monarch. A half-understood reading of Montesquieu results in some strangely confused ideas. Whilst recognising, and indeed acclaiming, 'l'honneur' as a fundamental feature of French life, he denies the less admirable qualities that Montesquieu's definition of the principle of honour imply. For him honour is the same as probity and thus as civic virtue. On the other hand the idea that children should be educated to work for the common good, wherein they would find their full reward, is presented with emphasis. Thus the noblest elements of Montesquieu's or Rousseau's idea of a republic are uncritically absorbed into Poncelet's philosophy. The ambiguity is summed up in Poncelet's definition of the aim of education:

(33) Poncelet, l'abbé, Principes généraux pour servir à l'éducation des enfants, particulièrement de la noblesse française. Paris, 1763, 3vols,

"Point d'autre que d'en faire un citoyen utile et vertueux: c'est-à-dire un homme de mérite à qui l'on ouvre par ce moyen la porte des honneurs et de la fortune."(34)

The question of education on a national scale is left characteristically vague. Whilst paying lip-service to the idea that all should be educated for their role in the community and that education is all-powerful, Poncelet stresses that it is most important of all for the nobility to be educated, since they have most influence, for good or evil, and his plan is in fact written for the well-to-do, giving equal emphasis to the old idea of 'plaire' and the new one of 'utilité'. The debate on public versus private education is touched on and decided in favour of public, more for pedagogical than for political reasons, despite mention of the civic virtues that communal education helps to inculcate. In the classroom there should be no distinction between children on account of birth or fortune:

"(ils) doivent être regardés comme frères"(35)

In this context this is not a new idea, but belongs rather to the principles of the old Jesuit schools, where commoner and noble were equals in the classroom. The idea of the teacher as an 'homme de la patrie', to whom

"elle fait l'honneur de confier un dépôt bien précieux, les moeurs et les talents de ses citoyens;"(36)

descends from the Ancients and cannot be taken as revolu-

(34) *ibid*, vol. 1, p.92

(35) *ibid*, vol. 2, p.50

(36) *ibid*, vol. 2, p.56

tionary (in other contexts it might indeed be so), when offered by a man who can speak in the same breath of "l'extinction du patriotisme" and "le défaut de subordination" (37) as being both due to the failure to put the public good before the private.

Poncelet's essay is thus a most revealing illustration of how the new ideas and terms could be used to justify the old system. The programme and the educational aim he advocates are not substantially different from those of the old 'honnête homme' tradition, with the modification that 'le roi' is often superseded by 'la patrie'; but the language is often that of the 'philosophes' and the more advanced thinkers.

Similarly other traditionalists employ the new 'patriotic' language. Lebret offers his "avis d'un patriote" (38) to the public, which is nothing less than the old theme of advancement in the world through a policy of pleasing behaviour: 'plaire',

"car il est essentiel, pour notre bonheur et notre tranquillité, de nous rendre, autant qu'il est possible, tout le monde favorable." (39)

Caraccioli, for all his talk of giving worthy citizens to the country, suggests nothing more than private training by a tutor in the ways of the world, with a certain emphasis,

(37) *ibid*, vol. 3, p.23

(38) Lebret, A.J. La Nouvelle Ecole du monde... Lille, 1764
2 vols., vol. 1, p.iv

(39) *ibid*, vol. 1, p.vii

it is true, on famous and virtuous contemporaries and current affairs and the customs of other countries. He believes that virtue in the form of 'bienfaisance' should be inculcated in children. His proposals are thus on the individual level and not aimed at the whole of French society:

"Nous avons tant de plans d'éducation, que nous en sommes surchargés; je me contente, avec vous, de désirer la réformation des coeurs et le retour de la bienfaisance et de l'amitié, et je crains bien que mes désirs ne soient superflus."(40)

There were, indeed, some writers who, despite the current debate, could frankly see no need for even the most superficial reform of public education. Such a one was Sutaine, a former teacher, who in his Plan d'études et d'éducation "avoue que l'éducation publique ne peut guère souffrir de réforme."(41) The long established customs have become in some way sacrosanct. Without, however, wishing to denigrate the advantages of public education - the recognised virtues of competition, sociability and example - he favours private education, as being likely to give a broader knowledge. It is interesting to note that earlier, in a Discours sur l'éducation, prononcé dans un collège(1758), he had emphasised the need for cultivating 'le coeur', since only in this way was the 'honnête homme' to be distinguished from the rogue, the good citizen from the bad and the libertine from the

(40) Caraccioli, L.A. de, Lettres récréatives et morales sur les mœurs du temps, 1767, 4 vols., vol. 1, p.28

(41) Sutaine, G. Plan d'études et d'éducation avec un discours sur l'éducation prononcé dans un collège, Paris, 1764, Avant-propos, p.x

Christian, but his conviction that education instills social virtues and a love of duty towards 'patrie', parents, friends and fellow citizens finds no impediment in the contemporary colleges, not surprisingly when we read that the ability not to fail ones fellow citizens consists in having for them

"des égards, de la politesse, de la déférence,
...il doit être complaisant, officieux,
sincère et rendre à ses semblables ce qu'il
reconnait leur devoir;"(42)

in other words all the old virtues of the 'école du monde'.

De Félice, also a former teacher and 'directeur de pension', has similar views. For him, too, a solid grounding in various sciences should be followed by a study of man and his duties as a citizen and a Christian, and again this is reduced to 'honnêteté':

"La plus vaste érudition n'est rien si elle n'est accompagnée de la probité: l'honnête homme fut toujours préférable à l'homme savant: et ceux qui instruisent les jeunes gens doivent moins songer à les rendre habiles qu'à les rendre vertueux par les sciences, en se servant de tout ce qui se rencontre dans leurs leçons pour leur inspirer de l'amour pour la vertu, et de l'horreur pour le vice."(43)

The virtue he speaks of is clearly Christian virtue, as opposed to Montesquieu's virtue, and yet de Félice, as Sutare, uses the new 'patriotic' vocabulary; he speaks of the teacher as the "gardien d'un dépôt sacré à la

(42) *ibid*, p.283

(43) De Félice, Discours sur la manière de former l'esprit et le coeur des enfants,... Yverdon, 1763, p.96

patrie"(44), just as Sutaïne talks of forming good citizens for 'la patrie'.

Such treatises continued into the seventies and eighties with little change, apparently untouched by the controversy in all but the most superficial way, some laying greater emphasis on success in the world, such as Dom Devienne, a Benedictine, and others, such as Proyart, on the importance of religion.

Dom Devienne writes with great complacency of the favourable conditions of the present era for education: a powerful and well-intentioned monarch, discussion throughout the land and an enlightened government which allows the expression of ideas on the public good. His ideal school will be

"destinée à former des hommes: toutes les parties de l'éducation y sont rassemblées;...l'ordre et la paix y habitent: le vice n'y trouve point d'asyle;...Rien dans cette maison ne ressent la gêne: tout y coule de source, la religion, la raison, la connaissance de l'homme ont présidé à son établissement, et le maintiennent."(45)

It is the grace and ease of the 'honnête homme' tradition which is important. There is no pretence at offering education to even the brightest of the poor classes: on the contrary high fees will have the benefit of being

"au dessus du prix ordinaire; c'est qu'il n'y aura que les personnes aisées qui seront dans le cas de faire cette dépense. Or il est utile à un Etat que ceux qui

(44) *ibid*, p.61

(45) Dom Devienne, J.B. Plan d'éducation et les moyens de l'exécuter, Paris and London, 1775, p.35

sont destinés à remplir des places, et à tenir un rang, soient mieux élevés à proportion que le commun des hommes. Nés pour commander un jour, et pour servir d'exemple, il convient de les y préparer avec soin, afin qu'étant imbus de bonne heure des meilleurs principes, ils sachent bien user de l'autorité et des dons de la fortune."(46)

Whilst, as we shall see, many sincere reformers, such as Coyer and the physiocrats, held similar convictions on the wisdom of educating the poor, Devienne's plan is nevertheless an unusually frank plea in favour of those "nés pour commander" and seems to make no concessions at all to the current debate.

Despite an apparent awareness of the ideas in the air, Béranger, author of La Morale en action, also offers the same limited, but self-consciously French, view. Thus in his analysis of what constitutes a "bon patriote" and "sujet fidèle" he covers the Church, the army, the legal profession, writers, traders, fathers and teachers: there is no mention of the vast body of peasants who should constitute the greater part of patriotic citizens.

"Dans toutes les professions, un bon patriote, un sujet fidèle, c'est un homme qui s'empresse à porter les charges de l'État, donne l'exemple de la soumission et du zèle, concilie à son Prince l'attachement de tous ses sujets."(47)

(46) *ibid*, p.34

(47) Béranger, L.P. La Morale en action...Lyon., 1783, 303

Love of ones country is, in fact, love of ones monarch, for

"L'amour de la patrie n'étant que l'amour des lois par lesquelles nous sommes gouvernés, et le monarque étant le représentant, le vicaire, l'homme de la loi, l'image sensible et vivante de la loi; c'est une conséquence naturelle qu'on ne saurait aimer la loi sans aimer véritablement son Prince: on ne saurait être attaché à son intérêt particulier sans l'être à son Roi."(48)

Education of the King's subjects - which, in accordance with a long tradition, Béranger believes to be crucial to the state - should have as its aim

"de former par l'étude de la religion, le Chrétien; par celle de la morale, le citoyen; et par celle des sciences humaines, l'homme de lettres."(49)

Beneath this form of words is discerned the old formation of 'l'esprit et le coeur', sanctified by tradition.

"L'éducation publique ne dépend point du caprice d'un seul homme. Établie par des décrets de plusieurs personnes d'une sagesse reconnue, le succès en est certain, c'est la voie que les nations les plus polies ont suivie,... L'autorité et la possession de plusieurs siècles lui servent de caution."(50)

Châtelain's Éducation mise à la portée de tout le monde, despite its title conspicuously overlooks the fact that a large proportion of the population will neither have parents qualified to give the education described, nor teachers or tutors. Education has the triple aim of teaching the child

(48) *ibid*, p.301

(49) *ibid*, p.413

(50) *ibid*.

his duties towards God, his fellow men and, interestingly, 'la patrie', instead of the more familiar 'le Roi'. Despite the latter modification, however, the education proposed is essentially, once again, that of the 'honnête homme'. The old arguments for and against public education are once again seriously weighed up: one factor in favour of public education is that the colleges

"sont plus propres à former des orateurs et des grands hommes d'État."(51)

Some concessions to the spirit of the time are to be noted in a work basically so conservative: along with the Christian and 'honnête' qualities of humility, 'générosité' etc.

'bienveillance' must be taught; stress is laid on the teaching of the great deeds and literature of France and Châtelain even concedes, in deference to Montesquieu, that

"les lois de l'éducation doivent être, jusqu'à un certain point, relatives aux principes du Gouvernement."(52)

A plan of 1785 by Riballier recognised the far reaching influence of education on the future of the country but recommended parental education as the best means of instilling the virtues necessary, quoting in support of this the personal education given by Roman parents to their children during the period of their greatness:

"Pères et mères, ne cessez jamais d'avoir cet exemple présent à l'esprit et persuadez- vous bien que l'honneur de votre nom, la gloire de votre patrie, dépendent

(51) Châtelain, L'Éducation mise à la portée de tout le monde, Lausanne, 1781, pp. 16-7

(52) *ibid*, p.12

de la bonne éducation de vos enfants;"(53)

That this supposes an equally strong patriotic ardour in all parents, of a kind totally at variance with the 'mondain' education which he in fact proposes, is a fact Riballier ignores. On the other hand he contends that schools have lost their advantage of emulation since they became almost free. His plan of education ends with an introduction into 'le monde', with never a word on specific civic duties or civic virtue, despite the initial praise of Roman patriotism.

One may take as typical of conservative writers of this period the abbé Fillassier, author of a Dictionnaire historique de l'éducation and of Éraste, ou l'ami de la jeunesse, entretiens familiers. He combines the conviction that after the large number of educational writings(54) of the last half century he at last is offering a sound and all-embracing work, with a completely outdated approach, based probably on Rollin's history and the 'honnête homme' tradition. His dictionary gives numerous examples of 'abnégation', 'affabilité', 'bienséance', 'bienveillance' and 'grandeur d'âme'

(53) Riballier, De l'Education physique et morale des enfants des deux sexes, Paris, 1785, p150

(54) Dictionnaire historique de l'éducation, 1771, vol. 1 Avertissement, p.vii: "Jamais on n'a mieux senti, que dans notre siècle, la nécessité d'une bonne éducation: jamais on n'a tant écrit sur cette importante matière," The multiplicity of educational writings is confirmed by other writers. Cf. Caraccioli, p.215., De l'Éducation, p.238 Pithoud, Idée de l'éducation du coeur, ou manuel de la jeunesse, 1777, the Hague, p.18: "Le mot 'éducation' sort de toutes les bouches, retentit à toutes les oreilles." and Grimm, p.176

etc. but there is no section entitled 'citoyen'. True there are examples of 'amour de la patrie' (not 'patriotisme') but these are the old ones to be found in Rollin and other earlier historians, and there are only seven French cases in all amongst fifty-six examples of patriotism. The Entretiens are supposedly designed for children of all ranks, since

"les enfants qui naissent à la société forment les citoyens de tous les ordres qui la composent. Ainsi de l'éducation seule dépend le bonheur des empires, et ses procédés doivent embrasser toutes les conditions, depuis le prince jusqu'au moindre sujet."(55)

If this aim is serious, then Fillassier intends to make of even the least subject an 'honnête homme', 'homme de mérite', hardly a realistic, nor a relevant, proposition. The 'honnête homme' must be, it is true, 'bon citoyen', but this formula in fact means

"qu'il aime ses concitoyens, qu'on le voit toujours disposé, ardent à les obliger, et qu'il s'efforce à se rendre digne de leur confiance. De plus il supporte volontiers les charges publiques; et, s'il est appelé à quelque emploi, il s'en acquitte honorablement."(56)

In other words he is an 'honnête homme'; he has, indeed, qualities of loyalty towards his 'patrie', embodied in his King, but this call to the defence of one's country in time of danger, and to uphold the régime, is obviously nothing new.

(55) Fillassier, Eraste, ou l'ami de la jeunesse, entretiens familiers, Paris, 1773, vol. 1, préface p.vii
 (56) ibid, vol. 2, p.371

"L'honnête homme est aussi bon patriote, c'est-à-dire toujours zélé pour les intérêts de la patrie, prêt même, s'il le fallait, à verser son sang pour elle. Aucun sujet n'est plus attaché, plus fidèle à son prince et à tous ceux qui gouvernent; enfin il est plein d'affection pour ses maîtres; soumis à ses supérieurs, respectueux envers les ecclésiastiques, et plein de vénération pour les vieillards..."(57)

This definition of education for all ranks of society sums up the incomprehension of the conservative attitude.

There were some writers who professed to sympathise with the new aims of education for the whole nation for the good of the state, as the titles of their works show: Corbin: Traité d'éducation civile, morale et religieuse (1786), Auger: Projet d'éducation nationale pour tout le royaume (1789), and the anonymous author of a work entitled Plan d'éducation nationale (1789). Auger, a priest, taught eloquence at the Collège de Rouen. His authorities were Plato, Plutarch, Montaigne, Locke, Fénelon, Rollin - and Rousseau, but a modified idea of Rousseau. In an earlier work he commends the questioning spirit of the age, but then condemns its excesses:

"nous avons tout attaqué, tout renversé, tout révoqué en doute... tout est devenu philosophe."(58)

He begins a discourse in 1772 by emphasising that he is a

(57) *ibid*, p.371

(58) Auger, abbé A. Discours sur l'éducation, prononcés au Collège de Rouen... 1775, Préface, pp.xxiii-xxiv

Frenchman speaking in French - and not Latin - to his fellow Frenchmen. He takes care to analyse certain crucial words: 'vertu politique' (Discours 1774), 'vertu sociale', 'vertu civile', 'l'homme civil' (Discours 1772) and he offers his plan of national education as "le rêve d'un citoyen zélé"(59); and yet his "Esquisse d'un projet d'éducation nationale" is ultimately an education for the nobility and the wealthy, projecting as it does various vocational schools to train for careers in the army, Church, legal profession or government, and it is emphatically not free. This project, which he fears might appear "chimérique", could be given reality by the monarch who

"peut tout obtenir de ses sujets, en profitant de l'amour qu'ils ont pour lui,"(60)

The details of his philosophy differ too little from those of the preceding writers to be studied in depth, particularly as they relate only to the upper classes, but they include the usual confusion of 'subject' with 'citizen', 'republic' with 'monarchy', showing that the essential ideas of Montesquieu and Rousseau have not been grasped, and in one Discours on the Éducation du coeur we find this interesting sentence:

"Les Français chérissent leur Roi plus qu'aucun autre peuple du monde, ils lui sont dévoués comme de vrais républicains le sont à la patrie, prêts, en toute occasion, à lui sacrifier leurs fortunes, leurs personnes, tout, en un mot, excepté l'honneur dont ils sont singulièrement jaloux."(61)

(59) *ibid*, p.xxxi

(60) *ibid*, p.xxvii

(61) Discours prononcé au Collège de Rouen pour la rentrée des classes, 1772 p.153

He sees the college as a "petite république où tous les états sont confondus,"(62), where pupils will learn the simple, useful virtues taught to the children of antiquity. Yet he fails to see that the "politesse de coeur" thus learned, later to be polished by the acquisition of "politesses de manières", does not bridge the gap between school and society, even though his avowed aim is to cultivate both the social and the civil man, and although he emphasises that "il ne suffit pas d'être agréable, il faut se rendre utile."(63) It is not therefore surprising to find, when the Revolution comes, that Auger's suggestions for a new education consist in keeping and perfecting the existing colleges, by modifying the curriculum in a way which by then was unexceptionable.(63a)

Corbin, a teacher at La Flèche, had his Traité passed by the censor as not resembling at all

"à tous ces projets modernes d'éducation... Après avoir fait connaître à ses élèves toute la chaîne de leurs devoirs, depuis l'enfance, jusqu'à la caducité, il les conduit par une suite d'arguments nécessaires à la religion,"(64)

Not only does his argument lead to religion, but also to a general acceptance of the French monarchy as the best type of government, having, admittedly, certain defects (such as that riches may be given greater prominence than merit), yet possessed of the virtues of stability and moderation. Here, too, one sees the influence of Montesquieu; even the preference for a monarchy - provided the monarch loves 'le bien public' - despite its inherent failings (luxury, ambition,

(62) ibid, p.134

(63) ibid, p.142

(63a) see Auger's Projet d'éducation nationale pour tout le Royaume...1789.

(64) Corbin, le p. C. Traité d'éducation civile, morale et religieuse de l'homme à l'usage des élèves du Collège Royal de la Flèche, Angers, 1787, Approbation.

vice) may come under Montesquieu's aegis. Inequality, in fact, becomes the most effective means of achieving the public good, and hereditary honour is upheld. Corbin justified this: |

"on ne saurait regarder comme abusifs les titres de noblesse transmis de père en fils dans une longue postérité. Ils font couler avec le sang dans les veines des enfants cet esprit qui caractérise leur ordre."(65)

Thus, although there is no discussion on the theory of education, the treatise implies acceptance of the status quo and is written for an existing college, with no reforms intended.

In the Plan d'éducation nationale we find once again a confidence that conditions are ideal for perfecting education:

"les arts et les sciences se perfectionnent chaque jour. Les connaissances se multiplient, le Prince et les citoyens concourent au bien général."(66)

The educational system should not be destroyed:

"Respectons la sagesse de nos ancêtres. Ils nous ont tracé le plan d'éducation le plus parfait dont leur siècle était capable. La révolution opérée dans les connaissances et dans les mœurs publics peut en exiger une autre dans la manière d'enseigner et de former la jeunesse. Mais l'édifice est construit; quelque antique qu'il soit, il n'est pas moins solide; il est grand, il est majestueux."(67)

(65) *ibid*, p.284

(66) anon. Plan d'éducation nationale tracé à l'occasion des Mémoires présentés à l'Académie de Châlons sur Marne, touchant les moyens de perfectionner l'éducation des collèges en France. Sujet du prix de l'année 1784. 1789. Preface, p.iv.

(67) *ibid*. p.v.

D'Alembert's article Collège in the Encyclopédie provoked strong reactions among the supporters of the University. The abbé Leroy, former teacher at the University, in a letter on education (1777), indignantly refuted the charge that the course was almost entirely useless, laying far too little emphasis on morals, and that college education led to corruption: corruption, he said, though not too great among school children, was general throughout the land and was the fault of the "prétendus philosophes"(68) misguided by the irreligious Rousseau. Similarly he rejected Condillac's opinion that

"les universités sont vieilles, et elles ont les défauts de l'âge, je veux dire qu'elles sont peu faites pour se corriger...(69)

The discussion hinges thus mainly on the subject matter of education and suggests only superficial reforms - presumably because Leroy is only superficially aware of the deeper issues: on the aim of education and the idea of its national organisation Leroy is silent. For him the aim remains:

"former de bons citoyens, et par conséquent de vrais chrétiens"(70)

Traditional Christian virtue and love of 'la patrie' through the King are still the mould in which to form the young citizen; Leroy therefore concludes that the 'religieux' are particularly suited for the task. As for government control, there seems to him little need for discussion, since each

(68) Leroy, abbé C. Lettre d'un professeur émérite de l'Université de Paris sur l'éducation publique, Brussels, 1771, p.106

(69) *ibid*, p.229

(70) *ibid*, p.6

university and college can be regarded:

"comme une petite république, où l'on apprendrait mieux qu'ailleurs à connaître les hommes."(71)

Paradoxically Leroy makes it appear that Condillac and d'Alembert are against all education, since their criticisms are so radical that they seem to wish to do away with public education without being able to replace it by private. The central issue of which is better for the country is left untouched, except in the context of the debate on religious versus secular teachers.

Another teacher, Gosse, 'professeur de belles lettres au Collège de la Marche et avocat en Parlement', was also incensed at the idea that teachers in colleges were mere automatic dispensers of knowledge:

"S'il est vrai que l'esprit de routine conduit les professeurs... nous sommes convaincus... que la nation, quand au fonds de l'enseignement, a été instruite, dans chaque siècle, de la meilleure manière qu'il était possible."(72)

For him Rollin remains the ideal. It was not for the ordinary citizen to decide whether the nature of education should be changed: that should be the decision of the government; the only criticism he himself wishes to make is that public education might lack "un certain éclat extérieur"(73).

(71) *ibid*, p.59

(72) Gosse, l'abbé, Exposition raisonnée de principes de l'Université relativement à l'éducation, Paris, 1788, Préface, pp.iii-iv

(73) *ibid*, p.v

The main purpose of education is to form virtuous and informed citizens, thus providing for both 'le coeur' and 'l'esprit'. The charge that the colleges neglected to form useful citizens by teaching social virtues was much disliked. Producing useful citizens for 'la patrie' - soldiers, priests, lawyers, learned men, orators, poets and cultivated men of letters - was a central point in the University's programme:

"Mon grand objet, a dit l'Université, est de former à la patrie de savants théologiens, des médecins habiles, de profonds jurisconsultes, des philosophes éclairés, de bons orateurs, de grands poètes, et des littérateurs estimables. La langue latine est donc nécessaire à tous mes élèves, la langue grecque extrêmement avantageuse ;"(74)

Consequently,

"C'est d'après ce principe incontestable, que j'ai le droit d'affirmer que l'éducation donnée par l'Université est excellente et vraiment nationale!"(75)

These two defenders of the University have thus very little idea of what lies beneath the criticism of the 'philosophes' and their adherents. It does not even occur to them that Latin may be of no use to a soldier and certainly they have very little idea of equipping their pupils for a life of service to 'la patrie'. In reality they are teaching them to advance their own personal fortune in the world, but with a thin veneer of morality which costs nothing.

(74) *ibid*, pp.56-7

(75) *ibid*, p.82

The attitude of the abbé Proyart, former principal of the Collège du Puy, is much the same: the brief years of schooling must be devoted to the most essential subjects, Latin and religion. The courses of de Wandelaincourt, d'Alembert and Condillac he scornfully rejects as mere fantasies:

"ils doivent... dans l'intention de leurs auteurs, former, et en très peu de temps, des sujets admirables, des prodiges de science, de petits encyclopédistes..."(76)

Like the others he claims that intensive religious education, far from implying the neglect of subjects useful for forming good citizens, was, on the contrary, the surest way of enabling pupils to serve society in the position for which they were destined:

"comme si ce n'était pas surtout par la religion qu'on se rend utile à la patrie;"(77)

He does, it is true, call for a form of national education in suggesting elsewhere that

"Il serait à souhaiter qu'il y eût dans chaque province d'un royaume un collège où des professeurs habiles dans toutes les sciences et des maîtres expérimentés dans tous les arts seraient gagés par l'état et obligés d'instruire la jeunesse."(78)

This must be seen in the context of Proyart's concern at the number of private persons 'speculating' in education as a result of the discrediting of the colleges; the teaching

(76) Proyart, l'abbé, De l'Éducation publique et des moyens d'en réaliser la réforme projetée dans la dernière assemblée générale du clergé de France, (1785(?)) Oeuvres complètes, 17 vols. Paris, 1819, vol. 6, p.222.

(77) *ibid*, pp.225-6

(78) *ibid*, vol.11, p.86.

of the wide range of subjects suggested here must be placed in the perspective proposed above: that is, much subordinated to Latin and religion. Nevertheless to this upholder of the old system, too, the idea of a state-organised education seems to offer some sort of solution to the decay in college education.

Voltaire's enemy, de Bury, in his Essai historique et moral sur l'éducation française, contributes nothing to the debate. The emphasis here is on learning from historical examples; the morality is the familiar eighteenth century version of the Ancients' patriotism, their service to the common good: Cicero's code of civil conduct becomes 'honnêteté'. Voltaire and other 'materialists', La Fontaine and "tous ces ouvrages de poésie qui ne respirent que l'amour, ou la friivolité"(79) are specifically forbidden. This dry and by no means original plan is written mainly for the nobility, who, however, should be taught humanity towards their less fortunate brethren.

"Ayant destiné les hommes à vivre dans une société où il y aurait nécessairement des affligés et des misérables, le Créateur, toujours attentif aux besoins de ses enfants, a imprimé dans nous le sentiment de la pitié,"(80)

The anti-philosophes were by no means united in their remedies. Pithou, "père de famille", believed a universal

(79) de Bury, R., Essai historique et moral sur l'éducation française, Paris, 1777, p.40

(80) *ibid*, pp.311-2

morality, gently and amusingly taught, should be the basis of education, and not the classics, "la plus pénible et la plus aride de toutes les sciences."(81)

"le gros des citoyens ne doit s'appliquer qu'à bien faire."(82)

Education would be chiefly domestic. The anti-philosophes are united only in the embittered tone they adopt towards the philosophes. Thus Pithoud speaks of Rousseau:

"il ne faut...pas perdre de vue cette différence, pour faire des comparaisons; le Citoyen de Genève est un génie, et je ne suis qu'un enfant, un fou; mais cet enfant fou, dont je vous parle, a cinquante ans, de l'expérience, et quelquefois du bon sens."(83)

It is as if they sense that, voluntarily or not, the philosophes are threatening the foundations of society.

Formey, in his prize-winning reply to the Harlem 'Société des Sciences's question, "Comment on doit gouverner l'esprit et le coeur d'un enfant pour le rendre heureux et utile", was more than usually frank:

"Et je ne regarderai point comme une témérité de dire qu'il ne convient pas que tous les hommes soient instruits."(84)

Each child should be taught religion and morality,

"que de cette manière il devienne tout à la fois bon citoyen et bon Chrétien... Mais après cela il ne reste guère d'autres

(81) Pithoud, J.J. Idée de l'éducation du coeur, ou manuel de la jeunesse, La Haye, 1777, p.21

(82) ibid

(83) ibid, Avertissement, p.5

(84) Formey, J.H.S. Traité d'éducation morale... Liège, 1773, p.21

études à faire...pour ceux que la Providence a placés dans les derniers rangs de la société. Destinés à porter le principal fardeau des occupations de ce bas monde, voilà ce dont il faut éviter de les détourner et de les dégoûter... Pour que les hommes demeurent tranquilles dans des conditions et dans des occupations qui les rabaissent presque au niveau des bêtes de somme, il est à propos qu'ils n'élèvent et ne fortifient pas leur âme de manière à s'apercevoir trop clairement de sa noblesse et de son excellence, à sentir trop vivement cette égalité naturelle et primitive à laquelle la forme des sociétés porte de si rudes atteintes."(85)

Ideas were, however, beginning to permeate, so that not merely the word-forms, but the actual thinking behind them, were becoming familiar. Grivel, without suggesting anything startlingly original, illustrates this new perceptiveness. Not only does he stress that

"mon unique but n'a pas été de plaire... Je me fais gloire d'être un bon citoyen, je voudrais que tous mes compatriotes le fussent également; et n'étant pas propre à rendre de grands services à l'état je voudrais du moins inciter les autres à l'entreprendre."(86)

- but he goes so far as to seek a solution to the distressed educational system in legislation.

"Il est certain... que pour faire une bonne éducation, on ne devrait pas laisser élever la jeunesse d'une façon arbitraire, ... il faudrait que la discipline de l'enfance, fût commise aux lois, comme elle l'était autrefois en Crète et à Lacédémone; et que le bien le plus précieux de l'état, fût le plus précieusement soigné."(87)

(85) *ibid*, pp.21-3

(86) Grivel, G. L'Ami des jeunes gens, Lille and Paris, 1764, 2 vols. vol. 1, Avertissement, pp.v-vi

(87) *ibid*, vol. 1, p.145

However, in somewhat contradictory fashion, he adds that this decision must be made by the 'autorité souveraine', and contents himself with advising parents on how to form "des hommes et des citoyens"(88). He insists that education should not be limited to the wealthy: this is consistent with his reiterated wish to make all children useful and contented citizens.

"Ce n'est pas un gentilhomme, comme Locke, que je veux former;...Ce n'est point pour un seul homme que j'entends parler;c'est pour chaque état...pour chaque profession. Tous ont droit de m'intéresser également autant le pauvre que le riche, autant le faible que le puissant;...Tous sont mes frères, tous sont les enfants de l'Etat;"(89)

Interestingly he specifies that the education of all must have a common basis:

"Comme je crois que l'éducation des uns et des autres, doit être parfaitement la même jusqu'à un certain point, je voudrais qu'ils apprissent, sans distinction, ce que je regarde comme absolument nécessaire à un homme, pour n'être pas dans le royaume un citoyen désœuvré et inutile ...Je demanderais que le fils d'un Grand, sût manier un outil comme celui d'un charpentier."(90)

The influence of Rousseau's Émile is clear here and it follows logically on ideas obviously derived from Montesquieu: the failure of French education, deriving from its threefold nature and, on the other hand, the need to educate children

(88) *ibid*, p.146

(89) *ibid*, pp.146-7

(90) *ibid*, vol. 2, pp.148-9

to be genuinely useful to the state, whatever the role they are destined to play. The emphasis is on subordination of ones private needs and will to that of the common good, entailing an understanding of the working of the state:

"(la morale) nous apprend à discerner le bien et le mal, à régler nos passions pour être heureux, à les rendre utiles à notre patrie, et à la société pour laquelle nous sommes nés; elle renferme la jurisprudence et la politique."(91)

Nevertheless Grivel's solution is a compromise: although the reform of education is clearly necessary, it is dependent on the decision of the sovereign, being, it may be understood, too closely associated with the reform of society as a whole.

"L'éducation de la jeunesse devrait d'autant plus exciter les soins du gouvernement, qu'elle est le plus grand intérêt d'un état. C'est en y multipliant les vrais citoyens qu'on peut le porter à ce point de perfection, au-delà duquel il n'y a plus rien à désirer, le rendre en même temps florissant et respectable, l'amour et les délices de ses enfants, la terreur et l'admiration de ses voisins."(92)

Grivel, acknowledging the inferiority of private education to public, but aware that it is nevertheless the normal one for many of the rich and powerful, is therefore forced, until governmental reform should occur, to advocate the unrealistic course of imposing a certain uniformity on that

(91) *ibid*, p,213

(92) Grivel, Théorie de l'éducation, ouvrage utile aux pères de famille et aux instituteurs, Paris, 1783 (1st ed. 1776) 3 vols., vol. 1, pp.4-5

essentially individualistic form of upbringing, private education.

"C'est pour leur (teachers) donner cette unité d'intention si désirable, pour les faire marcher uniformément vers le même but, que je leur offre dans cet ouvrage le secours de mon expérience et de mes observations..."(93)

Grivel thus shows a very definite awareness of the various issues at stake, a real understanding of terms such as 'citoyen' and 'patrie' (he warns very firmly that 'patriotisme' should not be confused with 'amour-propre national'(93a), a contrast with Fougeret de Montbron and his like), but his suggestions for reforming education are by no means positive enough to have any real impact. His tone is mild:

"En attendant que cette éducation générale, qui embrasse dans ses vues toutes les parties d'un État, puisse s'établir dans le nôtre, indiquons dans l'éducation particulière les moyens de former des hommes qui lui soient utiles."(94)

He fails - or fears - to see that matters have reached a point where they can only be altered by an imposed overall plan, a reform linking society and education. In contrast with Rousseau's ideal state, where the bad citizen is the exception, punishable by law, Grivel can envisage a situation where the good citizen is an exception and must struggle - even in a void - to remain faithful to his 'patrie':

"L'indifférence et la défection des mauvais

(93) *ibid*, vol. 1, p.3.
 (93a) *ibid*, vol. 1, p.54.
 (94) *ibid*, vol.1, p.212

patriotes ne sauraient dispenser un bon citoyen de son devoir:... Plus il s'aperçoit que le lien commun se relâche, plus, s'il est possible, il doit s'efforcer de réparer le mal dont il voit la cause. Quand tout le monde manquerait à ses devoirs, cela ne donnerait pas au sage le droit de manquer à la sagesse ni aux engagements qu'il a pris avec la société."(95)

This difference in point of view is fundamental. It enables Grivel, whilst understanding the connection between the failure of education and the lack of a 'patrie', to maintain that the 'patrie' exists, whether or not the people of the land understand their obligations towards each other and their leaders:

"C'est la cupidité ignorante, quelquefois l'ennui de toute dépendence, et surtout le défaut d'instruction publique, instituée pour enseigner aux hommes leurs droits et leurs devoirs, qui, leur faisant perdre de vue les obligations sociales... comment la désunion d'un état et préparent sa décadence... Ce sont de telles moeurs, considérées par quelques philosophes de nos jours, qui leur ont fait penser et dire que le Français n'avait plus de patrie; comme s'il pouvait exister une société dont les membres eussent le droit de se croire dégagés de ce qu'ils lui doivent, et libres de leurs obligations."(96)

'La patrie' is fundamentally a moral, as opposed to a political entity. The qualities of the citizen are moral and the very word 'citoyen' has a synonym, in Grivel's language, with a moral quality, 'L'honnêteté':

"C'est le bon fils comme le bon père qui sont la base de l'honnête homme et du vrai citoyen."(97)

(95) *ibid*, vol. 1, pp.63-4

(96) *ibid*, pp 64-5

(97) *ibid*, p.90

For Rousseau moral qualities were part of public life, enforceable by law, and their lack could be punishable as a political crime. Grivel in fact shows himself to be aware of this in one of the closing chapters of his book:

"Loin de borner la connaissance de la morale au sentiment intérieur, comme on a fait jusqu'ici, faisons voir que la morale de l'homme social a sa base dans les lois physiques et constitutives des sociétés,"(98)

Grivel's writings are thus extremely interesting, illustrating, as they do, an awareness and quite profound understanding of important issues by one who admired many of the ideas of Montesquieu, Rousseau, Le Mercier de la Rivière, but who nevertheless felt that in France change should only come from the King and his administration, a touching faith very little linked with contemporary reality.

The editor of an anonymous work entitled De l'Éducation is clearly influenced by Montesquieu in his criticism of the numerous plans, which he calls

"de graves bagatelles, en vérité peu dignes d'être présentées au public comme un plan d'éducation,"(99)

for he writes

"il faudrait penser que toute l'Europe ait le même gouvernement et la même religion; que l'éducation doit avoir les mêmes principes dans les républiques, que dans les monarchies et dans les états qui approchent

(98) *ibid*, vol. 3, p.332

(99) De l'Éducation, Amsterdam, 1768, Avant-propos,

du pouvoir arbitraire..."(100)

He pinpoints the weakness of such plans, devised

"pour l'instruction d'une famille, qu'on souhaitait d'élever dans de certains principes convenables à l'état de leurs parents et de leur profession."(101)

The author of De l'Éducation has written his treatise in accordance with Montesquieu's theory of principles. They are the key to government:

"Tout l'art de gouverner se réduit à l'habileté d'exciter ou de réprimer les passions des sujets, suivant les principes de la constitution et l'esprit des lois."(102)

After emphasising how important it is to teach "les vérités universelles" of virtue by showing

"l'identité de leur intérêt avec celui de la société, et de la liaison de leur bonheur avec l'observation de leurs devoirs"(103),

he goes on to stress that knowledge is important in serving a large and civilised state:

"dans l'état présent des choses, nous sommes bien loin de pouvoir nous contenter de l'ignorance rustique, qui peut suffire à un petit état naissant, et nos constitutions compliquées ont besoin d'une grande multiplicité de talents et de connaissances."(104)

This is not to say that education should be alike for all classes: the people should be taught

"ce nombre borné de sciences, qui fournissent des principes aux arts dont s'occupe le

(100) *ibid*

(101) *ibid*

(102) *ibid*, p.29

(103) *ibid*, p.86

(104) *ibid*, p.87

peuple. Quels avantages pour un pays, que d'avoir d'habiles laboureurs et des artisans plus éclairés, qui non contents d'une routine aveugle, pourraient embrasser de nouvelles vues, et viser à des inventions."(105)

The great advantage of public education is that it can be made to follow a general plan suited to the needs of 'la patrie'. It should therefore be organised with a view to preparing children for their different roles in society. The present uniformity throughout Europe has a dual origin - unconnected with the needs of society - in scholasticism and an outdated and unquestioning admiration for the Ancients. It leads to a clash between the first - college - education and the second - that received in 'le monde'. Education should conform with the principle of the state for which it is intended, in accordance with Montesquieu's Esprit des Lois. In a republic "l'acquisition des talents agréables, et des connaissances spéculatives"(106) necessary to a large monarchy like France would not be of prime importance; a tough education, subordinating all wishes to the desire to love and serve 'la patrie', is, on the contrary, essential to maintain a republic, whereas in a monarchy a less harsh virtue is demanded and there is more time for agreeable and non essential talents. It is understood that the complicated constitution of a monarchy demands a great deal of skill in those in higher positions, so that their education will obviously be much wider than that of those

(105) *ibid*, pp.127-8

(106) *ibid*, p. 131

in subordinate positions. Subordination, however, leads to a striving to please ones superiors and thus to the cultivation of talents, even in those less well placed, and 'honour', the wish to distinguish oneself, produces effects similar to 'l'amour de la patrie'. The author is at pains to emphasise that virtue and 'l'amour de la patrie' can exist in a monarchy - obviously remembering the outcry at Montesquieu's original analysis - but substantially he is repeating Montesquieu's argument; what emerges a little more clearly here is that knowledge and talents are useful to all individuals in a monarchy, and that highly educated men in superior positions are essential to the monarchy. The result is that

"dans les monarchies tout favorise plutôt l'acquisition des talents, que l'exercice de la vertu, et qu'on y formera plutôt des caractères aimables , que de grands hommes."(107)

Then, very cautiously, and strictly following the line of Montesquieu's argument, the author warns that a useless, frivolous education may be a sign of a despotism, particularly in a government such as the French, which is not totally republic, monarchy or despotism. He then considers the double morality which we have already seen exposed by such writers as Madame d'Épinay. After emphasising his faith in "la seule vraie religion", which, unlike others, raises

(107) *ibid*, p.133

virtue to perfection, he criticises the inconsistency of

"la contrariété entre la première et la seconde éducation, qui est à peu près la même par toute l'Europe."(108)

The virtuous christian morality taught in schools is quite at variance with the worldly morality of the second education.

"On annonce avec ferveur les vérités les plus rigides à des peuples vicieux, qui sont persuadés de la bonté de ces vérités: au milieu de la corruption, on se pare des plus beaux sentiments:"(109)

Close contact between the different European nations has made them all follow one model, disregarding differences in constitution, dogma and opinions. Without directly stating it the author thus demands a frankly worldly morality to suit the constitution. It is easier to change 'les moeurs' through education than vice versa and he therefore believes that the morality taught in schools should be continued in later life by the promise of rewards and distinctions for the citizens who deserve them. He concludes that whereas in certain small states it may be possible for the best education and the best legislation to be one, in the larger states, and thus in monarchies, legislation must be limited. It would be "entamer avec trop de dureté la liberté naturelle des sujets"(110). Both public and domestic education should be allowed to exist, and domestic education could be influenced by a general direction of 'les moeurs'. Public education should, however, be made as attractive as possible and should

(108) *ibid*, p.136

(109) *ibid*, pp.136-7

(110) *ibid*, p.140

be subject to the direct authority of legislation, so that it would be "conforme à l'esprit du gouvernement"(III). This would mean that the people, whose education was also important, would not be left to "croupir dans l'ignorance et dans le vice"(II2)

De l'Éducation thus demonstrates the necessity for linking 'les moeurs' with the spirit of the state through education and of continuing this education beyond school age. Subtly it is hinted that the old platitudinous christian morality which has ceased to have any real meaning and has become a mere front, is no longer sufficient, and moreover that the other aspect of contemporary education, its frivolity and worldliness, may be a sign of despotism. A compromise is effected on the subject of legislation, so that in fact all but the wealthiest would be subject to state education and the wealthiest would be free to choose their own teachers for their children and be influenced only indirectly through a change in 'les moeurs' throughout the land, inspired by the promise of rewards.

Garnier, a teacher of Hebrew, wrote just a little earlier his De l'Éducation civile (1765) where, drawing directly from the experience of the Ancients, he criticised the haphazard, aimless and contradictory French education, as com-

(111) *ibid*, p.141

(112) *ibid*.

pared with the very purposeful and consequent education of the Ancients. It consisted in learning dead languages in order to speak - but not to think - well and then studying an arid and scholastic philosophy which excluded all those parts that were really of interest and use to a future citizen,

"telles que la morale pratique, qui dicte les devoirs; l'économique qui règle l'intérieur des maisons; la politique qui maintient les sociétés; enfin, le droit public, le droit de la nature et le droit des gens, qui sont autant de branches de la politique."(113)

Such narrow, and indeed stunting, education received its death blow when pupils entered the much more fascinating world of society. The result was that people in all positions were ill-suited for their work, and

"qui consolera la patrie, en proie à des âmes, ou de fer, ou de boue? Qu'un cordonnier, qu'un tailleur fassent mal une chaussure ou un habit, c'est un malheur facile à réparer, et qui retombe à la fin sur eux-mêmes; mais, qu'un homme en place fasse une faute considérable, la patrie entière s'en ressent, et souvent la plaie devient incurable."(114)

Garnier is therefore conscious that the future welfare of 'la patrie' depends on its citizens, although he does point out that there is a gap between the French state and the Greek city states which he so admired. Whereas in Greek

(113) Garnier, De l'Education civile, 1765, pp.18-9

(114) ibid, pp.25-6

and Roman education

"tout tendait à former des hommes d'état
et des citoyens vertueux,"(115)

so far as French education is concerned, Garnier can only point out the material shortcomings likely to befall an ill-educated nation and suggest a new course of studies which he hopes will bring about an improvement, not only in standards of learning, but also in morals. His suggestions for reform of the curriculum are not startling. They are based on the old criticism of scholasticism but emphasise the need for a third year of philosophy, to come before rhetoric, devoted entirely to "la science de l'homme civil", that is the study "de la morale pratique, de l'économie, de la politique", including "le droit de la nature, le droit des gens et le droit public".(116)

It is perhaps not surprising to find such an admirer of the Ancients' way of life trying to instil civil virtue in his pupils, but it is surely a sign of a change in the contemporary atmosphere that he suggests a separation of civil and religious virtue, so that if a man's religious belief should ever be shaken, in this century of doubt, then at least he would have a sound morality to rely on.

Garnier faces the problem of whether in a monarchy - so different in administration from a republic - general edu-

(115) *ibid*, p.26

(116) *ibid*, p.32

cation for all classes would be dangerous. He recognises that it is sometimes considered to threaten public order, but argues that

"Les citoyens éclairés, les partisans de la vérité, ne sont jamais à craindre; mais bien ces demi-savants, dominés par une imagination fougueuse,... Quand ces hommes se rencontrent dans un pays et dans un siècle où l'on est généralement peu instruit sur les matières qui touchent de plus près à nos besoins, leur audace est regardée comme une généreuse liberté, et leurs paradoxes les plus révoltants acquièrent des partisans nombreux... Le seul moyen de les réduire au silence et de remédier au mal que peuvent causer leurs écrits, ce serait, si je ne me trompe, de montrer l'absurdité de leurs hypothèses... Or c'est là ce que de vrais savants et des hommes parfaitement instruits peuvent seuls exécuter:"(117)

Teachers employed by the government and teaching a love of the government would eliminate the danger to the state. The treatise ends on an optimistic note:

"Tout semble nous annoncer aujourd'hui que les temps désirés par l'immortel d'Aguesseau, sont enfin arrivés. Un Monarque bienfaisant a jeté ses regards sur l'éducation; des ministres citoyens s'empressent de seconder ses vues; des magistrats distingués n'ont point dédaigné de s'associer aux travaux de l'Université."(118)

The Éducation civile is disappointingly unoriginal in its assumptions and suggestions, despite the promising title. The importance of instruction in politics and civic morality is recognised, but the vital question of the link between

(117) *ibid*, pp.130-2

(118) *ibid*, p.144

politics and a specific type of education and morality is skated over, and we are left with the impression that, worthy successor of the vanished Utopias of the ancient Greek states, contemporary France has the very best of prospects for becoming a flourishing nation of patriots, after only the minimum number of changes, such as a revised school curriculum and some reform of the colleges.

Of the same period are Fleury's Essai sur les moyens de réformer l'éducation particulière et générale...(1764), Maubert de Gouvests's Le Temps perdu...(1765) and Pesselier's Lettres sur l'éducation. (1762). All three recognise the importance of education to the state and believe consequently, in varying degrees, that it should be the responsibility of the state. Pesselier puts it thus:

"Il s'agit de le former, c'est-à-dire, de donner à chaque fond particulier qu'il n'est guère possible de changer essentiellement, la forme la plus convenable et la modification la plus avantageuse, tant au bien commun et général, qu'aux intérêts personnels et particuliers."(119)

He is convinced that education influences, for good or evil, the physical, moral and political life of the nation. This is the affair of the large family of the state.

"Je ne pense pas... que des vérités si essentielles se renferment dans le cercle

(119) Pesselier, Ch.E. (attrib. to) Lettres sur l'éducation...
Paris, 1762, 2 vols., vol. 1, p.28

étroit des familles particulières: l'État, c'est-à-dire la famille générale, y est trop intéressée, pour que le gouvernement ne s'en occupe pas très sérieusement."(120)

However Pesselier is adamant that "toutes les éducations ne conviennent pas à tous."(121) The basic education which is necessary to all is indeed rudimentary and comprises little more than morals, religion and a knowledge of ones position and duty in society. It does not even include reading, writing, arithmetic and history, which are classed as 'useful' education. The basic essential education should be available everywhere and to everyone and should be free, but useful education would be available only in larger towns and would not be free:

"l'intention et l'intérêt de l'État étant de borner cette éducation moins nécessaire et non de la détruire."(122)

He fears, like so many of his contemporaries, that education for "les cultivateurs" and "les industriels d'une utilité première"(123) may tempt them away from their essential work. His attitude is one of awakening, but not profound, political awareness, typical of the more enlightened men of his period. The good of society is related to the education it provides and therefore education should be general, but on the other hand it should be strictly classified in order to preserve society as it stands, teaching an ethical code deriving

(120) *ibid*, p.33

(121) *ibid*, p.50

(122) *ibid*, pp.84-5

(123) *ibid*, p.88

rather from the old Christian Golden Rule than from the new political morality. There is, however, a realisation that

"l'éducation publique rapproche plus les jeunes gens de l'esprit de patriote et de citoyen"(124)

and that as to private education

"peut-être les resserre-t-elle trop dans le cercle étroit des sociétés personnelles, au risque de leur faire perdre les vues générales et l'esprit du citoyen."(125)

If the broad outline of the argument - that public education breeds a public spirit - is generally on progressive lines, the thinking of Pesselier is thus nevertheless still very cautious.

Maubert de Gouvest, former secretary of the King of Poland, is similar in outlook. As the title of his book suggests, he is critical of the colleges and delighted that the Jesuits have been expelled. This provides an excellent opportunity to reform "Le Gothique qui ... défigure (l'éducation nationale)"(126).

"C'était le moment de lui en substituer une autre plus conforme à l'intérêt des citoyens, aux moeurs de la nation, et au bien de l'État."(127)

He believes that the answer would be to leave all the organisation of schools throughout the country to the University. This is a body

"non moins respectable par son patriotisme,

(124) *ibid*, pp.68-9

(125) *ibid*, p.69

(126) Maubert de Gouvest, J.H. Le Temps perdu, ou les écoles publiques; considérations d'un patriote sur l'éducation de la première jeunesse en France.... Amsterdam, 1765, p.3

(127) *ibid*

que par ses lumières:... Elle est d'ailleurs composée de citoyens, dont toutes les relations sont avec la patrie, et qu'aucun secours étranger n'enhardit à braver le mécontentement du public."(128)

One quickly realises, however, that Maubert de Gouvest's 'patriotism' is a conservative and nationalistic one. On the one hand he is anxious to show that France can produce quite as good citizens as the

"insulaires, nos voisins, qui semblent s'arroger avec supériorité cette première vertu de citoyen,"(129)

and on the other hand he wishes rather to heighten the old enthusiasm for King and country, than to introduce any really new, equalising love of the whole nation and the public good; indeed his vocabulary even betrays this, for while using the correct patriotic vocabulary in his general references to the nation, when speaking of the dangers of over-educating the lower classes he says there is a danger of losing "de bons sujets"(130). His system, then, like Pesselier's, would be a stratified one, determined in a practical way by how much the parents could afford to pay for their children's education. It would therefore be necessary to abolish free education:

"Le gratuit de la première instruction est un appas auquel se laissent prendre les citoyens des classes inférieures."(131)

(128) *ibid*, p.31

(129) *ibid*, p.33

(130) *ibid*, p.37

(131) *ibid*, p.36

Whilst detesting

"cette barbare coutume des états du nord où la plus nombreuse partie du peuple est vouée à l'ignorance, et à la servitude sa compagne"(132),

Maubert de Gouvest warns that great care must be taken that general education does not confuse "les rangs et les destinations"(133), and he therefore defines it thus:

"L'instruction est générale, lorsqu'elle pénètre dans toutes les classes du peuple, lorsqu'elle est présentée à la jeunesse de toutes les conditions, telle qu'il lui est utile de la recevoir. Or rien n'est plus propre qu'une contribution personnelle, et l'abolissement du gratuit, pour fixer chaque classe du peuple à l'instruction qui convient à son état et à ses justes espérances."(134)

The book thus calls paradoxically for general education to raise good patriots for the state, whilst in fact confining education of any length to the well-to-do; it must typify the confusion in many minds at that period when the cry for a more sincere patriotism, swelled by the Seven Years' War and the expulsion of the ultra-montane Jesuits was answered by the demand for the so variously interpreted panacea of general education.

Various competitions invited debate on the subject. The Essai sur les moyens de réformer l'éducation particulière et générale, destiné à l'instruction des pères et mères, à

(132) *ibid*, p.38

(133) *ibid*, p.39

(134) *ibid*.

celle des directeurs des collèges et de tous les éducateurs, by Fleury, a former maths teacher and the author of an earlier project for a free school for sciences was an answer to three of these: Quels sont les moyens de tirer un peuple de la corruption? (Société typographique de Berne); Quels sont les moyens de rendre les moeurs à un peuple qui les a perdues? (Académie de Belles Lettres de Marseille); Quel serait en France le plan d'étude le plus avantageux? (Académie des Jeux Floraux de Toulouse) (for which latter the père Navarré won the prize(135) . The connection between the three questions is clear: poor education is responsible for the corruption of a people. The two great faults of education are the lack of sound religious instruction and the ignorance of the pupils on leaving school. Fleury does not accuse teachers of lacking in either knowledge or will, seeing that

"dévoués par état au bien public, et pourvus en apparence de tous les talents nécessaires, ils ne se trompent point dans l'intention, mais seulement dans la forme... Ils prêchent bien la piété, l'amour du travail et toutes les vertus sociales; mais ils ne rendent pas ces qualités aimables."(136)

Fleury's suggestions for reform go further than Pesselier's or de Gouvest's. He believes, like them, in a national system and, like Pesselier, feels that this should be organised by the government. While not finally committing himself for

(135) see chap. 6, part 1, p.209

(136) Fleury, N.M. op. cit. Paris, 1764, p.27

public and against private education he thinks that, with divine help, it would be possible for "les chefs éclairés" (137), whose only motive was the general good, to find ways

"pour former de bons fils, de bons maris, de bons pères, de bons amis, de bons citoyens, en un mot des défenseurs zélés de l'Etat et des lois."(138)

Thus both the private and public aspects of the future citizen's life are important: one is reminded of Rollin and the passage where he deemed that good teachers should aim primarily to make their pupils

"vertueux, bons fils, bons pères, bons maîtres, bons amis, bons citoyens."(139)

One may note, however, the emphasis by Rollin on virtue, by Fleury on defence against aggression. The first, so many years earlier, seemed to stress that the strength of the state came from the civic virtue of its citizens, the second resumes the qualities of the citizen in the ability to distinguish and ward off threats to the law and state as they stand.

Although Fleury cannot decide totally to reject private education, which he feels is best suited to a certain class of citizens, he does, however demand that it should come under the control of the government. The basis of his educational system is that each kind of profession and skill

(137) *ibid*, p.43

(138) *ibid*, p.43

(139) Rollin, Traité, vol. 1, p.9

should be taught, but in different types of school:

"la profession du père serait sans doute préférée, ... point de contrainte." (140)

and he is insistent - here he differs absolutely from Maubert de Gouvest and Pesselier - that even the poorest should not be neglected:

"Oui! tranchons le mot; les pauvres même, les enfants des pauvres seraient enlevés pour jamais à l'indigence, et seraient placés sans distinction à côté des premiers de l'État. Citoyens comme les nobles et les riches, la pauvreté serait-elle donc un titre pour qu'on les abandonnât au plus triste sort?" (141)

There is thus recognition not only that the common people are educable, but that their education could be of use to the state. If in reality the system would not actively promote a mingling of classes and an easy transition from one to another simply through education (for it must be remembered that Fleury assumes that most children will follow in their fathers' footsteps, thus keeping the balance of the social structure), yet the old liberal tradition of offering an opportunity to the bright, poorly born child is stressed, and for the best of patriotic reasons: that the talents of each child must be discovered and developed for the good of the entire nation. Moreover Fleury acknowledges that 'religieux' are too attached to their own community to be

(140) Fleury, op. cit. p.46

(141) ibid, pp.48-9

able to offer the same devotion to the secular society for which children are to be educated:

"il faut que des éducateurs tiennent à la société pour s'y intéresser véritablement".(142)

For Fleury believes that, whatever Rousseau may have said, France is very definitely a 'patrie', although it may not be realised that this is so, since schools do not stress that what they teach is to be used for the good of the nation. The aim of knowledge is not a self-orientated one, but to

"s'acquitter de tout ce qu'elle (la jeunesse) doit à Dieu, à son Roi, à sa patrie à ses parents, à la société, à ses supérieurs, à ses égaux, à ses inférieurs, à ses amis, à ses ennemis, à ses devoirs et à sa profession."(143)

Thus we see the beginnings of the acceptance of the idea that the education of the mass of the people might be of use to the nation, as La Chalotais and the Parliamentarians had already advocated. However the opponents of equal educational opportunities for all received, perhaps unexpectedly, support from many of the most reforming minds of the age: the physiocrats and most of the 'philosophes' argued against complete equality, wishing to change the spirit but not the form of society. They were aware that differentiation in education was essential after the elementary level if the

(142) *ibid*, p.54

(143) *ibid*, pp.42-3

hierarchical structure of society was to be maintained. At the same time they emphasised that it was man's natural right and duty to learn to use his innate powers of reasoning and to understand the laws of his own society.

Chapter Six

Part 2: The pre-revolutionary years; the Physiocrats - Coyer - d'Holbach - Mably - Philipon de la Madelaine - some citizens of Lyon.

-o-o-o-o-o-

The physiocrats feared that the education of the labourers beyond a certain point would swell the numbers of idle monks and useless hands who no longer wished to work on the land and were unable to find useful employment elsewhere. It is the same fear as that expressed so crudely by Formey, but underlying it is the belief that the wealth and security of France lay in the soil and that those devoted to cultivating the land were the real wealth of a country. It is in this conviction that the physiocrats demanded general, obligatory and free education for the whole nation, for whilst not wishing to foment discontent by overeducation of the wrong sort, they thought it essential to give every citizen an understanding of the concepts of justice and property. Assuming it to be now universally accepted that France was a large family with the King as its father, that society's well being stemmed from primitive, natural law, and that

"la masse générale des avantages doit se répartir avec la plus grande équité possible; que le vrai et le seul objet de

l'administration, est d'assurer à chaque particulier sa liberté, sa propriété, son bien-être, à condition pour lui de contribuer de sa part autant qu'il le doit à cette harmonie générale qui fait la sûreté de tous."(1)

it seemed now evident that the citizen needed the skills of literacy in order to understand his legal and social existence.

Education was thus an integral part of the physiocrats' political and economic philosophy and recurs constantly throughout their writings. The physiocrats believed that man acts according to his own interest, as he sees it. It was thus essential that he should learn where his interests truly lay: that is to say, in the general good of the community, which guaranteed his own existence and comfort; if he did not realise this and act accordingly the society would have no real political unity:

"Un véritable corps politique est un corps composé d'une multitude d'hommes, mais tellement unis entre eux, que n'ayant qu'une seule et même volonté, qu'une seule et même direction, ils semblent ainsi ne constituer qu'un seul et même individu."(2)

His passions, above all, which might seem to recommend different ways of behaving, must be subjugated and trained in the right directions: thus a passion for glory and honour would obviously be most desirable. General, public, free education directed by the government was the only means of enlightening men as to their true good.

(1) Baudeau, Ephémérides du citoyen, ou chronique de l'esprit national. 1765-1772, T. III, vol. 2, p.25, 7th March 1766

(2) Le Mercier de la Rivière, De l'Instruction publique; ou considérations morales et politiques sur la nécessité, la nature et la source de cette instruction. Stockholm, 1775, p.34

"L'instruction publique, seule et unique moyen de dissiper les ténèbres de l'ignorance, doit avoir pour but d'attacher les hommes à leurs devoirs réciproques de citoyen, en les éclairant sur la nécessité de ces devoirs pour les vrais intérêts de leurs sens, et principalement en banissant d'entre eux les fausses opinions, qui, égarant l'amour-propre, empêcheraient alors ses intérêts d'être parfaitement d'accord avec ceux des sens."(3)

Or, as a Lettre de M. B. à M. on La nécessité de l'instruction politique puts it:

"Il ne suffit pas qu'un seul s'écrie: 'J'y vois au milieu des ténèbres: suivez mes pas ou vous allez vous noyer; chacun suivra son opinion, prendra de fausses lueurs pour la lumière et le transparent des eaux pour un chemin battu. L'instruction publique, générale et continuelle est donc la seule loi fondamentale des sociétés, qui puisse être d'institution humaine."(4)

The withholding of knowledge, conversely, was closely linked with despotism, since a tyrant could only survive if his people were held in ignorance:

"Quand on veut qu'une grande et forte multitude reste dans la dépendance absolue d'un petit nombre de despotes, il faut qu'elle soit ignorante: vouloir assujettir au pouvoir arbitraire et tyrannique un peuple qui sait et qui raisonne, c'est la plus absurde des chimères."(5)

The physiocrat philosophy went further than the usual banalities on the 'common good' and taught the importance of the respect of property, from which comes security, happiness

(3) *ibid*, pp.19-20

(4) Ephémérides, 1767, vol. 2, p.55

(5) *ibid*, 1766, T.111, vol. 2, p.21

and wealth. Education must "faire connaître aux hommes l'ordre public le plus avantageux à leurs sens;" that is one which assures "la plus grande-somme de jouissances que nous puissions raisonnablement désirer."(6) Such an order must be founded on the right of property and governed by unvarying laws which dictate once and for all what is virtuous and vicious, glorious and dishonourable. It was this basic respect for property as the source of the community's happiness, and the insistence on the rights of those considered by so many writers to be too lowly to have any claims to civil rights, which gave rise to the most significant aspect of the physiocrats' views on education: the right to and need for instruction of the whole nation, including the peasant class. More radical still, we find in the Ephémérides that the status of the peasant is questioned: is he, or is he not, a citizen? It is admitted that neither the law nor custom concede him the right to stand beside the other members of society and claim certain basic equal rights as citizens:

"Les habitants de nos villages qui paissent les troupeaux, qui recueillent les moissons, qui cultivent les vignobles, sont-ils citoyens comme nous? C'est la question préliminaire. Nos anciennes mœurs les assujettissaient à la servitude précisément comme les nègres de nos colonies. Il fut un temps dans le royaume où vous auriez à peine trouvé un million de vrais citoyens et vingt millions de vrais esclaves ... l'esclavage est abolie depuis plus de

(6) Le Mercier de la Rivière, op. cit. p.45

cing siècles, mais il est évident qu'il en reste encore des traces dans notre législation, dans nos moeurs, dans notre esprit national."(7)

Such a fundamental query must be seen in the context of the many platitudes about citizens, the more or less accurate definitions which just do not go far enough(7b). In the light of this one may appreciate the originality of the Ephémérides

Thus instead of limiting education to those who could pay for it, the physiocrats insisted that it should be free and moreover obligatory, as far as this could be so without offending individual liberty, for

"L'homme ... ne peut être homme que par l'exercice et l'emploi de son intelligence et de sa raison éclairée."(8)

His newly awakened powers of reasoning would make comprehensible to the citizen the social order in which he lived, for

"L'instruction est la manifestation détaillée des lois de l'ordre économique, de l'ordre social, de l'ordre de la justice par essence."(9)

He would therefore act virtuously:

"Je le répète: la vertu n'est autre chose que l'amour du bien; sa vraie base est d'être éclairée."(10)

It was for this reason that the physiocrats felt entitled to override the common objection that "ventre affamé n'a point d'oreilles." The common people must receive the same basic

(7) Ephémérides, 1766, T. 11, vol. 2, pp. 18-19.

(7b) See for example Robinet's definition of 'citoyen' in his Dictionnaire universel... Paris, 1777-8, vol. XI, pp.29-31:

"ce sont des gens...qui cherchent à conserver la vertu et le bien public. De telles gens ont un droit incontestable à la faveur et à la bénédiction du genre humain...Le vrai citoyen a toujours une bonne cause, celle de la patrie et du genre humain...ses vues sont grandes, élevées, pleines de bienveillance, et tendent à l'avancement et à la défense de tout ce qui est beau, droit et digne de louange dans le monde."

(8) Ephémérides, 1768 vol.10, p.21 (9) *ibid*, p.29

(10) *ibid*, 1768 vol. 3, pp.159-160

education as the nobility.(11) Education must be strictly linked with the profession the child intended to follow; after the basic instruction paths would therefore diverge widely. However the profession of citizen must be learned

"Chaque profession a des règles qui lui sont propres, exige des connaissances particulières, sans lesquelles il est impossible de la bien exercer. De bonne foi, peut-on s'imaginer que la profession de citoyen ne soit point dans le même cas?"(12)

Two types of school were therefore needed:

"Les unes sont établies pour enrichir l'esprit, pour l'orner et déployer le génie; les autres pour apprendre aux hommes ce qu'aucun d'entre eux ne doit ignorer;"(13)

The latter were to form, not geometricians, orators and learned men, but simply citizens and must therefore be conducted in the most direct manner, (ie. in the native language) and according to a programme laid down by the government.

"Cette dernière condition est bien essentielle: les connaissances nécessaires à l'état de citoyen, sont précisément les règles de conduite auxquelles chaque citoyen est tenu de se conformer. Certainement ces règles n'ont rien d'arbitraire; certainement elles sont des vérités immuables: toutes les personnes préposées pour les enseigner, doivent donc, sur cet article, avoir les mêmes principes, parler le même langage."(14)

- (11) cf. Ephémérides, 1768, vol. 3, pp.149-150
 (12) Le Mercier de la Rivière, op. cit. pp.115-6
 (13) *ibid*, p.110
 (14) *ibid*, pp.110-111

The basis of this uniform education could be a "catéchisme civil et politique", which would contain the basic truths,

"les principes naturels, les principes fondamentaux de l'ordre social et de la morale universelle."(15)

It would show men their duties and obligations towards each other,

"leur apprendre ce qui doit être réputé vertueux ou vicieux, juste ou injuste, glorieux ou déshonorant; leur montrer en un mot la nécessité dont il est qu'ils attachent leur bonheur à la pratique des vertus."(16)

In other words they would learn that their own natural freedom was inextricably bound^{up} with the constitution of the state in which they lived:

"tout doit rappeler aux citoyens qu'ils sont nés pour être libres, et qu'en effet ils se trouvent libres sous la loi de la propriété; mais que la conservation de leur liberté particulière est inséparablement attachée à la conservation de la liberté publique, de la liberté commune du corps politique; et qu'ils ne peuvent maintenir cette liberté commune, qu'en maintenant dans toute sa pureté la constitution de ce corps, dans toute sa plénitude l'autorité de ses lois, dans toute son intégrité l'ordre public établi par elles pour l'intérêt commun."(17)

When the young citizen left school he must still be reminded constantly - by, for instance, public monuments - of the truths he had learnt there. The basic aim of edu-

(15) *ibid*, p.111

(16) *ibid*, pp.111-2

(17) *ibid*, pp.112-3

cation, as the physiocrats saw it, was thus to help men to realise with their reason that their true interest lay in becoming citizens, men who understood the social order to which they belonged and were willing to contribute to it, to obey its laws and to submit to its justice. Such an understanding could not be instilled by a few vague platitudes and generalities on 'le bien commun' and 'la vertu du citoyen'(18). It could come only through the development of reason:

"l'homme, dis-je, est destiné par la loi de l'ordre naturel à établir et perpétuer par son travail, guidé par son industrie, éclairé par sa raison, l'ordre favorable à sa propre subsistance."(19)

Without reason man was no better than the animals(20). Not only must the reason of all men be developed, but they must be taught that whatever differences life may put between men - social, intellectual or physical - basically they were free and equal, for it was only with this feeling that they could enter into the status of citizen; slavery was

"le néant des vertus, la source et l'assemblage de tous les vices: aussi est-ce dans le sentiment intime de leur liberté et de leur égalité, que les hommes puisent une grande idée d'eux-mêmes comme citoyens; aussi pour les rendre vertueux, la première condition essentielle est de les rendre libres et égaux."(21)

(18) v.. Ephémérides, 1768 vol. 3, p.148: "Prenons-y garde; en général un des plus grands vices de l'éducation, c'est le sens vague et indéfini des mots les plus usités en morale. Pour entendre les mots, il faudrait démêler les idées; car l'obscurité des mots ne s'est formée que par la confusion des idées."

(19) Ephémérides, 1768, vol. 10, p.28

(20) v. Ephémérides, 1768, vol. 10, p.20: "Si l'homme n'aiguise son intelligence...il demeurera au rang des brutes et au-dessous."

(21) Le Mercier de la Rivière, op. cit. p.90

The physiocrats added a final twist to the debate on who should receive education by saying that in reality it was the upper classes who most needed it, not so that they might keep their position as the ruling élite, but because they were furthest from the basic truths of natural law, upon which the whole of education should depend:

"ceux qu'on croit ignorants et grossiers, sont très près de la véritable science, et ... ce sont les lettrés, les politiques, les gens du grand monde, etc. qu'il faut arracher à l'ignorance la plus profonde et la plus incurable, aux préjugés de l'orgueil le moins fondé."(22)

Nevertheless they emphasised that the education of the nobility, as of the poorest in the realm, should be public:

"Nous ne balançons pas à proscrire toute éducation privée. L'institution publique et commune est toujours préférable; et dans une monarchie comme la nôtre, il ne devrait être, à cet égard, aucune exception, depuis le pourpre jusqu'à la houlette."(23)

This did not imply that all should receive the same education; within the state system there would be standard schools for the different classes, five types in all, each training the future citizen for the particular status in life for which he was destined; there would be a college for the royal princes and a few of the most august nobility, a college for the rest of the nobility and the most distinguished magistracy, and the rest of the nation would attend the schools suitable to them as members of the upper or lower bourgeoisie

(22) Ephémérides, 1768, vol. 10, p.23

(23) ibid, 1765, vol. 1, p.104

or of the peasantry.

"Rien ne serait plus fou que l'idée de rassembler indistinctement dans les mêmes écoles publiques les enfants de la première distinction avec ceux des derniers paysans, de les soumettre à la même discipline, de les former aux mêmes exercices, de les appliquer à l'étude des mêmes sciences."(24)

Thus the social order of the 'ancien régime' was to find itself rationalised in an educational system whose institutions, whilst methodically teaching the principles of citizenship, mirrored the hierarchical order of eighteenth century France.

One member of the physiocrat school of thought found himself in a position of sufficient influence for him to hope that his advice on education might carry some weight. Turgot as Contrôleur Général wrote a Mémoire au Roi sur les municipalités in which he suggested that the lack of a sense of duty, the lack of allegiance to any sort of group, be it family, city or state, were faults which could and should be remedied by a national system of education. The fact that people were

"assez mal instruits de leurs devoirs dans la famille, et nullement de ceux qui les lient à l'état"(25)

meant that each thought first of himself and took what he could, and the strongest took the most.

(24) *ibid.*

(25) Turgot, Mémoire au Roi sur les municipalités, 1775, in Oeuvres, 2 vols. Paris, 1844, vol. 2, p.505

"dans cette espèce de guerre...personne n'a intérêt à favoriser le gouvernement,...il n'y a point d'esprit public, parce qu'il n'y a point d'intérêt commun visible et connu."(26)

A 'conseil de l'instruction nationale' could make 'les moeurs' the basis of education and thus the formation of citizens would be the inevitable result. Turgot, as the rest of the physiocrats, recognised this(27) and seems to echo Le Mercier de la Rivière (28) when he says

"Il est étonnant que cette science (of morals) soit si peu avancée. Il y a des méthodes et des établissements pour former des géomètres, des physiciens, des peintres. Il n'y en a pas pour former des citoyens."(29)

Like the rest of the physiocrats Turgot makes the study of the citizens' rights and duties the centre of his educational programme and like them he stresses the need for uniformity and for availability to all classes.

"Un nouveau système d'éducation, qui ne peut s'établir que par toute l'autorité de Votre Majesté, secondée d'un Conseil très bien choisi, conduirait à former dans toutes les classes de la société des hommes vertueux et utiles, des âmes justes, des coeurs purs, des citoyens zélés."(30)

Specialised training could follow where appropriate and would be all the more sound for the good patriotic grounding of the first education. Turgot's outline of a plan is strictly

(26) *ibid.*

(27) *ibid*, vol. 2, p.506 : "Le premier lien des nations est les moeurs; la première base des moeurs est l'instruction prise dès l'enfance sur tous les devoirs de l'homme en société."

(28) Le Mercier de la Rivière distinguishes between two types of school: those intended to develop the intellect and those whose object " n'est point de faire des géomètres, des orateurs, des savants mais seulement des citoyens." *op. cit.* p.110.

(29) Turgot, *op. cit.* vol. 2, p.506

(30) *ibid*, p.507

rooted in the reality of contemporary France, both in his appeal to the King directly to take over the formation of a 'conseil d'instruction' and in his mistrust of religion as a basis for morality in a secular society where disputes arise every day between its various members:

"Votre royaume, Sire, est de ce monde; et c'est à la conduite que vos sujets y tiennent les uns envers les autres et envers l'état, que Votre Majesté est obligée de veiller pour l'acquit de sa conscience et pour l'intérêt de sa couronne."(31)

He concludes with a picture of France ten years hence.

"Les enfants qui ont actuellement dix ans se trouveraient alors des hommes de vingt, préparés pour l'état, affectionnés à la patrie; soumis, non par la crainte, mais par la raison, à l'autorité; secourables envers leurs concitoyens, accoutumés à reconnaître et à respecter la justice, qui est le premier fondement des sociétés."(32)

The ideal was not to be realised in the peaceful way envisaged by Turgot: in little more than the ten years he calculated it would take to bring up a new generation of citizens France was thrown into the chaos of the Revolution, whose leaders also realised the profound importance of education, but where changes could not follow the orderly pattern envisaged by the theoretical reformers of peacetime.

The physiocrats, like other philosophers, took great note of developments in the educational sphere in other European

(31) *ibid.*

(32) *ibid.*, p.508

countries. There were frequent laudatory references in the Ephémérides to Russian, German and Swedish developments, which were very favourably compared with French achievements.

"Nos co-opérateurs et nous-mêmes avons souvent essayé d'indiquer quelle espèce d'instruction il serait nécessaire de donner aux peuples des campagnes. Peut-être y pensera-t-on quelque jour chez nous. Mais on y travaille avec activité à Venise, en Saxe, à Hanovre; on y forme et des élèves, et des maîtres pour les élèves à venir."(33)

On the rare occasions when a worthwhile work was published it was not acted on. Such was the fate of Coyer's Plan d'éducation.

"Ses compatriotes ont lu son projet et l'ont loué; c'est en Russie qu'il s'exécute."(34)

To read the writings of the physiocrats on Russia, Germany, Poland etc. one might imagine that they were speaking of states in which existed a most advanced concept of citizenship. Thus:

"On commence à savoir dans toute l'Allemagne que presque tous les maux publics et particulières viennent de l'ignorance, et que le peuple ne saurait être trop éclairé."(35)

In Denmark

"Le Roi pensant que les enfants dont les pères ont voué leur vie à la défense de la nation, sont encore plus enfants de

(33) Ephémérides, 1772, vol. 1, p.247

(34) ibid.

(35) ibid., 1771, vol. 5, p.195

la patrie que ceux des autres citoyens, a fondé une maison pour l'éducation des enfants des soldats."(36)

and

"Le Roi a établi plusieurs écoles gratuites pour l'instruction des enfants pauvres des villes."(37)

In Sweden

"On s'occupe sérieusement à Stockholm du soin de perfectionner l'éducation publique."(38)

and as for Russia, where Catherine II

"L'auguste législatrice de la Russie, avec le pouvoir absolu, ne veut régner que par les lois gardiennes de la sûreté personnelle des propriétés, et du bonheur public."(39)

a plan of education was being put into practice which was quite admirable:

"Nous n'avons rien de semblable en Europe: c'est le complément des vues et des vœux de tous les sages, depuis Lycurgue jusqu'à nous."(40)

Only in France, despite the fact that

"ce fût en France qu'aient été faits presque tous les bons livres sur l'éducation,"(41)

was there no move to establish a popular free education, to exist, if necessary, side by side with a system of private education for those who could afford it.

The reputation enjoyed by the French as theorists on

(36) *ibid*, 1771, vol. 5, pp.234-5

(37) *ibid*, 1771, vol. 5, p.235

(38) *ibid*, 1771, vol. 5, p.259

(39) *ibid*, 1772, vol. 1, p.217

(40) *ibid*, 1772, vol. 1, p.218

(41) *ibid*, 1772, vol. 1, p.244

education was considerable. Dupont de Nemours was invited by King Stanislas of Poland to be secretary to the 'conseil suprême de l'instruction' and director of the Academy, with a view to reorganising the schools (he later played a similar role in the Revolutionary Comité d'instruction publique de la Convention). Le Mercier de la Rivière was an adviser of Catherine the Great and his Traité de l'instruction publique was written at the request of Gustavus III of Sweden; and Diderot wrote his famous Plan d'une université for Catherine the Great, though doubtless with France in mind as more than an 'arrière-pensée'.

His plan, in fact, contained little of great originality. Instruction, he insisted, (contrary to Rousseau's thesis) civilised, whilst its extinction led, not to natural society, but to barbarity and slavery. Like the physiocrats, Diderot and the philosophes saw the cardinal aim of instruction in the enlightenment it afforded to men on their duties and on their reasons and interest in performing them.

"L'instruction adoucit les caractères, éclaire sur les devoirs, subtilise les vices, les étouffe ou les voile, inspire l'amour de l'ordre, de la justice et des vertus,"(42)

Despite his claim to be the first to realise that different educations would be suited to different professions (a claim which is palpably incorrect: in all his reading he found "nulle distinction entre ce qu'il importe à tous de savoir

(42) Diderot, Plan d'une université pour le gouvernement de Russie, 1775, in Oeuvres complètes, Assézat ed, 1875, vol. 3, p.429

et ce qu'il n'importe d'enseigner qu'à quelques-uns"(43)), relatively speaking he arrives at the same conclusion as the majority of more advanced thinkers (with perhaps a lingering stress on 'amabilité' and 'goût'):

"il s'agit de donner au souverain des sujets zélés et fidèles, à l'empire des citoyens utiles; à la société des particuliers instruits, honnêtes et même aimables; à la famille de bons époux et de bons pères; à la république des lettres quelques hommes de grand goût, et à la religion des ministres édifiants, éclairés et paisibles."(44)

Instruction of a certain basic kind is essential to all, both for the happiness and benefit of the individual and for the good of society:

"il serait aussi cruel qu'absurde de condamner à l'ignorance les conditions subalternes de la société. Dans toutes, il y a des connaissances dont on ne saurait être privé sans conséquence. Le nombre des chaumières et des autres édifices particuliers étant à celui des palais dans le rapport de dix mille à un, il y a dix mille à parier contre un que le génie, les talents et la vertu sortiront plutôt d'une chaumière que d'un palais."(45)

The apparent equality of opportunity demanded here is negated however, by the acceptance of the continuance of private education for the wealthy, unlike the physiocrats.

"A proprement parler, une école publique n'est instituée que pour les enfants des pères dont la modique fortune ne

(43) *ibid*, p.431

(44) *ibid*.

(45) *ibid*, p.433

suffirait pas à la dépense d'une éducation domestique et que leurs fonctions journalières détourneraient du soin de la surveiller; c'est le gros d'une nation."(46)

The spirit of the age has thus reached the stage of demanding a certain basic education for all children, offering, in the case of the really gifted, an opportunity for further studies (this resembles the theory, if not the practice, of the earlier part of the century); it is still far from demanding equal educational opportunities for all. This emphasis is due to the concept of the central issue in the debate: the citizen. It is still assumed that he is to be educated to fit into his role in a pre-ordained, hierarchical society, with the difference that he should now enjoy his situation and understand it. There is no wish to encourage more movement between the different strata of society than is strictly necessary. It is for this reason that both the physiocrats and the philosophes could be so enraptured by Betsky's Plans et statuts (translated in 1775) which indeed established schools for the different classes to train pupils for their various roles. Grimm wrote:

"Pierre le Grand avait formé autour de lui des Anglais, des Allemands, des Français; Catherine II formera des hommes, des citoyens, et si le temps respecte des entreprises si glorieuses pour l'humanité, la Russie deviendra l'admiration des siècles à venir et le sera sans doute à plus juste titre que ne le furent longtemps l'ancienne

(46) *ibid.*, p.434. Cf. the fears expressed by d'Alembert in the Encyclopédie article Collège.

Perse, l'Egypte et Lacédémone."(47)

The abbé Coyer's work, whose neglect the Ephémérides so regretted, appeared in 1770. One might feel some surprise that the physiocrats should approve a work which was written mainly for the instruction of "la noblesse et de la haute bourgeoisie", but the interest of the book lies in the "zèle patriotique"(48) of its author. Despite Grimm's crushing verdict on the publication of Coyer's three Dissertations,

"l'abbé Coyer est une imagination bien sèche,
sans invention "(49),

some years previously, the abbé had a certain roundness in his thinking, a real insight into France as he, a patriot, wished to see it, which made him write genuinely and constructively, frankly using all the ideas others had voiced before him which he considered worthwhile and, unlike so many of his contemporaries, without claiming to be a great innovator. The fact that public education was in need of reform was clear: all public opinion then and for many years past concurred on this point. Indeed as long ago as 1724

"un citoyen connu par son zèle, par ses talents et par ses services, présenta... l'idée d'un Collège Académique, dont le but était non-seulement d'instruire la jeunesse dans l'art de la guerre, mais aussi de cultiver tous les talents, et de mettre à profit toutes les dispositions dans quelque genre que ce pût être... On sentait donc dès lors la nécessité

(47) Grimm, op. cit. vol. 11, p.100, July 1775

(48) Ephémérides, 1772, vol. 1, p. 247

(49) Grimm, op. cit. vol. 2, p.205, Dec. 1754

d'une réformation; et on regrette aujourd'hui. S'en tenir à regretter, c'est ne rien faire... Toutes les premières idées sont dispersées çà et là; il s'agit de les rassembler pour en composer un corps régulier."(50)

Unlike so many of those writing in the seventies Coyer did not condemn Rollin for not going further than he did, but recognised that his criticisms were important and that it was the world he lived in which prevented him from pressing for further reform.

"L'érudit Rollin... voyait peut-être tous les abus de la routine qu'on suit. Mais l'esprit de corps, qui se mêlait à ses vues, retenait sa plume."(51)

An excellent opportunity for reform was lost, Coyer considered, when La Chalotais's project, at first arousing such interest, was quietly allowed to fade away, without real results and a further opportunity was missed when the Citoyen de Genève, instead of applying himself to the reform of the public education he so justly criticised, wrote instead on private education. Whilst both Rousseau and Coyer had at that period recognised that France was no longer a 'patrie'(52), Coyer hoped to be able to revive a patriotic spirit whilst Rousseau believed this to be impossible without total political reform: hence Coyer's misunderstanding and his disappointment in Rousseau, a disappointment he shared with many.

(50) Coyer, l'abbé G. Plan d'éducation publique, Paris, 1770
Discours préliminaire, pp.x-xi

(51) *ibid*, p.viii

(52) see chap. 4, p.134

Coyer himself rejects private education:

"L'éducation privée ne pouvant convenir qu'à un petit nombre de familles opulentes, l'éducation publique est absolument nécessaire au corps de la nation."(52a)

Public education he believes, in the tradition of the Ancients, to be "La base de la prospérité générale."(53) However, despite the importance he attaches to education and his realization of its intimate connection with the well being of the state, he concentrates chiefly on the education of the 'conducteurs'.

"C'est la classe des grands, des nobles et des riches qu'il est plus important d'élever que le peuple."(54)

Possibly this is a pragmatic approach to cope with the immediate needs of the country, after which the education of the masses could be developed in greater detail. It shows, at any rate, that Coyer believed, like the rest of the philosophers, in benevolent and enlightened authority, rather than in active participation by the whole nation in the running of the country.

The basis of Coyer's educational theory is 'la morale', for he follows the ancient philosophers who "croyaient avoir tout à faire lorsqu'ils traitaient de la morale."(55)

"Dans nos institutions philosophiques la morale sera donc au premier rang, comme la partie la plus précieuse, la plus propre à former de bons citoyens."(56)

(52a)Coyer, op. cit. Discours préliminaire, p.iii

(53) ibid.

(54) ibid, p.106

(55) ibid, p.206

(56) ibid, p.209

It is a code easy enough to find if one starts from nature and society and does not allow the sophists to entangle it with a thousand useless questions. The morality he teaches is based on Wolff's and divided, like his, into " (i) la loi naturelle, ou la loi de l'homme, (ii) le droit public, ou la morale des législateurs, (iii) le droit des gens, ou la morale des états, (iv) le droit positif, ou la morale du citoyen". It is with Wolff's ethics that Coyer would wish children to begin their direct philosophical education, at about the age of nine. Before this Fleury's catechism and Baillet's History of famous children (56a) would lay the foundations of a sound morality. Established religion alone, Coyer feels, like Gedoyn, is no longer a safe enough basis for morals, for if faith should waver - Coyer himself, although he did not lose his faith, left the Jesuit order and became a 'prêtre libre' - morality would also disintegrate, whereas if children were taught to listen to the voice of nature which taught the same lesson to all men in all countries, then the virtues of justice, truth, humanity and good faith would endure. The aims of the two moralities, the natural and the Christian, are in any case different, one being directed towards happiness in this world, the other towards reward in the next.

"Avec la morale de l'homme, on demandera sans doute la morale du chrétien. Avec la première on peut jouir de tous les biens de la nature, pourvu qu'on en jouisse dans

(56a) Des Enfants devenus célèbres par leurs études ou par leurs écrits, Paris, 1688.

la modération qui convient. Avec la seconde,
plus on se refuse, plus on est parfait."(57)

Children should thus learn to love virtue for the present happiness it gives, rather than for a future reward (57a). The whole emphasis of Coyer's teaching is therefore on praise and honour, tempered where necessary by the social disapproval of the child's peers.

"Ces enfants, l'amour de leurs parents,
l'espoir de la patrie, sont-ils donc nés
pour être malheureux?"(58)

The old religious morality is thus being rejected on every front: by the politicians, such as Montesquieu and La Chalotais, as not attuned to the political needs of each country, and by the followers of the philosophy of natural law, as ill-suited to the basic need of mankind, happiness. We have seen the growing acceptance of the idea that college education was outdated and irrelevant: now even the religious morality taught there, which formerly was excepted from attack, is beginning to be seen by many as an irrelevance.

The most virulent attacks on established religion came, of course, from the philosophes and none was more devastating than the Baron d'Holbach, whose Essai sur les préjugés and Politique naturelle appeared respectively in 1770 and 1773.

(57) *ibid*, p.214

(57a) Mornet, in his Origines intellectuelles de la Révolution française, Paris, 1933, traces the development of a new rational, lay morality, which has as its aim the happiness of society. pp.109-112.

(58) *ibid*. p.231.

D'Holbach saw men as machines for the attainment of happiness and to achieve this truth was all important, truth which was the opposite of all that religion taught. Religion was surrounded by mystery and superstition:

"les ministres de la religion, devenus en tout pays les premiers instituteurs des peuples, ont juré une haine immortelle à la raison, à la science, à la vérité."(59)

Education should help men to distinguish truth but in the hands of the priests it became instead a tool to enslave the people. If it were used to teach truth virtue would inevitably follow, and virtue is essential to man:

"sans la vertu ils tendraient tous inutilement au bonheur."(60)

If education could be used to teach children the true bonds which unite citizens and society, and the futility of the puerile distinctions they now yearned for, man would find happiness and thus freedom. It was vain to think that men could be either true men or citizens when they had been enslaved by a corrupt education in which custom and established opinion combined to warp them. The power of education was, in d'Holbach's view, supreme; if men could be driven by religious superstition to

"un zèle destructeur, un fanatisme dangereux, une ardeur fatale pour nuire,"(61)

then surely an enlightened education could arouse in them

(59) D'Holbach, Essai sur les préjugés, ou de l'influence des opinions sur les moeurs et sur le bonheur des hommes, London, 1770, p.9

(60) *ibid*, p.6

(61) *ibid*, p.52

"la grandeur d'âme, la passion d'être utile, l'enthousiasme de la vertu"(62)

as it had done in antiquity. Education was thus a political matter, capable of being used to form citizens and not to be entrusted to the priests with their devotion to a morality and dogma alien to human societies.

"Assez longtemps les hommes ont été élevés pour les Dieux, les prêtres et les tyrans; le temps ne viendra-t-il donc plus de les élever pour la patrie et pour eux-mêmes?"(63)

Clearly education was being consistently used to subjugate the people. Yet the sovereigns and leaders had nothing to fear from the education of the people, for they would find that an enlightened nation of citizens would no longer be a threat to them:

"Des souverains ennemis-nés de leurs sujets, seront-ils donc toujours forcés de faire descendre du ciel les faux titres de leur pouvoir, tandis que l'équité, la bienséance, la vertu suffiraient pour les faire régner, sur tous les coeurs, et pour rendre à jamais leur trône inébranlable?"(64)

For such happiness even a revolution, such as occurred in England, would be a small price to pay. D'Holbach appealed to the sovereign who truly desired the good of his people to take education from the hands of the priests into his own control:

"il dépend de lui seul de les rendre vertueux ou vicieux."(65)

(62) *ibid.*

(63) *ibid.*, p.57

(64) *ibid.*, pp.57-8

(65) *ibid.*, p. 58

It would, after all be to the advantage of the princes too:

"ne sentiront-ils jamais l'avantage inestimable de commander à des êtres raisonnables?"(66)

D'Holbach delivers an unequivocal warning:

"Vouloir que les hommes demeurent dans les ténèbres, c'est vouloir qu'ils soient méchants. Tyrans! Il vous faut des sujets ignorants et corrompus: il vous faut des esclaves superstitieux qui croient que c'est du ciel que viennent les maux produits par vos délires, votre négligence, vos oppressions, vos cruautés. Mais vous vous flattez en vain de trouver votre sûreté dans leur aveuglement. Des sauvages sont toujours féroces; des stupides sont toujours crédules, inconsiderés. Craignez donc qu'on ne les irrite contre leurs chaînes. Craignez qu'ils ne deviennent un jour les instruments de l'ambition et du fanatisme qui tourneront vos esclaves contre vous-mêmes."(67)

At last, then, we have a call for a fundamental education of the people, a training in reasoning, a true enlightening. It is a plea no longer hedged by cautious restrictions as to the extent of education desirable if a society is to be able to continue undisturbed. On the contrary it is, in d'Holbach's view, the only means of maintaining a secure society, for it is only by forming citizens, that is people who are attached to their 'patrie' by a reciprocity of benefits and security which they understand, obeying its laws because they approve them, that a society can be truly secure. D'Holbach did not scruple to accuse outright the powerful part of the nation of keeping the poor in ignorance

(66) D'Holbach, La Politique naturelle, ou discours sur les vrais principes du gouvernement, London, 1773, 2 vols. Vol. 1, p.188

(67) *ibid.*

for their own ends through religion:

"Le peuple est partout dévot et religieux sans avoir des idées vraies de la vertu: partout il a de la religion qu'il trouve le moyen d'allier avec la débauche, la crapule, la fraude. Partout on lui laisse ignorer les devoirs de la société. Partout on craint qu'il ne s'éclaire et on l'empêche de cultiver sa raison."(68)

So on the one hand d'Holbach has *scornfully rejected the arguments* of those who feared education would create an imbalance in society by drawing men from the land: on the contrary it would strengthen a legitimate society; and on the other he has drawn at last a clear distinction between civil and religious virtue. A scarcely veiled ultimatum challenges the government to show its hand: if it fears general education as it seems to, then it is indeed a tyranny (69), for fear of education is the indubitable sign of a despotism.

"L'intérêt des tyrans est que le peuple n'ait ni lumières, ni raison, ni volonté; sous un gouvernement inique, il faut le réduire à l'abrutissement des bêtes; la lumière ne servirait qu'à lui faire sentir sa condition malheureuse et à lui montrer l'étendue de sa misère; empêcher qu'une nation ne s'éclaire, est le signe indubitable d'une administration dépravée, qui n'a nulle envie de mieux faire."(70)

In the wake of this clear cut argument it follows that all talk of patriotism and citizens in any tyrannical society

(68) *ibid*, p.187

(69) cf. Montesquieu; the implications of Montesquieu's definition of education in a despotism thus become applicable to France, whereas when Montesquieu wrote L'Esprit des lois, the assumption was that monarchical education was the appropriate one for the French monarchy.

(70) Politique naturelle, vol. 1, p.189

is mere verbiage (71). D'Holbach's belief in the formative value of education was absolute:

"L'éducation est, dans les mains de la politique, le moyen le plus sûr d'inspirer aux peuples les sentiments, les talents, les idées, les vertus qui leur sont nécessaires ... Les hommes ne sont malheureux, insociables et méchants, que parce qu'on néglige de les éclairer sur leurs vrais intérêts;"(72)

This accounts for his confidence that education would be the salvation of society; however much one might now consider it necessary to modify his ideas on the all-formative effect of education, the basic demand remained: a training in reasoning and understanding (as opposed to practical training) for the whole nation, and a morality based entirely on a secular and political, as opposed to religious, code.

Like d'Holbach and like Helvétius too, whose De l'Esprit was published contemporaneously with d'Holbach's Politique naturelle, Bonnot de Mably, the brother of Condillac and

(71) see Politique naturelle, vol. 2, p.20, "Le patriotisme est incompatible avec le despotisme: il ne peut y avoir de patrie sous les volontés d'un despote..." and vol. 2, p.94, "Point de patrie sans liberté: Ce n'est que dans les sociétés où (la liberté) règne que l'on trouve de la puissance, c'est là seulement qu'il existe une patrie... c'est un amour éclairé de nous-mêmes qui nous apprend à chérir le gouvernement qui nous protège, les lois qui assurent notre personne et nos biens, la société qui travaille à notre félicité." and vol. 2, p.100, "Sans liberté point de vertu: Si comme on ne peut en douter, la vertu ne consiste que dans l'utilité générale de la société, il ne peut y avoir de vertus véritables sans liberté. Un esclave ne peut être utile qu'à ses tyrans."

Ce n'est que dans une nation libre que l'on peut rencontrer l'amour du bien public..."

(72) *ibid.*, vol. 2, p.125.

an original and prolific writer himself, acknowledged and welcomed the power of education to modify differences in intellect and ability. However much the three philosophers may have differed in their wider political views, in their encouragement of national education with the aim of teaching political and social awareness to all classes, they represent the vanguard of educational thought in their day. They saw in education the path to reform: only in a state where widespread political consciousness was cultivated could freedom and happiness exist. All three believed France to be a tyranny and the idea of citizenship to be meaningless there. To Mably, with his ideals of freedom and devotion to the state based on the model of the ancient republics, the kingdoms of contemporary Europe represented the antithesis of patriotic virtue:

"Nous ne connaissons plus aujourd'hui ce que c'est que subjuguier une nation libre. Depuis que la monarchie est le gouvernement général de l'Europe, que tout est sujet et non citoyen, et que les esprits sont également énervés par l'avarice et la mollesse, on ne porte la guerre que dans des provinces accoutumées à obéir, et défendues par des mercenaires."(73)

The so-called republics were no better:

"Les républiques mêmes qui sont sous nos yeux n'offrent qu'un amas de bourgeois attachés à des fonctions civiles; le désespoir ne peut plus y enfanter des prodiges, et on ne doit pas s'attendre à trouver des peuples qui préfèrent leur ruine à la perte de leur liberté."(74)

(73) Mably, Bonnot de, Observations sur l'histoire de la Grèce, in Oeuvres, London, 1789, 13 vols. vol.4, p.38

(74) ibid.

Only by opening men's eyes to their condition and teaching them their true duties and rights could one construct a just, free and therefore happy society. In the significant Des Droits et des devoirs du citoyen, written as early as 1758 but published only posthumously (1789), Mably made his English Lord Stanhope say:

"Ne croupissons pas dans une monstrueuse ignorance. Que les gens de bien travaillent à dissiper ces préjugés qui, comme autant de chaînes, nous attachent au joug. Tâchons de faire connaître aux derniers des hommes leur dignité. Que l'étude des lois naturelles ne soit pas méprisée. Eclairons-nous. Des citoyens instruits de leurs droits et de leurs devoirs imposeront à un gouvernement qui s'est rendu déjà assez puissant pour violer les lois, ou ne souffrir qu'avec peine les plus légères contradictions. Si le public estime et considère les patriotes, les magistrats d'une république seront eux-mêmes de zélés protecteurs de la liberté;"(75)

It was not knowledge, therefore, that the leaders of a nation must fear, but a lack of morality, of that patriotism, that virtue so justly prized by Lycurgus:

"Il faut qu'un peuple sache estimer la vertu pour donner à ses magistrats le courage et la constance nécessaires dans l'exercice de leurs fonctions. Il doit aimer la justice pour désirer un magistrat toujours juste, toujours ferme, toujours aussi inflexible que la loi."(76)

Virtue such as this must govern the actions of each citizen in every aspect of his life, both intimate and public:

(75) Mably, Des Droits et des devoirs du Citoyen, (1758), Oeuvres, vol. 11, pp.285-6

(76) Mably, Entretiens de Phocion, 1763, in Oeuvres, vol. 10, p. 62

"Qui ne sait être ni mari, ni père, ni voisin, ni ami, ne saura pas être citoyen. Les moeurs domestiques décident à la fin des moeurs publiques."(77)

Since morals were so crucial to the state it was obviously the duty of the government to undertake the moral education of its citizens. It was indeed its most vital task:

"Que son premier soin soit d'épurer sans cesse la morale."(78)

Mably, like Montesquieu, understood the true aim of morality as taught in a monarchical society. Without troubling to disprove the utility of religious morality to a worldly society he defined monarchical education in the only terms of real relevance to his century: monarchical societies required a servile mentality:

"dans les monarchies on veut des hommes ignorants et façonnés à la servitude, et notre éducation est merveilleusement propre à faire de ces automates; mais dans une nation libre on veut des citoyens propres à faire des magistrats; car les républiques ne se flattent pas comme les rois de donner des talents en donnant la patente d'une dignité."(79)

Private education, completely incompatible with a virtuous society, might perhaps, in a situation as hopeless as that of the France of his day, be the least of all possible evils.

"Dans la situation actuelle des choses en Europe, je ne nie pas que l'éducation domestique ne puisse être préférable à ce que nous appelons communément une éducation publique... Je conyiens que des parents vertueux et éclairés donneront une meilleure éducation que des maîtres mercenaires, dont tout l'objet est d'enseigner

(77) *ibid*, p.61

(78) *ibid*, p.59

(79) Des Droits et des devoirs du citoyen, Oeuvres, vol. 11, pp.445

péniblement dans un collège un peu de mauvais latin et beaucoup de sottises,"(80)

To a true republic, however, it was fatal:

"la république ne formera jamais d'excellents citoyens, tant que l'éducation ne sera pas publique et générale. Permettez-vous aux pères de famille de se faire arbitrairement des règles à cet égard? Il me semble dès lors qu'il doit y avoir dans les moeurs une variété qui n'y permettra aucune consistance...Ces citoyens, nés avec des caractères, des tempéraments et des inclinations différentes, (sic) mais à qui la république doit donner des principes communs d'union, de paix et de concorde, pour n'avoir, s'il est possible, qu'un même esprit, ne porteront dans la société que les préjugés domestiques de leur éducation et de leur profession."(81)

It was certainly not the so-called 'public' education of contemporary France, however, which provided the ideal education:

"Quand je parle... de l'éducation publique, Dieu me préserve de penser aux universités et aux collèges établis en Europe; il n'appartient pas à des pédants qui n'ont aucune idée de la société ni des ressorts qui la font mouvoir et fleurir de pré-tendre à l'honneur d'élever des citoyens."(82)

Nothing less than a total revolution in education, leading, if the implications of Mably's thought are carried through, to a total revolution in the existing society, could count as reform: no small revision of the existing syllabus, no tentative reorganisation of the schools would suffice: the

(80) De la Législation, ou principes des lois, 1776, Oeuvres,
vol. 9, p.310

(81) ibid, p.309

(82) ibid, pp.310-311

virtues, the morality Mably sees as fundamental to education are those which could only exist in a totally different society, enlightened, egalitarian and virtuous in the Greek sense. Education must be thrown open to the whole nation and no longer feared: ignorance is the sign of despotism(83). Man, however, has been given the power of reason in order that he may deduce the best way to happiness. The right to reason is his as much as is the right to liberty and to happiness:

"il me semble que la raison dont la nature nous a doués, la liberté dans laquelle elle nous a créés, et ce désir invincible du bonheur qu'elle a placé dans notre âme, sont trois titres que tout homme peut faire valoir contre le gouvernement injuste sous lequel il vit. Je conclus donc qu'un citoyen n'est ni un conjuré, ni un perturbateur du repos public, s'il propose à ses compatriotes une forme de politique plus sage que celle qu'ils ont adoptée librement, ou que les événements, les passions et les circonstances ont insensiblement établie."(84)

If civil war should prove to be the only way for the citizens of a country to regain their natural right, then, says Lord Stanhope, as he views the extravagance of the Château de Marly, this consequence of general education must be accepted as necessary in certain cases:

"Regarder toujours la guerre civile comme une injustice; inviter les citoyens à ne jamais opposer la force à la violence, c'est la doctrine la plus contraire aux

(83) Des Droits et des devoirs du citoyen, Oeuvres, vol. 11, pp.297-8: "On veut que le peuple soit ignorant; mais remarquez, je vous prie, qu'on n'a cette fantaisie que dans les pays où l'on craint la liberté."

(84) *ibid*, p.270

bonnes moeurs et au bien public."(85)

Only once before have we met such an open acceptance of the consequences of general education: in Rousseau's Émile. On that occasion the point was still put negatively: since public education is not possible then the type of education planned for Émile is the only alternative. In the case of Mably the suggestion was so inflammatory, even though Mably took the precaution of placing it in the mouth of the visiting English Lord, that it is not surprising that the work did not appear until the eve of the Revolution. It was the Revolution, indeed, which discovered Mably; his influence up till then was minimal, but it seemed important to show here the logical extent to which eighteenth century thought tended and on rare occasions reached, even when the writings concerned had little influence, for it explains all the better how near to the surface these ideas were, how ready to be accepted once the initial break with the old régime had been made.

Mably, Helvétius and d'Holbach, all three philosophers, working purely on theory, were, as is natural, apt to be far more uncompromising than those writing the most advanced treatises concerning the practical aspects of the issue, such as Philipon de la Madelaine. For these philosophers public and general education was the life of any legitimate

(85) *ibid*, pp.311-2.

society and impossible in a tyranny and thus, implicitly, in France.

Philipon de la Madelaine, ten years later than Helvétius and d'Holbach, was writing in less strident tones of exactly the same ignorance, prejudice and false morality as that they denounced. Like them he traced the unhappiness of the nation back to prejudice and ignorance and demanded proper recognition of 'le peuple' (a word which was "du grand nombre de ceux qui, par la multiplicité des sens qu'ils présentent, attestent la stérilité de notre langue"(86)) as a class of society which, although considered the lowest, was also

"la plus précieuse aux yeux du sage, et la plus intéressante aux yeux du législateur."(87)

It was a class which could be of vital use to the society, but also, having little to lose, a great menace, if not given the right principles and knowledge to guide it. Philipon thus accepts without question that 'le peuple' is educable, an important step in itself, for in the 1750's, despite the abbé de Saint-Pierre's earlier plea for popular education, Coyer had felt obliged to prove scientifically that the lowest workers of the land were in fact human, exactly as the highest noble (88). But this point accepted, Philipon, for all his wish to include 'le peuple' in the well being

(86) Philipon de la Madelaine, L. Vues patriotiques sur l'éducation du peuple, tant des villes que de la campagne, Lyon, 1783, p.5

(87) *ibid*, pp.6-7

(88) Coyer, Dissertation sur la nature du peuple, The Hague, 1755.

of the nation, accepts the current dogma and gives as the true aim of education: "lui faire aimer son sort." (89) The philosophy which emerges is thus a mixture of the Greek belief in the importance of education for the state -

"Que les enfants appartiennent plus à la république qu'à leurs parents; et qu'ainsi ce n'est point aux caprices de ceux-ci qu'il faut abandonner leur éducation, mais que la république doit se charger de ce soin." (89a)

- of humanity, which would not wish people to suffer from poverty, and of resignation and acceptance of the status quo:

"Comment, sans (cette éducation), apprendra-t-il à se conformer à son état, à en diminuer les peines par son travail, à les adoucir par sa résignation, à sortir même de cette misère où l'a jeté le hasard de de la naissance?" (90)

The educational programme Philipon advocated was therefore severely restricted to a practical and moral training suited to the condition of the children of the poor. Thus they would not be taught to do all the good they could, but rather not to do what they would not wish to have done to themselves; they would be prompted by the self-preserving fear of disgrace rather than the love of honour; the virtues of 'bienfaisance' and 'générosité' would only lead to discontent. On the other hand respect for 'les moeurs' and, above all, religion would bring happiness. With a moral training

(89) Philipon de la Madelaine, op. cit. p.24

(89a) *ibid*, p.12; Philipon is here quoting Rollin's Traité, Avant-propos of Book VIII

(90) *ibid*, pp.9-10

of this sort:

"nous formerons des âmes à la patrie. Ces matelots, ces soldats, ces ouvriers qui ne sont aujourd'hui que des mercenaires, deviendront des citoyens;"(91)

For the rest, simple books on French history, science and all the practical parts of agriculture, mechanical skills and the care of animals would complete the peasants' education. It was even suggested that the Government might commission a consoling book to be written on

"les avantages attachés à la condition du peuple sur les misères qui tourmentent l'existence des riches, sur le bonheur de la vie champêtre."(92)

Disappointing as this picture is, it must be remembered that it does map out a definite plan of education for a neglected class and insists that the provision of this education, which must be free, is the responsibility of the government. It is essentially a practical treatise written specifically for a monarchical society (hence the constant hope extended of a rise in society through hard work) and thus differs from the theoretical writings of Rousseau, Mably, Helvétius and d'Holbach. Nor does it condemn the clerics, but on the contrary accepts them, and particularly the religious communities, as the best teachers available. Most important of all, however, is the fact that education is seen in a truly national context: provision is made for tangible education for every class of society, with a view to the future

(91) *ibid*, p.224

(92) *ibid*, p.139

well being of that society.

Philipon's view was probably typical of the majority of those who in principle supported the idea of education for the masses: their education should nevertheless be carefully restricted. Mornet quotes a number of interesting examples (93) which repeat the argument that too much education would drain the land of its labourers. It was at a local level that, surprisingly, the more progressive views were sometimes voiced. The Affiches de Rheims as early as 1776 published two articles "sur la nécessité d'instruire le peuple en général et sur ses lectures", emphasising that knowledge of every sort should be made readily accessible in books and papers and published with 'le peuple' in view, for

"le monde ne s'éclaire pas avec quelques rayons de lumière; elle tombe par torrents sur tous les points." (94)

At the Société Royale de Metz (August 1768) and at the Académie de La Rochelle (1770) members read papers on the necessity of educating the people (95).

Grosclaude's study of the intellectual life of Lyons in the second half of the eighteenth century shows that educational thinking, though roughly parallel with the trend described in this study, tended, if anything, to be somewhat ahead of its time. Until 1762, there was, as elsewhere,

(93) Mornet, D. Les Origines intellectuelles de la Révolution française 1715-1787, Paris, 1933, p.421

(94) quoted by Mornet, op. cit. p.420

(95) Mornet, op. cit. pp.420-1: De Tshoudi, Discours sur l'utilité et la diffusion de l'instruction, and l'abbé Gervaud, Mémoire pour démontrer la nécessité d'instruire le peuple.

little discussion on education, apart from an anonymous 'mémoire' criticising college education and giving as the aim of education the formation of the 'honnête homme' and the 'bon citoyen', quietly attached to his religion and aware of his social duties (96). The expulsion of the Jesuits, however, brought about a crisis in Lyons itself, and disagreement as to who should be entrusted with the education of the town's children led to a lively discussion, reflected in the papers of the Academy. Fundamental was the idea that the children belonged more to the state than to their parents (97) and that education should therefore be organised by a Conseil supérieur de l'éducation. Education should no longer be a means of making money, but should confine itself to its aims of developing the best in the child for the use of the State - with or without parental consent. Schools should therefore be established in every village. Charles Borde, Rousseau's friend, emphasised again the importance of providing an education useful to society, graded according to the needs of the different classes (98) and the academician, Perrache, himself an engineer, stressed that practical studies would be more likely to be useful than bookish learning. Thus for a town like Lyons an educa-

(96) Grosclaude, P. La Vie intellectuelle à Lyon dans la deuxième moitié du dix-huitième siècle, Paris, 1933 p.68

(97) *ibid*, p.69; l'abbé Lacroix in 1762: a mémoire sur les moyens que l'on pourrait employer pour perfectionner l'éducation de la jeunesse.

(98) Borde makes, however, the common proviso that over-education might cause dangerous dissatisfaction: "dans les dernières classes de la société, composées d'agriculteurs et d'artisans, asservis à un travail grossier et assidu, il est inutile, il serait dangereux même de trop savoir: plus instruite, cette espèce d'hommes n'en remplirait pas mieux son état; elle serait exposée à s'en dégoûter." Pensées sur l'éducation, 1763 in Oeuvres diverses Lyon, 1783, 2 vols. vol. 2, p.579

tion in arts, manufacturing and commerce could be of immense value and already, at this early date he defended education for 'la classe ouvrière', convinced that ignorance breeds poverty and prevents expansion of trade: the classes of society are all interdependent and the misfortunes of one rebound on all. A second 'mémoire' enlarged on the practical possibilities of setting up appropriate schools in Lyons. The cause of the education of the people seems to have been freely espoused by members of the Academy and support went beyond mere education in the three 'R's'. M. de Campigneules like his greater contemporary, d'Holbach, exposed the true fear of those who wished to limit the peasants' education: the fear of rebellion against such inequality:

"Qui nous empêche de dissiper les ténèbres qui couvrent nos campagnes, d'instruire nos laboureurs, nos artisans, d'en faire des hommes? On nous demande jusqu'à quel point on peut les éclairer? jusqu'au point où ils peuvent l'être, voilà ma réponse. Politiques cruels, vous craignez qu'en ouvrant les yeux à la lumière ils ne soient révoltés du spectacle de leur infortune et n'aperçoivent le mépris dont l'opulence les accable et les fers qu'elle leur forge? Vous avez cru vous apercevoir que ceux d'entre eux qui ont le plus d'esprit sont les moins dociles au mors qui les avilit. La raison en est simple: c'est que, plus capables de réflexion, ils pensent à l'état de bassesse et d'abrutissement où vous voulez les réduire, ils s'en indignent et rougissent d'obéir à des maîtres ingrats... Les inconvénients dont nous nous plaignons ne subsisteront plus en multipliant les écoles de nos campagnes, en les confiant

à des hommes qui puissent donner aux enfants des notions exacts des arts les plus utiles, des lois de l'état, de la morale la plus saine; le peuple saura non seulement lire, écrire et compter, mais il apprendra à penser."(99)

This is an astonishingly frank statement, possibly because de Campigneules intended it only for his fellow townsmen, and none of the more widely read writers on education, with the exception of Helvétius, d'Holbach and Mably, were as openly in favour of teaching the people to think critically about the society around them and their relation to it. A Mémoire by the Benedictine P. Gourdin in 1780 was equally emphatic that the worker must be taught to think and not remain an automat, for

"L'ignorance, sous le chaume du cultivateur, sous les voûtes sacrées du temple de la justice, dans le cabinet des rois, dans l'atelier de l'artisan, a toujours et partout enfanté les plus grands maux."(100)

Here, too, the question of teaching the poor to reason, with all its consequences, is boldly faced:

"En voulant lui apprendre à réfléchir, à penser relativement au travail qui l'occupe n'est-il pas à appréhender que le rayon de lumière que l'on veut diriger uniquement sur l'ouvrage ne porte le jour dans tout l'atelier et n'en découvre la misère?"(101)

Gourdin replied that it was not sufficient to teach the worker his skills without teaching him to understand them and that therefore he must go to school in order to learn to reason,

(99) Grosclaude, op. cit. pp.77-8; from a speech entitled De l'Esprit considéré à Paris et en province, Dec. 1772

(100) Grosclaude, op. cit. p.84; from a mémoire, De l'Education physique et morale considérée relativement à la place qu'occupent et que doivent occuper les enfants dans l'ordre de la société, May, 1780

(101) *ibid*

implying that if he learnt there also to reason on the misery of his condition as "la partie la plus abjecte des citoyens" (102) then perhaps society must take the consequences.

Such daring thinking, however, was rare and the vast majority of those who believed that a certain elementary education was necessary saw only too clearly the dangers inherent if the level of learning was not very low and the morality not the old christian one of resignation. The very vehemence of the protests, however, is enough to show that an openness to new ideas existed in schools; this was certainly very marked in some of the 'collèges' and was due in part to the widening of the curriculum (although, as Mornet points out (103) this was not necessarily a proof of the widening of horizons) but perhaps, above all, of the new questioning approach, both to the new studies, such as the rights of man and his social duties, and the old, such as history. The questioning went deep: Vaublanc wrote of his schooldays at La Flèche:

"nous devenions raisonneurs et dogmatiseurs.
Ainsi, d'ignorants latinistes que nous étions,
nous voilà devenus philosophes imberbes.
Nous raisonnions sur la nature de l'homme,
sur nos devoirs envers la société et envers
nos parents. J'ai entendu là-dessus des
raisonnements que je ne pourrais redire." (104)

(102) *ibid*

(103) Mornet, *op. cit.* p.327

(104) quoted by Mornet, *op. cit.* pp.331-2

The effect on a boy who with his general learning imbibed these new ideas and who then, on leaving the safe world of school, found himself faced with a large society in which there was no place for him, can be imagined. Mallet Dupan wrote of Danton:

"(il) disait un jour à un de ses anciens confrères, avocat aux conseils en 1793:
 'L'ancien régime a fait une grande faute. J'ai été élevé par lui dans une des bourses du Collège du Plessis, j'y étais avec des grands seigneurs qui étaient mes camarades et y vivaient avec moi dans la familiarité. Mes études finies, je n'avais rien, j'étais dans la misère, je cherchai un établissement, le barreau de Paris était inabordable et il fallait des efforts pour y être reçu. Je ne pouvais entrer dans le militaire sans naissance ni protections; l'Église ne m'offrait aucune ressource; je ne pouvais acheter une charge n'ayant pas le sou; mes anciens camarades de collège me tournaient le dos: je restai sans état, et ce ne fut qu'après de longues années que je parvins à avoir de quoi acheter une charge d'avocat aux conseils. La révolution est arrivée, moi et tous ceux qui me ressemblent nous y sommes jetés: l'ancien gouvernement nous y a forcés en nous faisant bien élever sans ouvrir aucun débouché à nos talents."(105)

In such a situation the study of the rights and duties of the citizen, the training in reasoning, was the final impetus necessary to cause profound dissatisfaction, not only to the peasant whose education was so widely feared, but, more dangerously, to the middle classes whose education was accepted and frequently assisted by scholarships. The rift between

(105) Mallet Dupan, Mémoires et correspondance pour servir à l'histoire de la Révolution française, Paris, 1851, 2 vols. vol. 2, pp.491-2

school and the society outside was now too blatant, and in contrast the prolific writings on educating children to be useful citizens for society were hollow indeed.

Even where there was no true understanding and awareness of the situation, the general current of ideas was by the 1770's considerably changed from that prevailing in the early part of the century; as the principal of the Collège de Langres, Mathias, wrote, despite the numerous recent writings on education, which so far did not seem to have brought about any reform,

"Il ne faut pas se lasser de présenter au public des vérités utiles: quelque peu accueillies qu'elles soient d'abord, elles s'établissent à la longue et elles deviennent à la fin la façon de penser générale. Cette révolution n'est l'ouvrage d'aucun auteur particulier, tous y ont contribué, tous ont part à la gloire."(106)

One would not necessarily agree with the latter part of this statement. Indeed it is to be hoped that this study has shown that the ideas of certain prominent writers, particularly Rousseau, Montesquieu and La Chalotais might entitle them to a greater share of 'gloire' and one might even argue that it was they who crystallised ideas which, even when they were unacceptable, as in the case of Rousseau and Montesquieu, were highly controversial and aroused the strongest opinions and passions in later protagonists. Neverthe-

(106) Mathias, De l'Enseignement publique, Paris, 1776, Préface, pp.v-vi

less their ideas would not have been so fiercely debated, would even have aroused very little interest, if the general climate in educational, as in religious, thinking had not undergone a profound, if gradual, change since the beginning of the century.

The last group of writers whose works we shall briefly examine here - simply to give a picture of the average feelings on the subject of education, the 'façon de penser générale' at the close of the pre-revolutionary period - reject much of Rousseau, and in one case vehemently dismiss Montesquieu, but in their very rejection show how marked they are by the ideas of their more profound predecessors even if they fail to grasp the total significance of the philosophy of either.

All four: the anonymous author of the Considérations générales sur l'éducation (1783), Le Roy de Lozembrune Vauréal and Gosselin (107), believe national education to be necessary. National education is the one means of reforming 'les moeurs':

"C'est presque la seule porte ouverte à la réforme des moeurs, des lois et à la perfectibilité des sciences et de tous les arts."(108)

- (107) Le Roy de Lozembrune, Anecdotes et remarques sur l'éducation publique, Mannheim, 1783
 Vauréal, le Comte de, Plan ou essai d'éducation général et national, ou la meilleur éducation à donner aux hommes de toutes les nations, Bouillon, 1783
 Gosselin, Ch. R. Plan d'éducation en réponse aux Académies de Marseille et de Châlons dont l'une a proposé pour sujet de prix à distribuer dans le courant de cette année: 'Quel est le plan d'éducation publique le plus conforme à la situation d'une ville considérée comme marchande et maritime?' et l'autre 'Quels sont les vices de l'éducation actuelle, et les maximes de les corriger?'
 Amsterdam, 1785
- (108) Vauréal, op. cit. p.6

It is thus the one sure means of upholding a state, as the example of the Ancients, or of contemporary China will testify. The Chinese state is a college

"où la vie des citoyens est une pratique et une leçon continuelle de morale et de vertus. Ainsi, soit que l'on consulte l'antiquité, soit qu'on s'en rapporte aux temps les plus modernes, on trouvera que l'éducation a toujours été regardée comme le plus ferme appui des états, et avec raison."(109)

Thus the old admiration for the principles underlying the education of the Ancients, so marked at the beginning of the century, still persists, but is supplemented by a growing enthusiasm for more modern examples which were not always so distant as the above Chinese one, but often, as in the writings of the physiocrats, quoted systems and reforms of neighbouring European countries. As the examples approach, so also does the possibility of change, but reality has feet of clay and if an education for contemporary France is truly to be desired, then, in the belief of all but a few, it must be different for the different sections of society so as not to arouse discontent. Among our group of writers we therefore discern in some cases a subtle avoidance of the question: thus Le Roy, in defining the 'moeurs' he would teach, continues to present the code ideal for upholding a heirarchical, monarchical society:

"L'homme qui a des moeurs sert Dieu sans

(109) Gosselin, op. cit. p.3

bigoterie, la patrie et le prince sans intérêt, ses concitoyens sans orgueil."(II0)

In other cases the existence of the 'peuple' and their need for instruction is frankly recognised:

"Comme cette classe de citoyens la plus nombreuse est en même temps celle qui fournit les sujets les plus utiles à la société, on ne peut se dispenser de lui fournir les moyens de faire élever la jeunesse qui en dérive. D'où je conclus que l'éducation publique est nécessaire;"(III)

or, as the Considérations générales sur l'éducation put it:

"L'homme du tiers état, l'homme du peuple, l'homme de la campagne, forment réellement dans tout pays le corps des nations:"(II2)

But in all cases their right to education is carefully circumscribed:

"tous exigent une culture, ou du moins une instruction relative ou convenable à leur place dans l'ordre social."(II3)

True, Gosselin risks a slight deviation from the spirit of the monarchy by praising the equality such an education affords:

"L'éducation publique soumettant tous les enfants à une même discipline, établit entr'eux une sorte d'égalité, dont le sentiment ne s'efface jamais dans la suite;"(II4)

However the virtue of emulation, the quality Bernardin de

(110) Le Roy de Lozembrune, op. cit. p.136

(111) Gosselin, op. cit. p.10

(112) Considérations générales sur l'éducation, p.17

(113) *ibid.*

(114) Gosselin, op. cit. p.10

Saint Pierre decries, equating it with ambition (115), is still the basis of his education and leads to that supremely monarchic virtue,

"l'amour de la gloire, amour qui dans les hommes a toujours été le principe et le mobile de toutes les grandes actions." (116)

It is Gosselin, in fact, who attacks Montesquieu's three 'principes', maintaining that since all governments have the same aim, namely the general happiness of the nation, they must all have the same principle, virtue. We thus return to that most sensitive question: is it or is it not possible for a monarchy, and in particular France, to be a 'patrie'. For Gosselin the problem is a problem only from the point of view of the individual: 'la patrie' exists, whether or not citizens do, but if children are taught virtue, as all but the most demented rulers would see to be to the common advantage, then they will be each and every one citizens of their 'patrie':

"il est certain que ce n'est point la patrie qui manque au citoyen, mais le citoyen qui manque à la patrie. En effet quiconque a des sentiments et du coeur, ne peut jamais manquer de patrie, et quiconque se sacrifie volontairement pour elle a de la vertu. Or, je demande s'il est au monde une société, quelque corrompue qu'elle soit, où il ne se

(115) Saint-Pierre, B. de, Études de la nature, XI^e Etude: De l'Education, in Oeuvres complètes, Paris, 1818, vol. 3 p.408: "La vertu et l'ambition sont incompatibles. La gloire de l'ambition est de monter, et celle de la vertu de descendre."

(116) Gosselin, op. cit. p. 12.

présente quelque bien à faire, et quelque sacrifice à offrir?"(II7)

All is consistent when one realises that Gosselin does not use 'virtue' in Montesquieu's sense, but takes care to point out that it is always primarily derived from the one true religion, Christianity(117a). Vauréal is scarcely more aware of the subtlety of the point:

"Celui qui chérit son père, qui aime son frère, qui honore sa famille entière, qui est fidèle à son ami, ainsi qu'à Dieu, sera bon citoyen, et aura pour sa patrie un sentiment expansif d'honneur et de respect."(II8)

Therefore,

"La patrie doit recueillir l'enfance comme un germe précieux, elle doit la soigner, l'approprier, la former pour elle en la préparant à des rangs et des places qui maintiennent son bonheur et son harmonie. ... Tout gouvernement qui négligera ce principe n'aura jamais d'esprit national. ... Le mot sacré de patrie ne sera qu'un vain nom."(II9)

Yet although Vauréal's understanding of 'bon citoyen' and 'patrie' may seem to show small advance on the ideas even of Rollin in the 1720's, one must note that this 'profession de foi' is preceded by a long attack on Rousseau; it is an answer to him, an attempt to put Rousseau's pedagogical ideas, which, like the author of the Considérations générales sur l'éducation, he considered good, in the context of contemporary France. Rousseau's distinction between man and

(117) Gosselin, op. cit. p.78

(117a) Gosselin does indeed suggest a total reformation of the existing educational system in order to root out the corruption prevalent in the schools; "Il faut que l'édifice soit renversé de fond en comble," p.21. His remedy, however, is hardly radical, since he merely suggests removing the schools from the towns, those centres of corruption.

(118) Vauréal, op. cit. p.55

(119) *ibid*, pp.57-8

citizen confounds him; for him

"l'homme n'est homme que par la société et la civilisation."(I20)

It is man in nature who is an "unité fractionnaire", dependent on external circumstances, whilst man in society is "un entier" who has not lost his liberty and is free to choose his virtues and vices. If he can be taught to love himself in his fellow citizens, modelling this love on the love he has for his own family, this will constitute the foundation of patriotism.

"Osons dire que l'on ne peut être homme sans être social, ou apprendre à l'être; désirons qu'on ne puisse ni ne doive l'être sans être citoyen et patriote, et pour produire cet effet précieux, rendons ces deux prérogatives chères au bonheur de l'espèce humaine."(I21)

Having resolved that it is possible to educate men to be patriots of any society, a hypothesis which is fundamental to his argument, Vauréal goes on to combat Rousseau's "l'éducation nationale n'existe pas". It does exist, though in need of correction, and as for 'la patrie', there can be no doubt of its existence in this age of humanity and philosophy:

"il est donc pour nous une patrie, son temple et ses autels sont dans le coeur d'un bon monarque. Elle est dans le coeur des bons rois, dans l'âme des bons gouvernements."(I22)

This late refutation of Rousseau is of particular interest, for it shows how far Rousseau's doubts have penetrated, how

(120) *ibid*, p.22

(121) *ibid*, p.37

(122) *ibid*, p.43

strong is the need to prove that France is a 'patrie', her people able to be citizens and national education - now an accepted idea - possible and necessary at all levels. At the same time it shows how, through faulty understanding, the same terms of 'citizen', 'virtue' and 'national education' can be applied to concepts so entirely different. The new ideas have been made to fit the old framework.

This is, in fact, the general tone of the average writings of the period. Arguments on the merits and demerits of leaving education in the hands of the Church continue, as might be expected, since the point of civic education for a national society, politically upheld by its own morality, has not been fully grasped, Christian virtue remaining, despite Rousseau's and Montesquieu's definitions, widely accepted; but the relative lack of progress in accepting ideas such as total and equal education for all, a secular morality and a nationally organised education, is not as crucial as it might seem, for the ideas are there and the debate is in the open, even if, in the 1780's, the doubters still appear more numerous.

Conclusion

The importance of educational thought in the evolution of the political idea of the 'citizen'.

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It is possible to trace a distinct if tortuous path from the accepted methods of education in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries to an open and general dissatisfaction with the existing system; away from a public and private education designed for the sons of the wealthy, aiming overtly at the formation of the good Christian and subject (1), but covertly at the success of the future man in the privileged society open to him, towards a situation where the need for state control over education was becoming recognised in almost all circles, where the influence of the code of ethics - religious or patriotic - taught in schools was seen to be of prime importance to the state, and where the acceptance of education for all, even the poorest, was only a step away. The reasons for the exclusion of the peasant and working classes had, by the end of the period under review, been so completely demolished that the exclusive nature of college and private education could not hope to survive much longer, even without the momentous events which were about to take place in France.

(1) The seminaries are not considered here; but even in the seminaries the postulants were drawn from families of some, even though moderate, means.

Critics perceiving the inconsistency of education saw its roots in the old scholasticism of the monastic schools and in a Christian morality unrelated to the actual morality prevailing in society. As far as knowledge and training were concerned, a pupil emerged from school ill-equipped to work usefully for society and morally he was unprepared to cope with the temptations besetting him in 'le beau monde'. The inadequacies of the old educational theories became more apparent as the century advanced, the stress shifting gradually from dissatisfaction on a personal level to a rejection of an education which failed to meet the needs of society. As long as it was generally accepted that the appropriate morality to be taught to children was the Christian code of humility and charity, criticism of the divergence of the morality taught in school from that existing in society had little hope of creating a change: the two codes were too deeply rooted in the Christian and monarchic society of eighteenth century France to be altered without damaging its structure.

Gradually, however, the idea of a civic morality superseded, or at least took its place beside, the exclusive Christian morality. It became increasingly clear that not only in the ancient republics but also in the contemporary world, it was possible to teach in schools a code of conduct.

purely secular, consistent with the aims and purpose of a particular society. Essential to the development of this concept was the changing idea of what constituted a 'patrie'. In the early part of the century it was unquestionably an entity embodied in the king, well intentioned but of supreme authority. Love of one's country - the word 'patriotism' did not yet exist (the first example quoted by Hatzfeld and Darmesteter is from d'Argenson, 1750) - was therefore love of God, the King and the land in which, for better or worse, one had been born.

Rollin's Traité des études prepared the ground for new concepts of education. He dwelt at length on the virtues of the Ancients, the link between their educational system and their civic virtue; it was not a new discovery in itself but was novel in the stress Rollin gave it. Rollin spoke of 'virtue' in the sense the Ancients attributed to it, while clearly distinguishing that a higher Christian one existed. For this reason he made the study of the Ancients the basis of his programme of education. His system thus held the seeds of reform on both the scholastic and moral planes, for the critical study of history had greater relevance to later life than did the repetitious exercises of the old school and, for the first time, men glimpsed the possibility of a separation of ^{the teaching of} civil from religious morality. While Rollin always stressed the superiority of Christianity nevertheless the patriotic virtue he described was primarily

a secular civic virtue.

On the philosophic level there was, during the early part of the century, increasing debate on the nature of society and of man as a social being: Grotius, Hobbes, Pufendorf, Locke and Burlamaqui were widely read. Not until Montesquieu's Esprit des lois, however, is education itself transferred to a political level (discussion of the subject in Rollin's Traité des études had been mainly in the form of historical examples). With Montesquieu's definition of virtue the distinction is firmly drawn between the old concept of individual virtue, 'honnêteté', the veneer of the monarchy, and the new idea of the totally virtuous republic in which the lack of virtue in a single individual undermines the whole structure of society. The division of education into different types appropriate to the various political forms is equally emphatic; whereas in a monarchy both private and public education have their place, in a republic, where virtue is the basis of the state, only public, state organised education is possible. The argument of public versus private education thus shifts from the somewhat trifling issue of the corruption of morals in public schools to the much more significant political issue of the influence of education on the state.

Montesquieu's answer to the moral, religious and political dilemma of French education called down the wrath of conser-

vatives of all kinds and even among the philosophers there was a notable lack of comprehension. The suggestion that, as far as society was concerned, Christian morality was superfluous, and the idea that the Ancients were more virtuous than the French, were considered outrageous. The implication that the monarchy rested on a false basis, its existence thus threatened, was dimly felt. The idea that the monarchy must frankly acknowledge its underlying principle of 'honneur' and abandon all idea of being a 'patrie' in the classical sense, abandon the pretence of being a society composed of virtuous citizens, was deeply resented.

Argument on what constituted patriotism and virtue was intense, following the publication of L'Esprit des lois, and heightened yet more by the nationalism which flourished with the Seven Years' War. Criticism of French education, however, remained superficial. It was acknowledged that instruction was often too pedantic, that there might be too much emphasis on the study of Latin and that the morality taught, at variance with the outside world, was corrupt. Suggestions for reform concentrated therefore on the inclusion of more history, particularly modern French history, in the syllabus as a sure means of teaching a sound morality, and on a more intense training in Christianity, with a growing emphasis on those virtues which the eighteenth century was coming to see, as had Cicero in ancient Rome (2), as 'natural' to mankind: 'humanité'

(2) v. De Officiis.

and 'bienfaisance'. In general critics were still content to accept that the foundations of the French educational system laid down by Henri IV were sound.

More radical approaches to the whole issue of national education were made in the 1750's by d'Alembert, Duclos and La Condamine. La Condamine, with his emphasis on the need to acquire knowledge useful to society and on the necessity for a training in 'droit public', though only at an age when the reasoning faculties were sufficiently developed) related the education of the individual very specifically to the role he was intended to play in society as an aware and useful citizen. D'Alembert, anti-clerical like the rest of the 'philosophes', suggested in his article Collège that the influence of the Church in education was pernicious and contrary to the interests of the 'patrie' and ^{Duclos} concluded that the word was falling into disuse because its meaning was no longer understood. He did not, however, abandon hope of its revival in the France of his day.

Rousseau's outright denial in Émile of the existence of a 'patrie' was intended to devastate all illusions. Public education, Rousseau declared, was therefore not possible since to him education based on the principle of virtue was the only acceptable one and Montesquieu's monarchical compromise was worthless.

At this point the debate definitely entered a new phase. Talk of making of French society a replica of the ancient republics mainly died out (3). This is not to say that the example of the Ancients ceased to inspire the France of the late eighteenth century - on the contrary the cult of the Roman became a marked element of revolutionary France - but theories of reform were, from the time of Émile, increasingly rooted in the reality of the society and time for which they were intended, so that their realisation became an immediate possibility. Once these first steps on the path of true reform had been made it was natural for the Revolution, in its unfettered enthusiasm, to return to the source of its inspiration. Rousseau himself took refuge in the example of the Ancients in his Économie politique in 1755, but only to escape drawing explicitly the conclusion he finally dared to draw in Émile: that no such examples were available in the Europe of his day. The umbilical cord with antiquity was finally severed; any solution for the

- (3) v. eg. Pithoud, (-). Prospectus sur le nouveau Émile, 1777, p.400: "Il n'est plus temps d'imiter les peuples les plus renommés de la belle antiquité. Chez eux, l'éducation physique et morale des enfants occupait la principale attention de leurs gouvernements: ils avaient sur ces deux points des principes et des lois que personne ne pouvait transgresser, sans s'exposer, ou à la censure du Magistrat, ou à un mépris général. Il serait à souhaiter qu'on pût reprendre aujourd'hui leurs usages; mais combien n'y aurait-il pas de préjugés à combattre et à détruire, avant de persuader aux pères et aux mères de notre siècle que leurs enfants sont encore plus à l'État dont ils naissent sujets, qu'à eux-mêmes? Bornons-nous à favoriser l'heureuse révolution que je propose, par le secours des bons exemples qui amèneront infailliblement celui de l'imitation."
An early expression of this rejection occurs in Legendre de Saint-Aubin's Traité de l'opinion; cf. p.86

ills of modern Europe must come from within.

For Rousseau France was no 'patrie', merely an illegitimate state, existing and powerful, but not justified, though he did not actually draw the conclusion that its only solution lay in a complete remoulding of society. Rousseau could only illustrate his theory by a description of a child brought up on the fringe of society, educated as 'bon' and taught by a late introduction into society, when he was already incorruptible, to be 'vertueux', although he himself would remain forever without a 'patrie', owing merely a natural allegiance to his 'pays'. For Rousseau it was essential for social man, if he was to attain his full stature, to understand the theory of the general will and to understand that freedom lay in adhering to a law instituted according to the general will. Political education and a morality which itself had become a political quality were thus fundamental to the education of social man.

For the conservatives who wrote about educational matters, too, comparisons of modern France with antiquity were over: forced by their opposition to Rousseau to clarify their ideals, even the most intransigent amongst them found themselves modifying their definitions of virtue and patriotism. Service to the king, as the embodiment of the State, still remained of paramount importance, but the theoretical subli-

mation of self in a nationalistic love of one's country seeking commercial prosperity and territorial integrity, which Rousseau alone recognised as an extension of 'amour de soi', demanded a new approach, a new terminology (3a). The ideas of 'humanité' and 'bienfaisance', of usefulness to society and of the dependence of society on the education of its young, were regarded as ideals worthy of an enlightened age. Only Rousseau saw the contradiction between the ideas of 'humanité' and patriotism, the one a love of all men, the other an exclusive, inward-turning love of one's own society.

(3a) v. Rossel, (-). Histoire du patriotisme français, ou nouvelle histoire de France, dans laquelle on s'est principalement attaché à décrire les traits de patriotisme qui ont illustré nos Rois, la noblesse et le peuple français depuis l'origine de la monarchie jusqu'à nos jours. Paris, 1770, 6 vols. Vol. 1, pp.5-6:

"Le patriotisme, ou l'amour de la patrie, n'est rien autre chose que ce zèle, ce noble attachement que tout homme éprouve pour le pays dans lequel il est né. Je sais qu'on a prétendu que ce sentiment ne pouvait se trouver dans toute sa force et toute sa pureté, que dans le coeur du républicain; mais je sais aussi qu'il n'y a pas un Français qui ne l'éprouve au fond de son âme. ... Tous les grands traits qui enrichissent cette histoire (française), m'ont paru partir de cette source. J'ose même dire que ce sentiment est plus vif, plus généreux dans le citoyen français qu'il ne l'a jamais été dans le Romain le plus patriote. Si celui-ci faisait jadis des prodiges de valeur et d'héroïsme, c'était lui-même qu'il vengeait; il regardait toute la république en lui seul. Au lieu que quand le Français se sacrifie, quand il fait de grandes choses, il s'oublie pour ainsi dire, pour ne penser qu'à la gloire de son Roi, ou à l'honneur et à l'avantage de sa Nation."

The expulsion of the ~~Jesuits~~ provided on a practical level a shock similar to that caused on the philosophical level by Emile in that same year of 1762. It marked, in fact - although this was not for some time clear - the beginning of the separation of church and state in education. The Jesuit colleges were mostly taken over by other clerics, especially the Oratorians, but the situation was changed in two essential ways: the new teachers, such as the Oratorians, acknowledged allegiance to France as opposed to an ultramontane authority, and moreover the debate over loyalties to an ecclesiastical corporation, as opposed to loyalty to 'la patrie', was now in the open. The question of a civic morality superseding the Christian one could be broached at any time. This opened, in turn, the way to imminent discussion on whether all 'citizens' in the new acceptance of the term - those willingly obeying a law which they agreed to in the national interest - should receive training in a new code of civic morality. The old idea of self advancement in a relatively stagnant society was giving way to the idea of the advancement and bettering of conditions for society as a whole.

Nevertheless this ideal often remained an empty formula. Titles such as the Projet d'éducation nationale of Auger concealed the fact that the reforms proposed related only to a small class. The general reluctance to educate the mass

of the people showed clearly how aware were those in authority that modifications, if not revolutions, in the structure of society would inevitably follow when men's minds were illuminated with the knowledge, and the training to acquire further knowledge, which had so far been withheld. Advocates of general public education of the 'peuple' thus divide into two groups: on the one hand the great majority, including the physiocrats and even many of the 'philosophes'; while admitting the importance of all sections of society to the community, these writers argued for the retention of a calculated stratification in order to safeguard the continuing existence of that society, whatever reforms they might wish to introduce into it. This first group therefore, while advocating a certain basic training in the three 'R's' and in the trade or skill for which they were destined, were careful to restrict the education of the people to certain limits so that they should not learn enough to resent their position in society and wish to change it. This cautious approach to the problems of French education differed markedly from the examples of the Ancients, so glowingly portrayed, in which the equality of the citizens was such that a man might be called from the plough to rule for a time and then, his duty done, return to his humble station.

The second group, the few, such as Rousseau, Helvétius, d'Holbach, Mably and some citizens of Lyons, started from the more general premise of the rights of man: society was

made up of men equal in rights, equal, according to Helvétius, in potential, to whom therefore, for their own good, as well as that of society, an identical, universal and free education should be offered, with more specific training to follow according to ability and the needs of 'la patrie'.

It was thus not until the Revolution that the political implications for society of general public education and recognition of man's right to be educated found their place in a single philosophy of society, a philosophy which saw all men as equal, all capable of contributing to the general good, and all with equal right to benefit from that general good.

The 'cahiers de doléances' of 1789 gave the nation an opportunity to express its grievances; the question of education repeatedly appears as one of the fundamental problems to be resolved. Although the 'cahiers', even of the 'tiers état', were not written by the peasantry, the most neglected and uneducated class, yet one senses for the first time, throughout the 'doléances', that the fear of general education, or at least of basic instruction, has at last been dissipated. Not only the 'tiers état' but even the 'noblesse' (4) were now in favour of an elementary education

(4) Bourrilly, L., Les Cahiers de l'instruction publique en 1789, Paris, 1901, p.177:

"La classe à qui il est le plus essentiel de recevoir une bonne éducation, c'est la classe nombreuse du peuple," (doléance presented by the Noblesse of the Baillage de Saint Mihiel.).

for the people. Education was no longer seen as potentially destructive to a society now openly in process of reformation but, on the contrary, as constructive to the spirit of patriotism; through education, it was now commonly accepted, men would come to respect the law (5). The old expressions might still appear: the formula "bon chrétien, bon citoyen, bon fils, bon père et homme utile aux autres et à lui-même" (6), a variation on Rollin's "bons fils, bons pères, bons maîtres, bons amis, bons citoyens", occurs in the 'doléance' of the 'tiers état' of the parish of Herblay, but it is clear that a new attitude lies behind all the words, old or new, written on the subject of general education. The aim is now to show the people that prejudice comes from ignorance (7) and that the happiness of society

(5) *ibid*, p.177:

"Que celle qui lui sera donnée, sans sortir de la simplicité des connaissances qui suffit à ses besoins, tende à l'instruire de ses devoirs et de ses droits, et, en les lui rendant également chers, à l'attacher aux lois et à la patrie par le sentiment et la conviction du bonheur qu'elles lui assurent."

and p.124: public education should be instituted

"de manière à former dans tous les ordres des citoyens utiles; que l'amour de la patrie, l'esprit public, soient dès l'enfance le premier sentiment de tout Français; que les lois constitutionnelles deviennent des livres classiques dans les villes et les campagnes..."
(Tiers, Toulouse.)

(6) *ibid*, pp.121-122

(7) *ibid*, p.122:

"Que l'enseignement comprenne ce qui peut éclairer les peuples des campagnes sur des erreurs et des préjugés souvent funestes ou tout au moins nuisibles."

as a whole stems from knowledge (8). Some 'doléances' go even further, suggesting that education should lead citizens to look critically at their society, its constitution and government (9). The majority of petitioners urge caution still in the amount of instruction to be given, demanding chiefly a basic course in the three 'R's', a further training in whatever skill or trade the future citizen is to exercise for the benefit of society, and an understanding of a moral code in which the emphasis is now chiefly on civic as opposed to Christian virtues. There is a wide demand for a citizens' catechism, which could be memorised in the same way as the

(8) *ibid*, p.113:

"Les sciences et les arts font l'ornement de la société, la force et le bonheur d'un empire. L'ignorance rend le peuple stupide et fait des esclaves." (Tiers, Sénéchaussée de Digne)

and p.132: the Noblesse of Saintes urge the establishment of a commission with responsibility for public instruction

"qui...sache combien les lumières influent sur les moeurs des citoyens et sur le bonheur public." (Sénéchaussée de Saintes)

(9) *ibid*, p.124:

"La déclaration des droits doit renfermer la base de la législation et les principes de l'administration; mais pour que l'Etat puisse en retirer tous les avantages dont elle sera le germe il faut qu'il n'y ait pas un citoyen qui ne puisse la lire, et qui ne puisse écrire les réflexions qu'elle lui suggérera." (Tiers, Baillage de Nemours)

and pp.125-126: given the education which is its rightful due, the public will provide

"une multitude de coopérateurs au bien public, animés d'un véritable zèle, un nombre immense de bons conseillers pour la nation, qui ne coûteront rien aux finances de l'Etat, qui seront du plus grand secours à toute administration bienfaisante, qui présenteront dans l'opinion publique une barrière invincible à toute administration ignorante ou coupable." (Tiers, Baillage de Nemours)

Christian catechism (10).

The idea that public education must be organised on a uniform plan, administered by the state's magistrates or by worthy citizens representing the state, was now taken for granted. It had been accepted as the ideal, exception being made for the rich, by most theorists after the expulsion of the Jesuits and easily became a basic assumption of the reformers. Less agreement was reached on the level to which uniform education should be given, but on the whole the needs of 'la patrie' appeared to the presenters of the 'doléances' to demand a specific training in professionally orientated schools or 'ateliers' for particular careers.

Talleyrand's report presented to the Assemblée Constituante in 1791 was thus representative of the feeling of the country in its demand for free public education, divided into four degrees and designed both to develop the reasoning powers of men and to reduce their inequality (11). It was refused, as was that of Condorcet (12).

Condorcet, like Talleyrand, demanded free public education whilst restricting state control to the field of instruction, fearing that the state might otherwise gain the same control

(10) Two such catechisms appeared in 1788 and 1789: Saige, Catéchisme du citoyen, ou éléments du droit public français, 1788, and Delacroix, J.-V., Catéchisme patriotique à l'usage de tous les citoyens français, dédié aux Etats Généraux, 1789.

(11) Talleyrand, Rapport sur l'instruction publique... Sep. 1791.

(12) Condorcet, Rapport et projet de décret sur l'organisation générale de l'instruction publique. April 1792.

over education that the Church had formerly exercised. He too saw in education an equalising power, or at least one which substituted nature's inequality of the intellect for society's inequality of fortune. Education, as the physiocrats, as well as Helvétius, d'Holbach and others, had said before, was the means by which man could enjoy his natural right to develop his own talents, his own faculty of reasoning and learn to execute his natural duties towards society. General education alone, as had for so long been recognised by its opponents, could make fact the theoretical liberty achieved by the Revolution.

Lakanal's system, adopted in 1795, a two-tiered one providing elementary schools for each commune and an 'école centrale' for each 'département', recognised in law the intellectual inequality of man by making entry to the 'école centrale' competitive. But, while fostering this inequality, it insisted on a basic equality of opportunity by providing free and compulsory education at an elementary level for all children and a further secondary or vocational training, both levels being designed to provide the state with good citizens: the first by its emphasis on civic virtues and its training in the basic skills of reading and reasoning which would equip a citizen to understand his role in society, his rights and duties and the law of the land; the second through its emphasis on the utility of the citizen to society.

If a compromise between the idealism of Rousseau's, Helvétius's and Morelly's egalitarian states and the res-

training hand of those who feared the power of universal education had been necessary, it was nevertheless true that the fundamental idea that each Frenchman was a citizen with a role to play in society was for the first time recognised by the educational system of France, a fact which the post-revolutionary modifications of the Napoleonic era did not reverse.

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