An Inquiry Into The Nature and Causes Of The Wealth Of Nations

In Two Volumes

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London, 1776

Article II. Of the Expence of the Institutions for the Educstion of the Youth.

urn:nbn:de:gbv:45:1-1669

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ſtreets of London to be lighted and paved at the expence of the treaſury, is there any probability that they would be ſo well lighted and paved as they are at preſent, or even at ſo ſmall an expence? The expence beſides, inſtead of being raiſed by a local tax upon the inhabitants of each particular ſtreet, pariſh, or diſtrict in London, would, in this caſe, be defrayed out of the general revenue of the ſtate, and would conſequently be raiſed by a tax upon all the inhabitants of the kingdom, of whom the greater part derive no ſort of benefit from the lighting and paving of the ſtreets of London.

THE abuſes which ſometimes creep into the local and provincial adminiſtration of a local and provincial revenue, how enormous ſoever they may appear, are in reality, however, almoſt always very trifling in compariſon of thoſe which commonly take place in the adminiſtration and expenditure of the revenue of a great empire. They are, beſides, much more eaſily corrected. Under the local or provincial adminiſtration of the juſtices of the peace in Great Britain, the ſix days labour which the country people are obliged to give to the reparation of the highways, is not always perhaps very judiciouſly applied, but it is ſcarce ever exacted with any circumſtance of cruelty or oppreſſion. In France, under the adminiſtration of the intendants, the application is not always more judicious, and the exaction is frequently the moſt cruel and oppreſſive. Such Corvées, as they are called, make one of the principal inſtruments of tyranny by which the intendant chaſtiſes any pariſh or communauté which has had the misfortune to fall under his diſpleaſure. *v. Addition.*

ARTICLE II.

Of the Expence of the Inſtitutions for the Education of the Youth.

THE inſtitutions for the education of the youth may in the ſame manner furniſh a revenue ſufficient for defraying their own expence.

expence. The fee or honorary which the ſcholar pays to the maſter naturally conſtitutes a revenue of this kind.

Even where the reward of the maſter does not ariſe altogether from this natural revenue, it ſtill is not neceſſary that it ſhould be derived from that general revenue of the ſociety of which the collection and application is in moſt countries aſſigned to the executive power. Through the greater part of Europe accordingly the endowment of ſchools and colleges makes either no charge upon that general revenue, or but a very ſmall one. It every where ariſes chiefly from ſome local or provincial revenue, from the rent of ſome landed eſtate, or from the intereſt of ſome ſum of money allotted and put under the management of truſtees for this particular purpoſe, ſometimes by the ſovereign himſelf, and ſometimes by ſome private donor.

Have thoſe public endowments contributed in general to promote the end of their inſtitution? Have they contributed to encourage the diligence, and to improve the abilities of the teachers? Have they directed the courſe of education towards objects more uſeful, both to the individual and to the public, than thoſe to which it would naturally have gone of its own accord? It ſhould not ſeem very difficult to give at leaſt a probable anſwer to each of thoſe queſtions.

In every profeſſion the exertion of the greater part of thoſe who exerciſe it is always in proportion to the neceſſity they are under of making that exertion. This neceſſity is greateſt with thoſe to whom the emoluments of their profeſſion are the only ſource from which they expect their fortune, or even their ordinary revenue and ſubſiſtence. In order to acquire this fortune, or even to get this ſubſiſtence, they muſt, in the courſe of the year, execute a certain quantity

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quantity of work of a known value; and, where the competition is free, the rivalſhip of competitors, who are all endeavouring to juſtle one another out of employment, obliges every man to endeavour to execute his work with a certain degree of exactneſs. The greatneſs of the objects which are to be acquired by ſucceſs in ſome particular profeſſions may, no doubt, ſometimes animate the exertion of a few men of extraordinary ſpirit and ambition. Great objects, however, are evidently not neceſſary in order to occaſion the greateſt exertions. Rivalſhip and emulation render excellency, even in mean profeſſions, an object of ambition, and frequently occaſion the very greateſt exertions. Great objects, on the contrary, alone and unſupported by the neceſſity of application, have ſeldom been ſufficient to occaſion any conſiderable exertion. In England, ſucceſs in the profeſſion of the law leads to ſome very great objects of ambition; and yet how few men, born to eaſy fortunes, have ever in this country been eminent in that profeſſion!

The endowments of ſchools and colleges have neceſſarily diminiſhed more or leſs the neceſſity of application in the teachers. Their ſubſiſtence, ſo far as it ariſes from their ſalaries, is evidently derived from a fund altogether independent of their ſucceſs and reputation in their particular profeſſions.

In ſome univerſities the ſalary makes but a part, and frequently but a ſmall part of the emoluments of the teacher, of which the greater part ariſes from the honoraries or fees of his pupils. The neceſſity of application, though always more or leſs diminiſhed, is not in this caſe entirely taken away. Reputation in his profeſſion is ſtill of ſome importance to him, and he ſtill has ſome dependency upon the affection, gratitude, and favourable report of thoſe who have attended upon his inſtructions, and theſe favourable ſentiments

ments he is likely to gain in no way ſo well as by deſerving them, that is, by the abilities and diligence with which he diſcharges every part of his duty.

In other univerſities the teacher is prohibited from receiving any honorary or fee from his pupils, and his ſalary conſtitutes the whole of the revenue which he derives from his office. His intereſt is, in this caſe, ſet as directly in oppoſition to his duty as it is poſſible to ſet it. It is the intereſt of every man to live as much at his eaſe as he can; and if his emoluments are to be preciſely the ſame whether he does, or does not perform ſome very laborious duty, it is certainly his intereſt, at leaſt as intereſt is vulgarly underſtood, either to neglect it altogether, or, if he is ſubject to ſome authority which will not ſuffer him to do this, to perform it in as careleſs and ſlovenly a manner as that authority will permit. If he is naturally active and a lover of labour, it is his intereſt to employ that activity in any way, from which he can derive ſome advantage, rather than in the performance of his duty, from which he can derive none.

If the authority to which he is ſubject reſides in the body corporate, the college, or univerſity, of which he himſelf is a member, and in which the greater part of the other members are, like himſelf, perſons who either are or ought to be teachers, they are likely to make a common cauſe, to be all very indulgent to one another, and every man to conſent that his neighbour may neglect his duty, provided he himſelf is allowed to neglect his own. In the univerſity of Oxford, the greater part of the public profeſſors have, for theſe many years, given up altogether even the pretence of teaching.

If the authority to which he is ſubject reſides, not ſo much in the body corporate of which he is a member, as in ſome other extra-

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neous perſons, in the biſhop of the dioceſe, for example; in the governor of the province; or, perhaps, in ſome miniſter of ſtate, it is not indeed in this caſe very likely that he will be ſuffered to neglect his duty altogether. All that ſuch ſuperiors, however, can force him to do is to attend upon his pupils a certain number of hours, that is, to give a certain number of lectures in the week or in the year. What thoſe lectures ſhall be, muſt ſtill depend upon the diligence of the teacher; and that diligence is likely to be proportioned to the motives which he has for exerting it. An extraneous juriſdiction of this kind, beſides, is liable to be exerciſed both ignorantly and capriciouſly. In its nature it is arbitrary and diſcretionary, and the perſons who exerciſe it, neither attending upon the lectures of the teacher themſelves, nor perhaps underſtanding the ſciences which it is his buſineſs to teach, are ſeldom capable of exerciſing it with judgement. From the inſolence of office too they are frequently indifferent how they exerciſe it, and are very apt to cenſure or deprive him of his office wantonly, and without any juſt cauſe. The perſon ſubject to ſuch juriſdiction is neceſſarily degraded by it, and, inſtead of being one of the moſt reſpectable, is rendered one of the meaneſt and moſt contemptible perſons in the ſociety. It is by powerful protection only that he can effectually guard himſelf againſt the bad uſage to which he is at all times expoſed; and this protection he is moſt likely to gain, not by ability or diligence in his profeſſion, but by obſequiouſneſs to the will of his ſuperiors, and by being ready, at all times, to ſacrifice to that will the rights, the intereſt, and the honour of the body corporate of which he is a member. Whoever has attended for any conſiderable time to the adminiſtration of a French univerſity, muſt have had occaſion to remark the effects which naturally reſult from an arbitrary and extraneous juriſdiction of this kind.

WHATEVER forces a certain number of ſtudents to any college or univerſity, independent of the merit or reputation of the teachers,

tends more or leſs to diminiſh the neceſſity of that merit or reputation. CHAP. I.

THE privileges of graduates in arts, in law, in phyſic, and divinity, when they can be obtained only by reſiding a certain number of years in certain univerſities, neceſſarily force a certain number of ſtudents to ſuch univerſities independent of the merit or reputation of the teachers. The privileges of graduates are a ſort of ſtatutes of apprenticeſhip, which have contributed to the improvement of education, juſt as other ſtatutes of apprenticeſhip have to that of arts and manufactures.

THE charitable foundations of ſcholarſhips, exhibitions, burſaries, &c. neceſſarily attach a certain number of ſtudents to certain colleges, independent altogether of the merit of thoſe particular colleges. Were the ſtudents upon ſuch charitable foundations left free to chuſe what college they liked beſt, ſuch liberty might perhaps contribute to excite ſome emulation among different colleges. A regulation, on the contrary, which prohibited even the independent members of every particular college from leaving it, and going to any other, without leave firſt aſked and obtained of that which they meant to abandon, would tend very much to extinguiſh that emulation.

IF in each college the tutor or teacher who was to inſtruct each ſtudent in all arts and ſciences, ſhould not be voluntarily choſen by the ſtudent, but appointed by the head of the college; and if in caſe of neglect, inability, or bad uſage, the ſtudent ſhould not be allowed to change him for another without leave firſt aſked and obtained; ſuch a regulation would not only tend very much to extinguiſh all emulation among the different tutors of the

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ſame college, but to diminiſh very much in all of them the neceſſity of diligence and of attention to their reſpective pupils. Such teachers, though very well paid by their ſtudents, might be as much diſpoſed to neglect them as thoſe who are not paid by them at all, or who have no other recompence but their ſalary.

If the teacher happens to be a man of ſenſe, it muſt be an unpleaſant thing to him to be conſcious, while he is lecturing his ſtudents, that he is either ſpeaking or reading nonſenſe, or what is very little better than nonſenſe. It muſt too be unpleaſant to him to obſerve that the greater part of his ſtudents deſert his lectures; or perhaps attend upon them with plain enough marks of neglect, contempt and deriſion. If he is obliged, therefore, to give a certain number of lectures, theſe motives alone, without any other intereſt, might diſpoſe him to take ſome pains to give tolerably good ones. Several different expedients, however, may be fallen upon which will effectually blunt the edge of all thoſe incitements to diligence. The teacher, inſtead of explaining to his pupils himſelf, the ſcience in which he propoſes to inſtruct them, may read ſome book upon it; and if this book is written in a foreign and dead language, by interpreting it to them into their own; or, what would give him ſtill leſs trouble, by making them interpret it to him, and by now and then making an occaſional remark upon it, he may flatter himſelf that he is giving a lecture. The ſlighteſt degree of knowledge and application will enable him to do this without expoſing himſelf to contempt or deriſion, or ſaying any thing that is really fooliſh, abſurd, or ridiculous. The diſcipline of the college at the ſame time may enable him to force all his pupils to the moſt regular attendance upon this ſham-lecture, and to maintain the moſt decent and reſpectful behaviour during the whole time of the performance.

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THE diſcipline of colleges and univerſities is in general contrived not for the benefit of the ſtudents, but for the intereſt, or more properly ſpeaking, for the eaſe of the maſters. Its object is in all caſes to maintain the authority of the maſter, and whether he neglects or performs his duty, to oblige the ſtudents in all caſes to behave to him as if he performed it with the greateſt diligence and ability. It ſeems to preſume perfect wiſdom and virtue in the one order, and the greateſt weakneſs and folly in the other. Where the maſters, however, really perform their duty, there are no examples, I believe, that the greater part of the ſtudents ever neglect theirs. No diſcipline is ever requiſite to force attendance upon lectures which are really worth the attending, as is well known where-ever any ſuch lectures are given. Force and reſtraint may no doubt be in ſome degree requiſite in order to oblige children or very young boys to attend to thoſe parts of education which it is thought neceſſary for them to acquire during that early period of life; but after twelve or thirteen years of age, provided the maſter does his duty, force or reſtraint can ſcarce ever be neceſſary to carry on any part of education. Such is the generoſity of the greater part of young men, that, ſo far from being diſpoſed to neglect or deſpiſe the inſtructions of their maſter, provided he ſhows ſome ſerious intention of being of uſe to them, they are generally inclined to pardon a great deal of incorrectneſs in the performance of his duty, and ſometimes even to conceal from the publick a good deal of groſs negligence.

THOSE parts of education, it is to be obſerved, for the teaching of which there are no publick inſtitutions, are generally the beſt taught. When a young man goes to a fencing or a dancing ſchool, he does not indeed always learn to fence or to dance very well; but he ſeldom fails of learning to fence or to dance. The good effects of the riding ſchool are not commonly ſo evident. The expence of a

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riding ſchool is ſo great, that in moſt places it is a publick inſtitution. The three moſt eſſential parts of literary education, to read, write, and account, it ſtill continues to be more common to acquire in private than in publick ſchools; and it very ſeldom happens that any body fails of acquiring them to the degree in which it is neceſſary to acquire them.

In England the publick ſchools are much leſs corrupted than the univerſities. In the ſchools the youth are taught, or at leaſt may be taught, Greek and Latin, that is, every thing which the maſters pretend to teach, or which, it is expected, they ſhould teach. In the univerſities the youth neither are taught, nor always can find any proper means of being taught, the ſciences which it is the buſineſs of thoſe incorporated bodies to teach. The reward of the ſchoolmaſter in moſt caſes depends principally, in ſome caſes almoſt entirely, upon the fees or honoraries of his ſcholars. Schools have no excluſive privileges. In order to obtain the honours of graduation, it is not neceſſary that a perſon ſhould bring a certificate of his having ſtudied a certain number of years at a publick ſchool. If upon examination he appears to underſtand what is taught there, no queſtions are aſked about the place where he learnt it.

The parts of education which are commonly taught in univerſities, it may perhaps be ſaid, are not very well taught. But had it not been for thoſe inſtitutions they would not have been commonly taught at all, and both the individual and the public would have ſuffered a good deal from the want of thoſe important parts of education.

The preſent univerſities of Europe were originally, the greater part of them, eccleſiaſtical corporations; inſtituted for the education of churchmen. They were founded by the authority of the

pope, and were ſo entirely under his immediate protection, that their members, whether maſters or ſtudents, had all of them what was then called the benefit of clergy, that is, were exempted from the civil juriſdiction of the countries in which their reſpective univerſities were ſituated, and were amenable only to the eccleſiaſtical tribunals. What was taught in the greater part of thoſe univerſities was, ſuitable to the end of their inſtitution, either theology, or ſomething that was merely preparatory to theology.

When chriſtianity was firſt eſtabliſhed by law, a corrupted latin had become the common language of all the weſtern parts of Europe. The ſervice of the church accordingly, and the tranſlation of the Bible, which was read in churches, were both in that corrupted latin, that is, in the common language of the country. After the irruption of the barbarous nations who overturned the Roman empire, latin gradually ceaſed to be the language of any part of Europe. But the reverence of the people naturally preſerves the eſtabliſhed forms and ceremonies of religion, long after the circumſtances which firſt introduced and rendered them reaſonable are no more. Though latin, therefore, was no longer underſtood any where by the great body of the people, the whole ſervice of the church ſtill continued to be performed in that language. Two different languages were thus eſtabliſhed in Europe, in the ſame manner as in antient Egypt; a language of the prieſts, and a language of the people; a ſacred and a profane; a learned and an unlearned language. But it was neceſſary that the prieſts ſhould underſtand ſomething of that ſacred and learned language in which they were to officiate; and the ſtudy of the latin language therefore made from the beginning an eſſential part of univerſity education.

It was not ſo with that either of the Greek or of the Hebrew language. The infallible decrees of the church had pronounced the

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the latin tranſlation of the Bible, commonly called the Latin Vulgate, to have been equally dictated by divine inſpiration, and therefore of equal authority with the Greek and Hebrew originals. The knowledge of thoſe two languages, therefore, not being indiſpenſibly requiſite to a churchman, the ſtudy of them did not for a long time make a neceſſary part of the common courſe of univerſity education. There are ſome Spaniſh univerſities, I am aſſured, in which the ſtudy of the Greek language has never yet made any part of that courſe. The firſt reformers found the Greek text of the new teſtament and even the Hebrew text of the old more favourable to their opinions than the vulgate tranſlation, which, as might naturally be ſuppoſed, had been gradually accommodated to ſupport the doctrines of the catholic church. They ſet themſelves therefore to expoſe the many errors of that tranſlation, which the Roman catholic clergy were thus put under the neceſſity of defending or explaining. But this could not well be done without ſome knowledge of the original languages, of which the ſtudy was therefore gradually introduced into the greater part of univerſities; both of thoſe which embraced and of thoſe which rejected the doctrines of the reformation. The Greek language was connected with every part of that claſſical learning, which, though at firſt principally cultivated by catholics and Italians, happened to come into faſhion much about the ſame time that the doctrines of the reformation were ſet on foot. In the greater part of univerſities therefore that language was taught previous to the ſtudy of philoſophy, and as ſoon as the ſtudent had made ſome progreſs in the latin. The Hebrew language having no connection with claſſical learning, and, except the holy ſcriptures, being the language of not a ſingle book in any eſteem, the ſtudy of it did not commonly commence till after that of philoſophy, and when the ſtudent had entered upon the ſtudy of theology.

ORIGINALLY

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ORIGINALLY the firſt rudiments both of the Greek and Latin languages were taught in univerſities, and they ſtill continue to be ſo in ſome univerſities. In others it is expected that the ſtudent ſhould have previouſly acquired at leaſt the rudiments of one or both of thoſe languages, of which the ſtudy continues to make every where a very conſiderable part of univerſity education.

THE antient Greek philoſophy was divided into three great branches; phyſics, or natural philoſophy; ethics, or moral philoſophy; and logic. This general diviſion ſeems perfectly agreeable to the nature of things.

THE great phenomena of nature, the revolution of the heavenly bodies, eclipſes, comets, thunder, lightning, and other extraordinary meteors, the generation, the life, growth, and diſſolution of plants and animals, are objects which, as they naturally excite the wonder, ſo they neceſſarily call forth the curioſity of mankind to enquire into their cauſes. Superſtition firſt attempted to ſatisfy this curioſity by referring all thoſe wonderful appearances to the immediate agency of the gods. Philoſophy afterwards endeavoured to account for them, from more familiar cauſes, or from ſuch as mankind were better acquainted with, than the agency of the gods. As thoſe great phenomena are the firſt objects of human curioſity, ſo the ſcience which pretends to explain them muſt naturally have been the firſt branch of philoſophy that was cultivated. The firſt philoſophers accordingly of whom hiſtory has preſerved any account, appear to have been natural philoſophers.

IN every age and country of the world men muſt have attended to the characters, deſigns, and actions of one another, and many reputable rules and maxims for the conduct of human life, muſt have been laid down and approved of by common conſent. As

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ſoon as writing came into faſhion, wiſe men, or thoſe who fancied themſelves ſuch, would naturally endeavour to increaſe the number of thoſe eſtabliſhed and reſpected maxims, and to expreſs their own ſenſe of what was either proper or improper conduct, ſometimes in the more artificial form of apologues, like what are called the fables of Æſop; and ſometimes in the more ſimple one of apophthegms, or wiſe ſayings, like the Proverbs of Solomon, the verſes of Theognis and Phocyllides, and ſome part of the works of Heſiod. They might continue in this manner for a long time merely to multiply the number of thoſe maxims of prudence and morality, without even attempting to arrange them in any very diſtinct or methodical order, much leſs to connect them together by one or more general principles, from which they were all deducible like effects from their natural cauſes. The beauty of a ſyſtematical arrangement of different obſervations connected by a few common principles, was firſt ſeen in the rude eſſays of thoſe antient times towards a ſyſtem of natural philoſophy. Something of the ſame kind was afterwards attempted in morals. The maxims of common life were arranged in ſome methodical order, and connected together by a few common principles, in the ſame manner as they had attempted to arrange and connect the phenomena of nature. The ſcience which pretends to inveſtigate and explain thoſe connecting principles, is what is properly called moral philoſophy.

DIFFERENT authors gave different ſyſtems both of natural and moral philoſophy. But the arguments by which they ſupported thoſe different ſyſtems, far from being always demonſtrations, were frequently at beſt but very ſlender probabilities, and ſometimes mere ſophiſms, which had no other foundation but the inaccuracy and ambiguity of common language. Speculative ſyſtems have in all ages of the world been adopted for reaſons too frivolous to have determined the judgement of any man of common ſenſe, in a matter

a matter of the ſmalleſt pecuniary intereſt. Groſs ſophiſtry has ſcarce ever had any influence upon the opinions of mankind, except in matters of philoſophy and ſpeculation; and in theſe it has frequently had the greateſt. The patrons of each ſyſtem of natural and moral philoſophy naturally endeavoured to expoſe the weakneſs of the arguments adduced to ſupport the ſyſtems which were oppoſite to their own. In examining thoſe arguments, they were neceſſarily led to conſider the difference between a probable and a demonſtrative argument, between a fallacious and a concluſive one; and Logic, or the ſcience of the general principles of good and bad reaſoning, neceſſarily aroſe out of the obſervations which a ſcrutiny of this kind gave occaſion to. Though in its origin poſterior both to phyſics and to ethics, it was commonly taught, not indeed in all, but in the greater part of the antient ſchools of philoſophy, previouſly to either of thoſe ſciences. The ſtudent, it ſeems to have been thought, ought to underſtand well the difference between good and bad reaſoning, before he was led to reaſon upon ſubjects of ſo great importance. CHAP. I.

THIS antient diviſion of philoſophy into three parts was in the greater part of the univerſities of Europe, changed for another into five.

IN the antient philoſophy, whatever was taught concerning the nature either of the human mind or of the Deity, made a part of the ſyſtem of phyſics. Thoſe beings, in whatever their eſſence might be ſuppoſed to conſiſt, were parts of the great ſyſtem of the univerſe, and parts too productive of the moſt important effects. Whatever human reaſon could either conclude or conjecture concerning them made, as it were, two chapters, though no doubt two very important ones, of the ſcience which pretended to give an account of the origin and revolutions of the great ſyſtem

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of the univerſe. But in the univerſities of Europe, where philoſophy was taught only as ſubſervient to theology, it was natural to dwell longer upon thoſe two chapters than upon any other of the ſcience. Thoſe two chapters were gradually more and more extended, and were divided into many inferior chapters, till at laſt the doctrine of ſpirits, of which ſo little can be known, came to take up as much room in the ſyſtem of philoſophy as the doctrine of bodies, of which ſo much can be known. The doctrines concerning thoſe two ſubjects were conſidered as making two diſtinct ſciences. What was called Metaphyſics or Pneumatics was ſet in oppoſition to Phyſics, and was cultivated not only as the more ſublime, but, for the purpoſes of a particular profeſſion, as the more uſeful ſcience of the two. The proper ſubject of experiment and obſervation, a ſubject in which a careful attention is capable of making ſo many uſeful diſcoveries, was almoſt entirely neglected. The ſubject in which, after a few very ſimple and almoſt obvious truths, the moſt careful attention can diſcover nothing but obſcurity and uncertainty, and can conſequently produce nothing but ſubtleties and ſophiſms, was greatly cultivated.

When thoſe two ſciences had thus been ſet in oppoſition to one another, the compariſon between them naturally gave birth to a third, to what was called Ontology, or the ſcience which treated of the qualities and attributes which were common to both the ſubjects of the other two ſciences. But if ſubtleties and ſophiſms compoſed the greater part of the Metaphyſics or Pneumatics of the ſchools, they compoſed the whole of this cobweb ſcience of Ontology, which was likewiſe ſometimes called Metaphyſics.

Wherein conſiſted the happineſs and perfection of a man, conſidered not only as an individual, but as the member of a family, of a ſtate, and of the great ſociety of mankind, was the object

object which the antient moral philoſophy propoſed to inveſtigate. In that philoſophy the duties of human life were treated of as ſubſervient to the happineſs and perfection of human life. But when moral, as well as natural philoſophy, came to be taught only as ſubſervient to theology, the duties of human life were treated of as chiefly ſubſervient to the happineſs of a life to come. In the antient philoſophy the perfection of virtue was repreſented as neceſſarily productive, to the perſon who poſſeſſed it, of the moſt perfect happineſs in this life. In the modern philoſophy it was frequently repreſented as generally, or rather as almoſt always inconſiſtent with any degree of happineſs in this life; and heaven was to be earned only by penance and mortification, by the auſterities and abaſement of a monk; not by the liberal, generous, and ſpirited conduct of a man. Caſuiſtry and an aſcetic morality made up in moſt caſes the greater part of the moral philoſophy of the ſchools. By far the moſt important of all the different branches of philoſophy, became in this manner by far the moſt corrupted.

Such, therefore, was the common courſe of philoſophical education in the greater part of the univerſities of Europe. Logic was taught firſt: Ontology came in the ſecond place: Pneumatology, comprehending the doctrine concerning the nature of the human ſoul and of the Deity, in the third: In the fourth followed a debaſed ſyſtem of Moral philoſophy, which was conſidered as immediately connected with the doctrines of Pneumatology, with the immortality of the human ſoul, and with the rewards and puniſhments which, from the juſtice of the Deity, were to be expected in a life to come: A ſhort and ſuperficial ſyſtem of Phyſics uſually concluded the courſe.

The alterations which the univerſities of Europe thus introduced into the antient courſe of philoſophy, were all meant for the

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education of eccleſiaſtics, and to render it a more proper introduction to the ſtudy of theology. But the additional quantity of ſubtlety and ſophiſtry; the caſuiſtry and the aſcetic morality which thoſe alterations introduced into it, certainly did not render it more proper for the education of gentlemen or men of the world, or more likely either to improve the underſtanding, or to mend the heart.

This courſe of philoſophy is what ſtill continues to be taught in the greater part of the univerſities of Europe; with more or leſs diligence, according as the conſtitution of each particular univerſity happens to render diligence more or leſs neceſſary to the teachers. In ſome of the richeſt and beſt endowed univerſities the tutors content themſelves with teaching a few unconnected ſhreds and parcels of this corrupted courſe; and even theſe they commonly teach very negligently and ſuperficially.

The improvements which, in modern times, have been made in ſeveral different branches of philoſophy, have not, the greater part of them, been made in univerſities; though ſome no doubt have. The greater part of univerſities have not even been very forward to adopt thoſe improvements after they were made; and ſeveral of thoſe learned ſocieties have choſen to remain for a long time the ſanctuaries in which exploded ſyſtems and obſolete prejudices found ſhelter and protection, after they had been hunted out of every other corner of the world. In general, the richeſt and beſt endowed univerſities have been the ſloweſt in adopting thoſe improvements, and the moſt averſe to permit any conſiderable change in the eſtabliſhed plan of education. Thoſe improvements were more eaſily introduced into ſome of the poorer univerſities, in which the teachers, depending upon their reputation for the greater part of their ſubſiſtence, were obliged to pay more attention to the current opinions of the world.

6

But

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But though the publick ſchools and univerſities of Europe were originally intended only for the education of a particular profeſſion, that of churchmen; and though they were not always very diligent in inſtructing their pupils even in the ſciences which were ſuppoſed neceſſary for that profeſſion, yet they gradually drew to themſelves the education of almoſt all other people, particularly of almoſt all gentlemen and men of fortune. No better method, it ſeems, could be fallen upon of ſpending, with any advantage, the long interval between infancy and that period of life at which men begin to apply in good earneſt to the real buſineſs of the world, the buſineſs which is to employ them during the remainder of their days. The greater part of what is taught in ſchools and univerſities, however, does not ſeem to be the moſt proper preparation for that buſineſs.

In England, it becomes every day more and more the cuſtom to ſend young people to travel in foreign countries immediately upon their leaving ſchool, and without ſending them to any univerſity. Our young people, it is ſaid, generally return home much improved by their travels. A young man who goes abroad at ſeventeen or eighteen, and returns home at one and twenty, returns three or four years older than he was when he went abroad; and at that age it is very difficult not to improve a good deal in three or four years. In the courſe of his travels he generally acquires ſome knowledge of one or two foreign languages; a knowledge, however, which is ſeldom ſufficient to enable him either to ſpeak or write them with propriety. In other reſpects he commonly returns home more conceited, more unprincipled, more diſſipated, and more incapable of any ſerious application either to ſtudy or to buſineſs, than he could well have become in ſo ſhort a time had he lived at home. By travelling ſo very young, by ſpending in the moſt frivolous diſſipation the moſt precious years of his life, at a diſtance from the inſpection

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tion and controul of his parents and relations, every uſeful habit which the earlier parts of his education might have had ſome tendency to form in him, inſtead of being rivetted and confirmed, is almoſt neceſſarily either weakened or effaced. Nothing but the diſcredit into which the univerſities are allowing themſelves to fall, could ever have brought into repute ſo very abſurd a practice as that of travelling at this early period of life. By ſending his ſon abroad, a father delivers himſelf, at leaſt for ſome time, from ſo diſagreeable an object as that of a ſon unemployed, neglected, and going to ruin before his eyes.

Such have been the effects of ſome of the modern inſtitutions for education.

Different plans and different inſtitutions for education ſeem to have taken place in other ages and nations.

In the republics of antient Greece, every free citizen was inſtructed, under the direction of the public magiſtrate, in gymnaſtic exerciſes and in muſic. By gymnaſtic exerciſes it was intended to harden his body, to ſharpen his courage, and to prepare him for the fatigues and dangers of war; and as the Greek militia was, by all accounts, one of the beſt that ever was in the world, this part of their public education muſt have anſwered completely the purpoſe for which it was intended. By the other part, muſic, it was propoſed, at leaſt by the philoſophers and hiſtorians who have given us an account of thoſe inſtitutions, to humanize the mind, to ſoften the temper, and to diſpoſe it for performing all the ſocial and moral duties both of public and private life.

In antient Rome the exerciſes of the Campus Martius anſwered the ſame purpoſe as thoſe of the Gymnazium in antient Greece,

and they ſeem to have anſwered it equally well. But among the Romans there was nothing which correſponded to the muſical education of the Greeks. The morals of the Romans, however, both in private and public life, ſeem to have been not only equal, but, upon the whole, a good deal ſuperior to thoſe of the Greeks. That they were ſuperior in private life we have the expreſs teſtimony of Polybius and of Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus; two authors well acquainted with both nations; and the whole tenor of the Greek and Roman hiſtory bears witneſs to the ſuperiority of the public morals of the Romans. The good temper and moderation of contending factions ſeems to be the moſt eſſential circumſtance in the public morals of a free people. But the factions of the Greeks were almoſt always violent and ſanguinary; whereas, till the time of the Gracchi, no blood had ever been ſhed in any Roman faction; and from the time of the Gracchi the Roman republic may be conſidered as in reality diſſolved. Notwithſtanding, therefore, the very reſpectable authority of Plato, Ariſtotle, and Polybius, and notwithſtanding the very ingenious reaſons by which Mr. Monteſquieu endeavours to ſupport that authority, it ſeems probable that the muſical education of the Greeks had no great effect in mending their morals, ſince, without any ſuch education, thoſe of the Romans were upon the whole ſuperior. The reſpect of thoſe antient ſages for the inſtitutions of their anceſtors had probably diſpoſed them to find much political wiſdom in what was, perhaps, merely an antient cuſtom, continued without interruption from the earlieſt period of thoſe ſocieties to the times in which they had arrived at a conſiderable degree of refinement. Muſic and dancing are the great amuſements of almoſt all barbarous nations, and the great accompliſhments which are ſuppoſed to fit any man for entertaining his ſociety. It is ſo at this day among the negroes on the coaſt of Africa. It was ſo among the antient Celtes, among the antient Scandinavians, and, as we may learn from Homer, among the

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the antient Greeks in the times preceding the Trojan war. When the Greek tribes had formed themſelves into little republics, it was natural that the ſtudy of thoſe accompliſhments ſhould for a long time make a part of the public and common education of the people.

The maſters who inſtructed the young people either in muſic or in military exerciſes, do not ſeem to have been paid, or even appointed by the ſtate, either in Rome, or even in Athens, the Greek republic of whoſe laws and cuſtoms we are the beſt informed. The ſtate required that every free citizen ſhould fit himſelf for defending it in war, and ſhould, upon that account, learn his military exerciſes. But it left him to learn them of ſuch maſters as he could find, and it ſeems to have advanced nothing for this purpoſe but a public field or place of exerciſe, in which he ſhould practiſe and perform them.

In the early ages both of the Greek and Roman republics, the other parts of education ſeem to have conſiſted in learning to read, write, and account, according to the arithmetic of the times. Theſe accompliſhments the richer citizens ſeem frequently to have acquired at home by the aſſiſtance of ſome domeſtic pedagogue, who was generally either a ſlave or a freed-man; and the poorer citizens in the ſchools of ſuch maſters as made a trade of teaching for hire. Such parts of education, however, were abandoned altogether to the care of the parents or guardians of each individual. It does not appear that the ſtate ever aſſumed any inſpection or direction of them. By a law of Solon, indeed, the children were acquitted from maintaining in their old age thoſe parents who had neglected to inſtruct them in ſome profitable trade or buſineſs.

In the progreſs of refinement, when philoſophy and rhetoric came into faſhion, the better ſort of people uſed to ſend their children

dren to the ſchools of philoſophers and rhetoricians, in order to be inſtructed in thoſe faſhionable ſciences. But thoſe ſchools were not ſupported by the public. They were for a long time barely tolerated by it. The demand for philoſophy and rhetoric was for a long time ſo ſmall, that the firſt profeſſed teachers of either could not find conſtant employment in any one city, but were obliged to travel about from place to place. In this manner lived Zeno of Elea, Protagoras, Gorgias, Hippias, and many others. As the demand increaſed, the ſchools both of philoſophy and rhetoric became ſtationary; firſt in Athens, and afterwards in ſeveral other cities. The ſtate however ſeems never to have encouraged them further than by aſſigning to ſome of them a particular place to teach in, which was ſometimes done too by private donors. The ſtate ſeems to have aſſigned the Academy to Plato, the Lyceum to Ariſtotle, and the Portico to Zeno of Citta the founder of the Stoics. But Epicurus bequeathed his gardens to his own ſchool. Till about the time of Marcus Antoninus however, no teacher appears to have had any ſalary from the public, or to have had any other emoluments, but what aroſe from the honoraries or fees of his ſcholars. The bounty which that philoſophical emperor, as we learn from Lucian, beſtowed upon the teachers of philoſophy, probably laſted no longer than his own life. There was nothing equivalent to the privileges of graduation, and to have attended any of thoſe ſchools was not neceſſary, in order to be permitted to practiſe any particular trade or profeſſion. If the opinion of their own utility could not draw ſcholars to them, the law neither forced any body to go to them, nor rewarded any body for having gone to them. The teachers had no juriſdiction over their pupils, nor any other authority beſides that natural authority which ſuperior virtue and abilities never fail to procure from young people towards thoſe who are entruſted with any part of their education.

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At Rome, the ſtudy of the civil law made a part of the education, not of the greater part of the citizens, but of ſome particular families. The young people however, who wiſhed to acquire knowledge in the law, had no public ſchool to go to, and had no other method of ſtudying it than by frequenting the company of ſuch of their relations and friends, as were ſuppoſed to underſtand it. It is perhaps worth while to remark, that though the laws of the twelve tables were many of them copied from thoſe of ſome antient Greek republics, yet law never ſeems to have grown up to be a ſcience in any republic of antient Greece. In Rome it became a ſcience very early, and gave a conſiderable degree of illuſtration to thoſe citizens who had the reputation of underſtanding it. In the republics of antient Greece, particularly in Athens, the ordinary courts of juſtice conſiſted of numerous and therefore diſorderly bodies of people, who frequently decided almoſt at random, or as clamour, faction, and party ſpirit happened to determine. The ignominy of an unjuſt deciſion, when it was to be divided among five hundred, a thouſand, or fifteen hundred people, (for ſome of their courts were ſo very numerous) could not fall very heavy upon any individual. At Rome, on the contrary, the principal courts of juſtice conſiſted either of a ſingle judge, or of a ſmall number of judges, whoſe characters, eſpecially as they deliberated always in public, could not fail to be very much affected by any raſh or unjuſt deciſion. In doubtful caſes, ſuch courts, from their anxiety to avoid blame, would naturally endeavour to ſhelter themſelves under the example or precedent of the judges who had ſat before them either in the ſame or in ſome other court. This attention to practice and precedent neceſſarily formed the Roman law into that regular and orderly ſyſtem in which it has been delivered down to us; and the like attention has had the like effects upon the laws of every other country where ſuch attention has taken place. The ſuperiority of character in the Romans over that of the Greeks, ſo much

much remarked by Polybius and Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, was probably more owing to the better conſtitution of their courts of juſtice, than to any of the circumſtances to which thoſe authors aſcribe it. The Romans are ſaid to have been particularly diſtinguiſhed for their ſuperior reſpect to an oath. But the people who were accuſtomed to make oath only before ſome diligent and well informed court of juſtice, would naturally be much more attentive to what they ſwore, than they who were accuſtomed to do the ſame thing before mobbiſh and diſorderly aſſemblies.

THE abilities both civil and military of the Greeks and Romans will readily be allowed to have been at leaſt equal to thoſe of any modern nation. Our prejudice is perhaps rather to over-rate them. But except in what related to military exerciſes, the ſtate ſeems to have been at no pains to form thoſe great abilities: for I cannot be induced to believe that the muſical education of the Greeks could be of much conſequence in forming them. Maſters, however, had been found, it ſeems, for inſtructing the better ſort of people among thoſe nations in every art and ſcience in which the circumſtances of their ſociety rendered it neceſſary or convenient for them to be inſtructed. The demand for ſuch inſtruction produced, what it always produces, the talent for giving it; and the emulation which an unreſtrained competition never fails to excite, appears to have brought that talent to a very high degree of perfection. In the attention which the antient philoſophers excited, in the empire which they acquired over the opinions and principles of their auditors, in the faculty which they poſſeſſed of giving a certain tone and character to the conduct and converſation of thoſe auditors; they appear to have been much ſuperior to any modern teachers. In modern times, the diligence of public teachers is more or leſs corrupted by the circumſtances, which render them more or leſs independent of their ſucceſs and reputation in their particular profeſſions. Their ſalaries too put the private teacher, who would pretend to come into competition with

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them, in the ſame ſtate with a merchant who attempts to trade without a bounty, in competition with thoſe who trade with a conſiderable one. If he ſells his goods at nearly the ſame price, he cannot have the ſame profit, and poverty and beggary at leaſt, if not bankruptcy and ruin, will infallibly be his lot. If he attempts to ſell them much dearer, he is likely to have ſo few cuſtomers that his circumſtances will not be much mended. The privileges of graduation, beſides, are in many countries neceſſary, or at leaſt extremely convenient to moſt men of learned profeſſions, that is, to the far greater part of thoſe who have occaſion for a learned education. But thoſe privileges can be obtained only by attending the lectures of the public teachers. The moſt careful attendance upon the ableſt inſtructions of any private teacher, cannot always give any title to demand them. It is from theſe different cauſes that the private teacher of any of the ſciences which are commonly taught in univerſities, is in modern times generally conſidered as in the very loweſt order of men of letters. A man of real abilities can ſcarce find out a more humiliating or a more unprofitable employment to turn them to. The endowments of ſchools and colleges have in this manner not only corrupted the diligence of public teachers, but have rendered it almoſt impoſſible to have any good private ones.

Were there no public inſtitutions for education, no ſyſtem, no ſcience would be taught for which there was not ſome demand; or which the circumſtances of the times did not render it, either neceſſary, or convenient, or at leaſt faſhionable to learn. A private teacher could never find his account in teaching either an exploded and antiquated ſyſtem of a ſcience acknowleged to be uſeful, or a ſcience univerſally believed to be a mere uſeleſs and pedantic heap of ſophiſtry and nonſenſe. Such ſyſtems, ſuch ſciences, can ſubſiſt no where but in thoſe incorporated ſocieties for education whoſe proſperity and revenue are in a great meaſure independent of their reputation, and altogether

gether independent of their induſtry. Were there no public inſtitutions for education, a gentleman, after going through with application and abilities the moſt complete courſe of education, which the circumſtances of the times were ſuppoſed to afford, could not come into the world completely ignorant of every thing which is the common ſubject of converſation among gentlemen and men of the world.

THERE are no public inſtitutions for the education of women, and there is accordingly nothing uſeleſs, abſurd, or fantaſtical in the common courſe of their education. They are taught what their parents or guardians judge it neceſſary or uſeful for them to learn; and they are taught nothing elſe. Every part of their education tends evidently to ſome uſeful purpoſe; either to improve the natural attractions of their perſon, or to form their mind to reſerve, to modeſty, to chaſtity, and to oeconomy: to render them both likely to become the miſtreſſes of a family, and to behave properly when they have become ſuch. In every part of her life a woman feels ſome conveniency or advantage from every part of her education. It ſeldom happens that a man in any part of his life derives any conveniency or advantage from ſome of the moſt laborious and troubleſome parts of his education.

OUGHT the public, therefore, to give no attention, it may be aſked, to the education of the people? Or if it ought to give any, what are the different parts of education which it ought to attend to in the different orders of the people? and in what manner ought it to attend to them?

IN ſome caſes the ſtate of the ſociety neceſſarily places the greater part of individuals in ſuch ſituations as naturally form in them, without any attention of government, almoſt all the abilities and virtues which that ſtate requires, or perhaps can admit of.

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of. In other cafes the ſtate of the ſociety does not place the greater part of individuals in ſuch ſituations, and ſome attention of government is neceſſary in order to prevent the almoſt entire corruption and degeneracy of the great body of the people.

In the progreſs of the diviſion of labour, the employment of the far greater part of thoſe who live by labour, that is, of the great body of the people, comes to be confined to a very few ſimple operations; frequently to one or two. But the underſtandings of the greater part of men are neceſſarily formed by their ordinary employments. The man whoſe whole life is ſpent in performing a few ſimple operations, of which the effects too are, perhaps, always the ſame, or very nearly the ſame, has no occaſion to exert his underſtanding, or to exerciſe his invention in finding out expedients for removing difficulties which never occur. He naturally loſes, therefore, the habit of ſuch exertion, and generally becomes as ſtupid and ignorant as it is poſſible for a human creature to become. The torpor of his mind renders him, not only incapable of reliſhing or bearing a part in any rational converſation, but of conceiving any generous, noble, or tender ſentiment, and conſequently of forming any juſt judgement concerning many even of the ordinary duties of private life. Of the great and extenſive intereſts of his country, he is altogether incapable of judging; and unleſs very particular pains have been taken to render him otherwiſe, he is equally incapable of defending his country in war. The uniformity of his ſtationary life naturally corrupts the courage of his mind, and makes him regard with abhorrence the irregular, uncertain, and adventurous life of a ſoldier. It corrupts even the activity of his body, and renders him incapable of exerting his ſtrength with vigour and perſeverance in any other employment than that to which he has been bred. His dexterity at his own particular trade ſeems in this manner to be acquired at the expence of his intellectual,

ſocial, and martial virtues. But in every improved and civilized ſociety this is the ſtate into which the labouring poor, that is, the great body of the people, muſt neceſſarily fall, unleſs government takes ſome pains to prevent it.

IT is otherwiſe in the barbarous ſocieties, as they are commonly called, of hunters, of ſhepherds, and even of huſbandmen in that rude ſtate of huſbandry which precedes the improvement of manufactures, and the extenſion of foreign commerce. In ſuch ſocieties the varied occupations of every man oblige every man to exert his capacity, and to invent expedients for removing difficulties which are continually occurring. Invention is kept alive, and the minds of men are not ſuffered to fall into that drowſy ſtupidity which in a civilized ſociety ſeems to benumb the underſtanding of almoſt all the inferior ranks of people. In thoſe barbarous ſocieties, as they are called, every man, it has already been obſerved, is a warrior. Every man too is in ſome meaſure a ſtateſman, and can form a tolerable judgement concerning the intereſt of the ſociety, and the conduct of thoſe who govern it. How far their chiefs are good judges in peace, or good leaders in war, is obvious to the obſervation of almoſt every ſingle man among them. In ſuch a ſociety indeed, no man can well acquire that improved and refined underſtanding which a few men ſometimes poſſeſs in a more civilized ſtate. Though in a rude ſociety there is a good deal of variety in the occupations of every individual, there is not a great deal in thoſe of the whole ſociety. Every man does, or is capable of doing, almoſt every thing which any other man does or is capable of doing. Every man has a conſiderable degree of knowledge, ingenuity and invention; but ſcarce any man has a great degree. The degree, however, which is commonly poſſeſſed, is generally ſufficient for conducting the whole ſimple buſineſs of the ſociety. In a civilized ſtate, on the contrary, though there is little variety in the occupations of the

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greater part of individuals, there is an almoſt infinite variety in thoſe of the whole ſociety. Theſe varied occupations preſent an almoſt infinite variety of objects to the contemplation of thoſe few who, being attached to no particular occupation themſelves, have leiſure and inclination to examine the occupations of other people. The contemplation of ſo great a variety of objects neceſſarily exerciſes their minds in endleſs compariſons and combinations, and renders their underſtandings in an extraordinary degree both acute and comprehenſive. Unleſs thoſe few, however, happen to be placed in ſome very particular ſituations, their great abilities, though honourable to themſelves, may contribute very little to the good government or happineſs of their ſociety. Notwithſtanding the great abilities of thoſe few, all the nobler parts of the human character may be in a great meaſure obliterated and extinguiſhed in the great body of the people.

The education of the common people requires, perhaps, in a civilized and commercial ſociety, the attention of the public more than that of people of ſome rank and fortune. People of ſome rank and fortune are generally eighteen or nineteen years of age before they enter upon that particular buſineſs, profeſſion, or trade, by which they propoſe to diſtinguiſh themſelves in the world. They have before that full time to acquire, or at leaſt to fit themſelves for afterwards acquiring, every accompliſhment which can recommend them to the public eſteem, or render them worthy of it. Their parents or guardians are generally ſufficiently anxious that they ſhould be ſo accompliſhed, and are in moſt caſes willing enough to lay out the expence which is neceſſary for that purpoſe. If they are not always properly educated, it is ſeldom from the want of expence laid out upon their education; but from the improper application of that expence. It is ſeldom from the want of maſters; but from the negligence and incapacity of the maſters who are to be had, and

from the difficulty, or rather from the impoſſibility which there is in the preſent ſtate of things of finding any better. The employments too in which people of ſome rank or fortune ſpend the greater part of their lives are not, like thoſe of the common people, ſimple and uniform. They are almoſt all of them extremely complicated, and ſuch as exerciſe the head more than the hands. The underſtandings of thoſe who are engaged in ſuch employments can ſeldom grow torpid from want of exerciſe. The employments of people of ſome rank and fortune, beſides, are ſeldom ſuch as harraſs them from morning to night. They generally have a good deal of leiſure, during which they may perfect themſelves in every branch either of uſeful or ornamental knowledge of which they may have laid the foundation, or for which they may have acquired ſome taſte in the earlier part of life.

It is otherwiſe with the common people. They have little time to ſpare for education. Their parents can ſcarce afford to maintain them even in infancy. As ſoon as they are able to work, they muſt apply to ſome trade by which they can earn their ſubſiſtence. That trade too is generally ſo ſimple and uniform as to give little exerciſe to the underſtanding, while at the ſame time their labour is both ſo conſtant and ſo ſevere, that it leaves them little leiſure and leſs inclination to apply to, or even to think of any thing elſe.

But though the common people cannot in any civilized ſociety be ſo well inſtructed as people of ſome rank and fortune, the moſt eſſential parts of education, however, to read, write, and account, can be acquired at ſo early a period of life, that the greater part even of thoſe who are to be bred to the loweſt occupations, have time to acquire them before they can be employed in thoſe occupations. For a very ſmall expence the public can facilitate, can encourage, and can even impoſe upon almoſt the whole body of

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the people, the neceſſity of acquiring thoſe moſt eſſential parts of education.

The public can facilitate this acquiſition by eſtabliſhing in every pariſh or diſtrict a little ſchool, where children may be taught for a reward ſo moderate, that even a common labourer may afford it; the maſter being partly, but not wholly paid by the public; becauſe if he was wholly, or even principally paid by it, he would ſoon learn to neglect his buſineſs. In Scotland the eſtabliſhment of ſuch pariſh ſchools has taught almoſt the whole common people to read, and a very great proportion of them to write and account. In England the eſtabliſhment of charity ſchools has had an effect of the ſame kind, though not ſo univerſally, becauſe the eſtabliſhment is not ſo univerſal. If in thoſe little ſchools the books by which the children are taught to read were a little more inſtructive than they commonly are; and if, inſtead of the little ſmattering of Latin, which the children of the common people are ſometimes taught there, and which can ſcarce ever be of any uſe to them, they were inſtructed in the elementary parts of geometry and mechanics, the literary education of this rank of people would perhaps be as complete as it is capable of being. There is ſcarce a common trade which does not afford ſome opportunities of applying to it the principles of geometry and mechanics, and which would not therefore gradually exerciſe and improve the common people in thoſe principles, the neceſſary introduction to the moſt ſublime as well as to the moſt uſeful ſciences.

The public can encourage the acquiſition of thoſe moſt eſſential parts of education by giving ſmall premiums, and little badges of diſtinction, to the children of the common people who excel in them.

The public can impoſe upon almoſt the whole body of the people the neceſſity of acquiring thoſe moſt eſſential parts of education, by obliging every man to undergo an examination or probation in them before

before he can obtain the freedom in any corporation, or be allowed to ſet up any trade either in a village or town corporate.

It was in this manner, by facilitating the acquiſition of their military and gymnaſtic exerciſes, by encouraging it, and even by impoſing upon the whole body of the people the neceſſity of learning thoſe exerciſes, that the Greek and Roman republics maintained the martial ſpirit of their reſpective citizens. They facilitated the acquiſition of thoſe exerciſes by appointing a certain place for learning and practiſing them, and by granting to certain maſters the privilege of teaching in that place. Thoſe maſters do not appear to have had either ſalaries or excluſive privileges of any kind. Their reward conſiſted altogether in what they got from their ſcholars; and a citizen who had learnt his exerciſes in the public Gymnaſia, had no ſort of legal advantage over one who had learnt them privately, provided the latter had learnt them equally well. Thoſe republics encouraged the acquiſition of thoſe exerciſes by beſtowing little premiums and badges of diſtinction upon thoſe who excelled in them. To have gained a prize in the Olympic, Iſthmian or Nemæan games, gave illuſtration not only to the perſon who gained it, but to his whole family and kindred. The obligation which every citizen was under to ſerve a certain number of years, if called upon, in the armies of the republic, ſufficiently impoſed the neceſſity of learning thoſe exerciſes without which he could not be fit for that ſervice.

That in the progreſs of improvement the practice of military exerciſes, unleſs government takes proper pains to ſupport it, goes gradually to decay, and, together with it, the martial ſpirit of the great body of the people, the example of modern Europe ſufficiently demonſtrates. But the ſecurity of every ſociety muſt always depend, more or leſs, upon the martial ſpirit of the great body of the people. In the preſent times, indeed, that martial ſpirit alone,

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and unſupported by a well diſciplined ſtanding army, would not perhaps be ſufficient for the defence and ſecurity of any ſociety. But where every citizen had the ſpirit of a ſoldier, a ſmaller ſtanding army would ſurely be requiſite. That ſpirit beſides would neceſſarily diminiſh very much the dangers to liberty, whether real or imaginary, which are commonly apprehended from a ſtanding army. As it would very much facilitate the operations of that army againſt a foreign invader, ſo it would obſtruct them as much if unfortunately they ſhould ever be directed againſt the conſtitution of the ſtate.

THE antient inſtitutions of Greece and Rome ſeem to have been much more effectual for maintaining the martial ſpirit of the great body of the people than the eſtabliſhment of what are called the militias of modern times. They were much more ſimple. When they were once eſtabliſhed, they executed themſelves, and it required little or no attention from government to maintain them in the moſt perfect vigour. Whereas to maintain even in tolerable execution the complex regulations of any modern militia, requires the continual and painful attention of government, without which they are conſtantly falling into total neglect and diſuſe. The influence beſides of the antient inſtitutions was much more univerſal. By means of them the whole body of the people was completely inſtructed in the uſe of arms. Whereas it is but a very ſmall part of them who can ever be ſo inſtructed by the regulations of any modern militia; except, perhaps, that of Switzerland. But a coward, a man incapable either of defending or of revenging himſelf, evidently wants one of the moſt eſſential parts of the character of a man. He is as much mutilated and deformed in his mind as another is in his body, who is either deprived of ſome of its moſt eſſential members, or has loſt the uſe of thoſe members. He is evidently the more wretched and miſerable of the two; becauſe happineſs and miſery,

misery, which reside altogether in the mind, must necessarily depend more upon the healthful or unhealthful, the mutilated or entire state of the mind, than upon that of the body. Even though the martial spirit of the people were of no use towards the defence of the society, yet to prevent that sort of mental mutilation, deformity and wretchedness which cowardice necessarily involves in it, from spreading themselves through the great body of the people, would still deserve the most serious attention of government; in the same manner as it would deserve its most serious attention to prevent a leprosy or any other loathsome and offensive disease, though neither mortal nor dangerous, from spreading itself among them; though perhaps no other public good might result from such attention besides the prevention of so great a public evil.

The same thing may be said of the gross ignorance and stupidity which, in a civilized society, seem so frequently to benumb the understandings of all the inferior ranks of people. A man, without the proper use of the intellectual faculties of a man, is, if possible, more contemptible than even a coward, and seems to be mutilated and deformed in a still more essential part of the character of human nature. Though the state was to derive no advantage from the instruction of the inferior ranks of people, it would still deserve its attention that they should not be altogether uninstructed. The state, however, derives no inconsiderable advantage from their instruction. The more they are instructed, the less liable they are to the delusions of enthusiasm and superstition, which, among ignorant nations, frequently occasion the most dreadful disorders. An instructed and intelligent people besides are always more decent and orderly than an ignorant and stupid one. They feel themselves each individually more respectable, and more likely to obtain the respect of their lawful superiors, and they are therefore more disposed to respect those superiors. They are more disposed to