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The Treatment of Education in the "Encyclopédie"

D.S. Wilson

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ABSTRACTThe Treatment of Education in the "Encyclopédie"

D.S. Wilson

This study examines what the Encyclopédie has to say about education. Material has been accumulated from a wide selection of articles contributed by more than twenty-five identified and several anonymous writers. The approach to the selected material is thematic.

The first chapter outlines major problems encountered. Those articles most often cited are indicated and some facts are given about Encyclopédistes concerned with education. A short section on self-education concludes the chapter. Chapter II deals with ideas expressed to do with the purpose and management of education, ending with the concept of education as preparation for life. The intensely complex question of religious and moral education is tackled in Chapter III. Other aspects of the curriculum, especially language studies and history, are considered in Chapter IV, which ends with a note on assessment. Short chapters, V and VI, deal respectively with the education of the infant and of women. Finally, Chapter VII considers post-school education: universities, vocational and professional training, apprenticeships, and the "seconde éducation".

This study demonstrates that the "Société de Gens de Lettres" were not of one mind on the subject of education. In this instance, the Encyclopédie recorded in large measure "la façon commune de penser", with its attendant confusion, contradictions and shallowness. Some traces of innovatory thought are however discernible amidst these common-places; emergent secularism, nascent humanism, relativism in moral values, the questioning of philosophical absolutes, and so on. In examining the treatment of this particular topic, the thesis contributes to an understanding of the true nature of the Encyclopédie.

The Treatment of Education in the "Encyclopédie"

Donald Sutherland Wilson

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DECLARATION

None of the material in this thesis has been previously submitted by the author for a degree in any university nor for consideration by any other degree awarding body.

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PART I(a) Problems Encountered In Writing About Education

A number of problems, more precisely groups of problems, present themselves to the person who presumes to write on the subject of Education in the Encyclopédie. The greater part of this introductory chapter indicates some of the principal areas of difficulty and sets out what has been done to deal with them.

The central difficulty in the first group of problems arises from writing about education. Definitions can be tedious but it must be recognised that the terminology of education does not always convey the same thing to different people. For some, education means schooling, that is; the activities of establishments concerned with learning and with teaching the young. Others take a different, broader, view and see education as concerned with children and their up-bringing. Others again think of education in terms primarily of book-based learning and pay less regard to the age of the learner. Yet others, possibly the majority, may say that all these ideas are involved in the concept of education but nevertheless will give different emphases and attach differing degrees of importance to the various components. Another aspect of the same problem may be indicated by asking whether parent or school-teacher is to be regarded as primarily responsible for the education of the child. Of course, the writers on education in eighteenth-century France had similar problems of definition to contend with.

Additional difficulties stem from changing concepts during the last two hundred and fifty years of what is to be conveyed by the terminology of education. For example, many eighteenth-century writers use the word "enfant" when they are thinking only of a boy and the word "parent" when they mean father.



Other difficulties stem from the preconceptions, as distinct from the semantic problems outlined above, which individuals inevitably bring to their reading. One reader may react, for example, to the term "class-room" by envisaging rows of attentive children sitting on forms or at desks, while another may visualise small groups of children sitting at tables or perhaps moving around the room. Similarly the idea of a school class may evoke an image of some thirty children of the same age or perhaps of similar background and academic ability. Terms such as "class-teaching" may be interpreted in different ways by different readers. The twentieth-century British concept of distinct stages in schooling, such as Primary and Secondary, needs to be modified when eighteenth-century education is being considered. Numerous misunderstandings arise if the unwary reader transfers ideas of the content and divisions of the school curriculum without taking into account differences between the eighteenth and twentieth centuries. For example, it may not always be remembered that the amount of time and energy devoted to the teaching of religion in the eighteenth century was far greater than it is today. Again, the presence of physics, "la physique", on the time-table of a Jesuit "collège" could provoke a significant misconception. Some of these possible misunderstandings will be anticipated and dealt with as they arise in the text of this study.

Quite distinct from problems associated with definitions and preconceptions are the difficulties occasioned by the inevitable prejudices which unwittingly colour the reader's view of certain educational matters. Ideas on the importance of, say, moral education and the way such education should be promoted, if at all, are unlikely to be shared by all readers. The same might be said of social education in the sense of "correct" behaviour, "good" manners, respect for elders, and so on. Undoubtedly the question arises whether such considerations are part of education and, if so, how much attention they merit in a piece of work such as this. This constitutes a

considerable problem, if only because the Encyclopédistes have much to say about moral and ethical questions in the context of education.

Probably the greatest single problem encountered in this first group is the difficulty inherent in having to use contemporary educational terminology when dealing with the ideas and beliefs of the eighteenth century about education. Most particularly, the danger of applying twentieth-century concepts of education to the eighteenth century and the Encyclopédie bedevils any attempt to write coherently, cohesively and concisely on the subject. The problem is recognised by, amongst others, Robert Darnton in a recent book: "Framing twentieth-century questions within the confines of eighteenth-century categories can be misleading."¹

In order to accommodate most of the problems outlined above, a working definition of education has been taken from Dumarsais' article, EDUCATION, in Volume V of the Encyclopédie itself: "... c'est le soin qu'on prend de nourrir d'élever et d'instruire les enfans; ainsi l'éducation a pour objets, (1) la santé et la bonne conformation du corps; (2) ce qui regarde la droiture et l'instruction de l'esprit; (3) les mœurs, c'est-à-dire la conduite de la vie, et les qualités sociales." (V 397a)² The scope of this study is however extended to cover all age-groups, partly because of difficulties about the word "enfans", both in the eighteenth century and today. This semantic inconvenience may be used to illustrate the difficulties arising from variations in definition, as mentioned earlier. In the medical entry ENFANCE (Medecine) d'Aumont says it lasts: "jusqu' à ce que l'homme soit parvenu à avoir l'usage de la raison c'est-à-dire à l'âge de sept à huit ans." (V 651b - 652a) On the other hand the unsigned article JEUNESSE (oecon. anim.) provides both an indication of age divisions operating in the

1. The Literary Underground of the Old Régime, London, 1982, p.175.

2. For treatment of quotations see Appendix I.

eighteenth century and an example of a writer of the period using words applicable to both sexes when manifestly thinking in terms of the male.

Ainsi comme on appelle enfance et adolescence ou puberté, les deux premières parties de son [du corps humain] cours, qui renferment l'espace de tems qui s'écoule entre la naissance et le terme de l'accroissement, on donne le nom de jeunesse au tems de la vie pendant lequel le corps acheve de se perfectionner la durée de la jeunesse s'étend depuis environ 21 ans jusqu'à 35 que commence la virilité. (VIII 544b - 545a)

"Enfance", "adolescence" and "jeunesse" do not necessarily lead on to "virilité."

Once the area for this study has been set, it becomes necessary to select suitable material from the vast amount available in the seventeen volumes of the Encyclopédie. Selectivity, when exercised, inevitably exposes the writer to criticism on grounds of emphasis, choice, possible falsification even, not to mention relevance to the title of the work. The selection of material used here has been made with the prime purpose of giving an idea of the general tenor of the contributions dealing with educational matters in the Encyclopédie; that is, what is to be found in the work rather than what had a particularly great impact. Outstanding articles, like d'Alembert's COLLEGE, or Rousseau's ECONOMIE (Morale et Politique), are rare. To suggest that all the contributions in the field of education have the fire-brand characteristics of the two articles mentioned would be to lend credence to the claim that the primary aim of the Encyclopédie was to destroy, to be a "machine de guerre."³

(b) The Encyclopédie

The concluding words of the preceding section point to the second major group of problems facing the writer on education in the Encyclopédie, namely the Encyclopédie itself.

3. See André SCHIMBERG, L'Education Morale dans les collèges de la Compagnie de Jésus en France sous l'Ancien Régime, Paris, 1913, p.190.

Many claims, not all to be substantiated, have been made for this enormous publication whose first edition appeared between 1751 and 1765, consisting of seventeen massive folio volumes of text, with an average of nearly one thousand pages per volume, each page holding two columns of print. The seventeen volumes were accompanied by eleven volumes of Plates, published between 1762 and 1772, and added to, in 1776 and 1777, by four further volumes of text and one of Plates, constituting the Supplement, which was a separate enterprise. Material for this study has been taken from the first seventeen volumes of text in the first edition.

The question of the importance of the Encyclopédie is, to say the least, problematic. Any answer must depend on the precise context in which the question is posed. The same may be said of questions regarding the impact of the work. Many of those writing about the eighteenth century in France who discuss the Encyclopédie may well be unfamiliar with the true nature of the work. Whatever it may have been meant to be, it is not an encyclopaedia in the modern sense of the word, i.e. comparable with the Encyclopaedia Britannica for example. Nor is it a dictionary in the sense of a "book dealing, usu. in alphabetical order, with the words of a language or of some special subject." (Concise Oxford Dictionary) The French Encyclopédie of d'Alembert and Diderot is a collection of articles, of varying length and on many different subjects, arranged, for the most part, in alphabetical order. There is great variation in the quality of the many articles and the content ranges in style from dispassionate information to excited polemics. It is not a work to be consulted by the seeker after factual information in the way that a modern encyclopaedia can be used. The eighteenth-century Frenchman wanting to learn what the Encyclopédie says, for example, about Geoffrey Chaucer would need to read the entry under WOODSTOK, being, the Encyclopédiste, Jaucourt, informs, the putative birthplace of the father of English poetry. "Chaucer (Geoffroi)

naquit ... à Woodstok selon Pitséus, et à Londres selon d'autres; mais sans croire la première opinion la mieux fondée, je l'embrasse volontiers, parce qu'elle me donne sujet de parler ici de cet aimable poète." (XVII 637a)

This is not untypical of the organisation of material within the work. In some instances, and they are numerous, it is as though the contributor to the Encyclopédie has used the word he is required to write on as the inspiration for an essay on some completely unrelated topic or as the spring-board for a flight of fancy. In the field of education much material used in this study is to be found in unexpected places. (LACEDEMONE, INTERJECTION, DROIT NATUREL, etc.)

It is, of course, well known that Diderot and his fellow philosophes inserted some inflammatory material in the Encyclopédie but hid it away in articles with innocuous-sounding headings. This was a stratagem designed to mislead the official censors, and it often succeeded. Not all the irrelevancies are to be explained in this way. For instance, a disproportionately long article in Volume XVII, ZONE, glaciale, contains lengthy quotation from the British poet Thomson, who was much admired by the Encyclopédiste Jaucourt.

It may be understood then that to locate material in the Encyclopédie on any given topic involves the reading of dozens of articles, with unpromising titles, in the search for what might prove relevant. Some three hundred articles of varying length have been read in the preparation of this study, of which about one hundred and fifty have been quoted or referred to in the text. In fact, less than ten per cent of the total material gathered during the preparation of this work has been used. The search for material on education in the Encyclopédie has been helped by assiduous following up of cross-references given in the various articles and by the use of the two volumes of Tables published in 1780. Clearly then, the nature of the work in itself constitutes one difficulty amongst several

for the student of the Encyclopédie.

The Encyclopédie was a commercial enterprise. It was designed to make money. Whatever polemical intention some of the contributors, including the editors, may have had was necessarily subordinated to the need to make financial profit for the publishers.

There are those who find in the Encyclopédie "The quintessence of Enlightened thinking on all important problems."⁴ There are those who claim "Nowhere is the spirit of the French Enlightenment more apparent than in the Encyclopédie."⁵ There is a great deal more in the seventeen volumes than that. "Notre principal objet étoit de rassembler les découvertes des siècles précédens." (Diderot, in the AVERTISSEMENT to Volume VIII, p.ij). This was largely attempted. To speak in terms of "a large-scale manifesto by free-thinkers and rationalists", and to state; "Diderot and d'Alembert obtained collaborators who were of one mind when there was any question, for example, of attacking the Church and revealed religion",⁶ is to ignore the vast amount of orthodoxy and dull compilation of information in the Encyclopédie. Much that is written about education is likewise orthodox for the period. Nor can the claim that the contributors were "of one mind" when they wrote for the Encyclopédie be readily justified. Diderot, d'Holbach, Dumarsais, Jaucourt and Mallet, for example, were not of one mind in the matter of Christianity. Voltaire, Rousseau and Desmahis were not of one mind on the subject of women. Desmahis' article FEMME (Morale) (VI 472a), which is quoted at some length in later chapters of

4. C.E. ELWELL, The Influence of the Enlightenment on the Catholic Theory of Education in France, 1750-1850, Harvard U.P., 1944, p.17.
5. R. GRIMSLEY, The Age of Enlightenment 1715-1789, Penguin Books, Middlesex, 1979, p.82.
6. F. COPLESTON, A History of Philosophy, London, 1960, Vol.VI, p.14.

this study, was not well received in all quarters. There is, then, further difficulty for the writer on education in the Encyclopédie, stemming from the fact that on this topic, as on others, the contributors do not speak with one voice.

While it is reasonable to ask who read the Encyclopédie, how and for what purpose, the answers given here must necessarily be rather brief. There was, it is true, an increase in literacy in the eighteenth century and, consequently, an increase in the size of the reading public. There was also an increasing desire for knowledge and education. Diderot and his fellows wished to cater for this desire, just as his publishers wished to profit from it. The evidence suggests that, by and large, those who read the Encyclopédie were the social peers of those who wrote the articles for it. The intention may have been innovatory, in Proust's words; "L'originalité de l'Encyclopédie est de s'adresser à un vaste public, en partie nouveau, qui va en principe de l'académicien au maître ouvrier",⁷ but the achievement did not match it. Those who bought the work were "reasonably prosperous people drawn from the middle and upper ranks of pre-revolutionary French society."⁸ There were also those who read the work without buying it and it may not be assumed that all those who bought it read it.

Some few of those who did read the Encyclopédie apparently read each volume as it came out from cover to cover and at least one Encyclopédiste, Jaucourt, would seem to encourage readers to do just that.⁹ The majority may be presumed to have browsed in the volumes in search of pleasure, enlightenment, information and stimulation.

7. Jacques PROUST, Diderot et l'Encyclopédie, Armand COLIN, Paris, 1962, p.203.

8. J. LOUGH, The Encyclopédie, London, 1971, p.60.

9. See p. 30 of this chapter.

It is clear that the Encyclopédie was not totally without impact on its readers. It seems somewhat unjust to describe the work as "Diderot's rather over-rated compendium."¹⁰ Yet it would be wrong to think that because of its size the Encyclopédie made a greater impact in the cultural and intellectual climate of its era than smaller works of literature. It was an era when people were greatly concerned, more than at other times, with social, political, economic and religious issues. The Encyclopédie reflects these concerns. "So far as its political and social outlook was concerned the Encyclopédie was the mirror of its age."¹¹ Prominent amongst these social interests was the question of education. D'Alembert's article COLLEGE had provoked considerable discussion when Volume III was published in 1753. Rousseau's Emile was published in 1762.

In April 1763, Grimm wrote in his correspondence "depuis la chute des jésuites [1762] et le livre inutile de Jean-Jacques Rousseau intitulé Emile, on n'a cessé d'écrire sur l'éducation."¹² When so much else was being written at the time on education, it is less than easy to assess the impact of the Encyclopédie, or its contribution to the debates on the subject. The extent of the influence of the Encyclopédie on eighteenth-century thought remains problematic.

Yet another problem derives from the fact that, unlike the entries in a modern encyclopaedia or dictionary, the articles in the Encyclopédie are not always to be taken at face value.

There are instances of irony, sarcasm, "leg-pulling" and prejudiced writing which are quite alien to the spirit of a straightforward work of reference.

10. Harvey CHISICK, "Institutional Innovation in Popular Education in Eighteenth-Century France : Two Examples", French Historical Studies, 1977, p.44.

11. J. LOUGH, op.cit., p.38.

12. quoted CHISICK, op.cit., p.41.

Trouble arises because the reader may not always recognise intended irony or, in the case, say, of Jaucourt or Desmahis, may detect an "irony" that was not intended. In the twentieth century it is sometimes difficult to take seriously, as was intended, the sentimental effusions of some eighteenth-century writers on education.

A different kind of problem is created by the fact that many of the articles in the Encyclopédie are unsigned and that many writers of articles remain anonymous. Authorship of many unsigned articles, incorrect attribution of others and large-scale plagiarism have been revealed by modern scholarship. However, in the context of the present study, it is primarily the ideas expressed on educational topics which are examined, rather than the authorship of the articles. Nevertheless the Encyclopédistes are identified when they are known.

Because of some uncertainties about attribution, because of the way comments on educational matters are scattered throughout the seventeen volumes of text, and because of doubts about what is to be regarded as an "educational" entry, it is not possible to give a clear indication, in terms of column inches, number of entries, etc. of how much space is devoted in the Encyclopédie to "Education", nor is it possible to identify all the contributors of articles dealing with the subject. What is possible is to indicate which articles are most frequently cited in this study and which Encyclopédistes are most often referred to. Such an indication of frequency does not imply any ranking in terms of merit or importance for either the articles or the Encyclopédistes mentioned.

The most significant of all the articles dealing with education is undoubtedly COLLEGE by d'Alembert. It is the most frequently cited in this study, after GOUVERNEUR D'UN JEUNE HOMME and GOUVERNANTE D'ENFANS by Lefebvre.¹³ Because of its importance and because most of the published

13. See Appendix I for details.

material dealing with the topic of education in the Encyclopédie seems to be primarily based on the article COLLEGE it has been considered advisable to intercalate at this point a few sentences about the "collèges" of eighteenth-century France. D'Alembert starts with a brief recognition that differences may exist, but suggests that these differences are historical rather than actual. "Nous n'entrerons point ici dans le détail historique de l'établissement des différens collèges de Paris; ce détail n'est point l'objet de notre ouvrage, ... il est un autre objet bien plus important dont nous voulons ici nous occuper; c'est celui de l'éducation qu'on y donne à la jeunesse."
(III 634b)

It would be unfortunate if these sentences led the reader to think of all institutions calling themselves "collèges" in the Paris or even France of the eighteenth century as being effectively the 'same. They were not always even very similar. Writing of the life in the different "collèges", Morange and Chassaing say it "laisse l'impression d'une infinie diversité, d'une réalité exceptionnellement nuancée. Il y a pratiquement autant de cas différents que de collèges."¹⁴ There were "collèges" run by different religious orders, Oratoriens and Doctrinaires, for example, as well as those run by the Jesuits. Most of the influential "collèges" were however run by the latter, yet, as Dainville points out, "Les Jésuites n'avaient pas le monopole de l'enseignement quoi qu'on dise."¹⁵ Dainville proceeds to observe that the Jesuits kept comparatively good records of their activities and consequently more is known about their schools. This documentation to some extent belies claims made by polemical writers of the eighteenth century

14. J. MORANGE and J.F. CHASSAING, Le Mouvement de Réforme de l'Enseignement en France 1760-1798, Paris, 1974, p.72.

15. F. de DAINVILLE, "Effectifs des Collèges et Scolarité aux XVII^e et XVIII^e Siècles dans le Nord-Est de la France", Population, 1955, p.466.

about such things, for example, as the narrowness of the curriculum. Precise statistics showing how many boys of the period attended "collèges" may not be available but it has been calculated that towards the end of the century one boy in fifty-two of the population had access to this type of education.¹⁶ What may be said with greater certainty is that the boys who attended the Jesuit "collèges" came from a good mixture of social backgrounds. The Jesuits did not charge for their teaching. Some of their pupils were of very humble stock, others were aristocrats, many were bourgeois, or became bourgeois as a result of their education. "Sous l'Ancien Régime, jusqu' au milieu du XVIII^e siècle au moins, l'éducation domestique s'arrêtait avant dix ans; sauf pour les fils du Roi, les seuls garçons de France qui n'allaient pas au collège. Même les princes du sang comme les Condé fréquentaient le collège: le collège était la seule institution scolaire commune à tous."¹⁷ Most pupils from the lowest social ranks were destined for careers in the Church. "Les Pères étaient trop avisés pour détourner d'eux le talent, fût-il roturier et pauvre."¹⁸ Some "collèges" were better known than others and attracted a greater number of high-ranking pupils.¹⁹ In short, in the mid-eighteenth century, the "collèges" provided "le tout ou la partie de la formation intellectuelle du monde des dominants."²⁰

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16. See R. CHARTIER, M.M. COMPÈRE, D. JULIA, L'Education en France du XVI^e siècle au XVIII^e siècle, Paris, 1976, p.190.
17. P. ARIES, L'Enfant et la Vie Familiale sous l'Ancien Régime, Paris, 1960 p.298.
18. G. DUPONT-FERRIER, La Vie Quotidienne d'un Collège Parisien pendant plus de 350 ans, Paris, 1921, Vol.I, Pt.i, p.64. See also CHARTIER, COMPÈRE, JULIA, op.cit., p.196.
19. See A.SCHIMBERG, op.cit., p.291.
20. CHARTIER, COMPÈRE, JULIA, op.cit., p.173.

Apart from differences stemming from the variety of religious orders running "collèges" there were other distinctions. Not all "collèges" carried studies forward to the same academic levels. A distinction should be made between the "collèges d'humanités" and the "collèges de plein exercice". The latter added two years of "philosophie" to the standard course of study.²¹ Most Jesuit "collèges" were "collèges de plein exercice". There were several reasons for this; social, economic and reasons of prestige.²² Most aristocratic pupils however left their "collège" without doing the two years of "philosophie".²³ Readers of the Encyclopédie usually interpret references to "collèges" as pointing to the Jesuit institutions. In most cases they are right to do so.

Two further points remain to be made briefly about the "collèges". Of those who were actually involved in the teaching, particularly in the Jesuit establishments, the majority were young. Some Jesuit fathers remained in teaching, but for most it was a brief stage in their early careers. "La majorité du corps professoral jésuite est constituée par les jeunes religieux, pas encore prêtres auxquels on fait accomplir ... un stage d'enseignement."²⁴ In fact, before being allowed to teach, men spent time as "surveillants" in the dormitories.²⁵ The system operated required teachers to move up with their pupils from class to class. "Il commence par une classe de grammaire ... et, suivant les mêmes échelons que ses élèves,

21. See DAINVILLE, op.cit., p.466.

22. See F. de DAINVILLE, Les Jésuites et l'Education de la Société Française, Paris, 1940, p.49.

23. See SCHIMBERG, op.cit., p.429.

24. DAINVILLE, Les Jésuites et l'Education de la Société Française, p.339.

25. See SCHIMBERG, op.cit., p.28.

il monte jusqu' à la philosophie."²⁶ This arrangement gave rise to complaints about the extreme youth of the teachers and their inexperience.²⁷ Although, as is indicated above, some boys lived in the "collèges" as "internes", they were very much a minority. The greater part of the pupils were day-boys ("externes"). "Le collège des Jésuites est essentiellement conçu comme un externat."²⁸ These boys were not able to travel to their family homes each night so they stayed in "pensions" under the supervision of "maîtres de pension", one of whom, Faiguet de Villeneuve, was a contributor to the Encyclopédie.

Much material for the present study is drawn from Lefebvre's two articles GOUVERNANTE D'ENFANS and GOUVERNEUR D'UN JEUNE HOMME. It is considered appropriate and advisable to add at this point a few words about the post and function of a "gouverneur" as distinct from a "précepteur" or "maître de pension". The "gouverneur" was not unlike the tutor of an English gentleman of the period. He was normally appointed to the household of the great, that is the "gens de qualité", to take charge of the education of the sons of the family. Occasionally appointed when the boy was young, say seven years old, but normally when the boy had left his "collège" and was about to embark on military training or his "seconde" education in the ways of the world, the "gouverneur" was to prepare his charge for his future position in society: "former son coeur par rapport aux vertus morales, et principalement à celles qui conviennent à son état; et son esprit, par rapport à la conduite de la vie, à la connoissance du monde et des qualités nécessaires pour y réussir." (GOUVERNEUR D'UN JEUNE HOMME, VII 792a).²⁹ The "précepteur", on the other

26. SCHIMBERG, op.cit., p.28.

27. See G. COMPAYRE, Histoire Critique des Doctrines de l'Education en France depuis le 16^e siècle, Paris, 1879, Vol.II, p.212.

28. DAINVILLE (See p. 13 above, Note 22), op.cit., p.348.

29. See CHARTIER, COMPERE, JULIA, op.cit., p.178 for further details.

hand, was concerned only with the schooling of the child and was employed when the boy was younger to give private lessons either at home or to supplement the teaching the boy received at his "collège". Specialist "maîtres" might be employed at the same time to teach such skills, for example, as dancing or drawing. The "précepteur" was not always held in high regard, nor was he, as a rule, very well paid. The "précepteur" seems to have been considered in many respects something of a status symbol in eighteenth-century French society. While families were able to choose "précepteurs" without the authorisation of the Roman Catholic Church, the Church retained clear authority over what was taught.³⁰ As has been indicated, some "collège" pupils had their own "précepteur" amongst their retinue of servants. In one "collège", the Collège Louis le Grand, for example, thirty or forty of the five hundred pupils had servants.³¹ But the "précepteur" did not have a free hand, he was less independent than the "gouverneur" to the extent sometimes of being told how to do his job by the teachers at the "collège". "Les Pères ... transformaient encore en auxiliaires dévoués les nombreux précepteurs particuliers, attachés à la personne de leurs écoliers; ils entraient en relation avec eux, leur indiquant les méthodes à suivre."³² Those "collège" pupils without "précepteurs" and who did not live in rented rooms with their servants were often accommodated in "pensions". According to Ariès the "pensions" and the work of those who ran them were a development of the system of using "répétiteurs" in the education of an earlier age.³³ The "maître de pension" did not actually teach the boys

30. See Ch. FOURRIER, L'Enseignement Français de l'Antiquité à la Révolution, Paris, 1964, p.62.

31. See G. SNYDERS, La Pédagogie en France aux XVII^e et XVIII^e Siècles, Paris, 1965, p.138.

32. SCHIMBERG, *op.cit.*, p.327.

33. See ARIES, *op.cit.*, p.230.

in his care. At most he heard their lessons and assisted them in their rote-learning. "Un maître de pension prenait dans sa maison plusieurs écoliers; il n'enseignait pas, mais hébergeait, surveillait ses pensionnaires, se chargeait tout au plus des répétitions."³⁴ Other, more generic terms, existed for those engaged in teaching; for example, "instituteur",³⁵ but the words "gouverneur", "précepteur" and "maître" are more frequently found in the Encyclopédie.

In addition to COLLEGE, GOUVERNANTE D'ENFANS and GOUVERNEUR D'UN JEUNE HOMME, frequent mention is made in this study of the article ECOLE MILITAIRE by Paris de Meyzieu, of ETUDES by Faiguet de Villeneuve and of the articles METHODE (Gramm.) and SYLLABAIRE by the grammarian Beauzée. The more general articles EPARGNE, also by Faiguet, and FEMME (Morale) by Desmahis are frequently cited. The article EXERCICES (Manège) by Bourgelat covers rather more ground than the matter of equestrianism suggested by its editorial classification and has provided a considerable amount of useful material. D'Alembert's DISCOURS PRELIMINAIRE and his articles ERUDITION and DICTIONNAIRE are cited quite often as is his fellow-editor's article *ENCYCLOPEDIE. Other articles mentioned on comparatively numerous occasions are the abbé Yvon's AMOUR PATERNEL, Marmontel's CRITIQUE and the chevalier de Jaucourt's DEVOIR (Droit nat. Relig. nat. Morale). Amongst the more significant articles mentioned are Rousseau's famous ECONOMIE (Morale et Politique) and Dumarsais' less well known EDUCATION.

Several articles have been the source of lengthy, as distinct from frequent, quotation. Chief amongst those not mentioned above are the unsigned JEUNESSE (oecon. anim.), LECON (Gramm. Morale) and RELIGION (Théol.) and Jaucourt's VOYAGE (Education), FABULISTE, LANGUE FRANÇOISE, LAMIES

34. SCHIMBERG, op.cit., p.290.

35. See the unsigned article INSTITUTEUR (Gram.) VIII 801a for definition.

(Mytholog. Litt.), MEDECINE (Art et Science) and FACULTE (Physique et Médecine). The articles CLASSE and CONSTRUCTION (terme de Grammaire) by Dumarsais fall into this category as do the grammatical articles TEMS, INVERSION, SENS, PONCTUATION, and LANGUE by his successor, Beauzée. Diderot's *ENFANS (Hist. Anc.), LOCKE, PHILOSOPHIE DE, and JESUITE are the source of other longer quotations as is his fellow-editor's article FRERES DE LA CHARITE.

In this section it remains to say something briefly about those Encyclopédistes known to have contributed articles on educational matters and to discover to what extent they may have been qualified to write on these subjects. At the same time an indication is given of their position with regard to the philosophes, when this is known.

The most frequently mentioned Encyclopédiste is Louis, chevalier de JAUCOURT, 1704-1780. More than thirty articles written by him are cited in the present work. Jaucourt, who was 61 in 1765, was prominent as Encyclopédiste and philosophe. Of Protestant stock and noble family, he was educated in Geneva, (possibly from the age of eight,) Cambridge and Leyden, where he qualified as a doctor of medicine in 1730. He has been described as a "polygraphe", in which capacity he made more than 17,000 contributions to the Encyclopédie, comprising twenty-four per cent of the text in the first seventeen volumes. A "ruthless compiler", given to plagiarism, Jaucourt is commonly regarded as the work-horse of the Encyclopédie. He is not known to have had any practical experience in teaching, nor is he known to have been a pupil in any school in France.³⁶

D'ALEMBERT, Jean le Rond, 1717-1783, was the author of the DISCOURS PRELIMINAIRE and of the AVERTISSEMENT to Volume III, together with articles such as COLLEGE, DICTIONNAIRE and ERUDITION. Aged 48 in 1765, he was the

36. For further details, see J. LOUGH, The Encyclopédie in Eighteenth-Century England and other studies, Oriel Press, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1970, p. 25 ff.

joint editor of Volumes I - VII of the Encyclopédie. A philosophe, d'Alembert was a well-known and respected figure in intellectual and social circles of the time. He was raised in modest circumstances and, an illegitimate child, attended as a gentilhomme the Collège des Quatre Nations, a stronghold of Jansenism in Paris. D'Alembert is not known to have had any practical experience in teaching.³⁷

DIDEROT, Denis, 1713-1784, is mentioned frequently in this study. The articles *ENCYCLOPEDIE, *ENFANS (Hist. Anc.) and JESUITE are amongst his contributions most often used. Diderot was 52 in 1765. He was co-editor of the Encyclopédie, becoming sole editor when d'Alembert gave up. Diderot was a leading philosophe. He had been educated by the Jesuits in their "collège" at Langres and then at the Collège Louis le Grand and the Collège d'Harcourt in Paris. At first destined, and indeed trained, for the priesthood, Diderot, when young, led a very unsettled life for several years. His experience of practical teaching was limited to some casual tutoring and three months as "précepteur" in the family of a financier named Randon.³⁸

Articles by BEAUZEE, Nicolas, 1717-1789, are often mentioned in the chapters that follow. His contributions to the Encyclopédie are substantial. His article METHODE (Gramm.) is mentioned frequently. Other articles mentioned repeatedly include LANGUE (Gramm.), PONCTUATION, SYLLABAIRE and INVERSION, (terme de Grammaire). He was aged 48 in 1765 and had a reputation as a "grammairien". After 1767 he held the "chaire de Grammaire" at the Ecole Royale Militaire, where he had previously been "professeur". Something of an "establishment" figure, Beauzée was later, 1772, elected to the Académie Française. He was not known for any lack of orthodoxy and is not regarded as a philosophe. He had practical experience in teaching.

37. For further information see R. GRIMSLEY, Jean d'Alembert, Oxford, 1963.

38. For details, see SCHIMBERG, op.cit., p.488 and note 2.

LEFEBVRE, André, 1717-1768, wrote the important articles GOUVERNANTE D'ENFANS and GOUVERNEUR, D'UN JEUNE HOMME. Another of his articles, GOUVERNEUR, de la personne d'un prince, is also cited. Lefebvre, who is not usually regarded as a philosophe, was 48 in 1765. It is known that he was a lawyer who became a tutor³⁹ and his contributions to the Encyclopédie do suggest some practical experience in teaching.

FAIGUET DE VILLENEUVE, Joachim, 1703-1780, was aged 62 in 1765. His major contribution to the educational articles in the Encyclopédie is ETUDES, much mentioned in the following pages. D'Alembert considered it endorsed the ideas presented in COLLEGE. Other articles by Faiguet, EPARGNE and CITATION, are also cited. Faiguet is listed as a "professeur de lettres" and "maître de pension à Paris";⁴⁰ and therefore clearly had some experience of practical teaching. He is not regarded as a leading philosophe amongst the Encyclopédistes, but neither is he totally orthodox in his views.

Jean Baptiste Pâris de MEYZIEU is mentioned several times although he contributed only one article, ECOLE MILITAIRE. Born in Paris in 1718, he was the nephew of Paris-Duverney, who founded the Ecole Royale Militaire of which de Meyzieu was to become "Directeur d'Etudes". In his military career he attained the rank of lieutenant-colonel. He is mentioned by d'Alembert, in the ELOGE DE DUMARSAIS at the beginning of Volume VII of the Encyclopédie as taking an interest in the work and encouraging two of his staff, Douchet and Beauzée, to contribute articles. (See VII p.xii-xiii). De Meyzieu is not numbered amongst the philosophes. His position at the head of the Ecole Royale Militaire indicates direct involvement with practical teaching. He died in 1778.

39. See J. LOUGH, The Contributors to the Encyclopédie, London, 1973, p.88

40. Dictionnaire de Biographie Française, Paris, 1975.

DUMARSAIS, César Chesneau, 1676-1756, is cited in this study chiefly on account of his articles EDUCATION, CLASSE (Gramm.) and CONSTRUCTION (terme de Grammaire). Dumarsais was a pupil of the Oratoriens in their Marseilles "collège". He came to be known to his contemporaries primarily as a "grammairien", but also had considerable teaching experience as "précepteur" in the Parisian households of Président de Maisons, Law and the marquis de Bauffremont. Later he became a "maître de pension". Obviously highly respected in certain circles, Dumarsais was honoured by an "Eloge" written by d'Alembert, which appeared at the beginning of Volume VII of the Encyclopédie in 1757. q.v. Dumarsais was evidently a free-thinker, in many ways in sympathy with the philosophes.⁴¹

YVON, Claude, 1714-1791, who was 51 in 1765, is mentioned principally because of his articles AMOUR PATERNEL and ANALYSE (en Logique). Yvon took holy orders. Living in Paris, he was a "pédagogue obscur",⁴² who achieved some notoriety as a result of certain contributions to the Encyclopédie, (articles AME, ATHEES, etc.) which attracted accusations of heresy and materialism. He escaped possible arrest by fleeing abroad. In later life he returned to France and respectability as a canon of the Church.⁴³ His attitudes and pronouncements in the earlier part of his career suggest some affinities with those of the philosophes.

BOURGELAT, Claude, 1712-1779, wrote the article EXERCICES (Manège). Aged 53 in 1765, he came from a distinguished Lyons family. He became known chiefly as a specialist in veterinary science. After service as a musketeer, Bourgelat, in 1762, founded, in Lyons, an "académie" devoted to veterinary science. He moved in 1766 to the directorship of a similar

41. See further J. LOUGH, "Who were the Philosophes?" in Studies in Eighteenth-century French Literature, presented to R. Niklaus, Exeter 1975, p.146.

42. Dictionnaire de Biographie Française.

43. See J. LOUGH, The Contributors to the Encyclopédie, p.103.

establishment, the Ecole Vétérinaire d'Alfort. He therefore had some practical experience of teaching. Bourgelat is not usually thought of as a philosophe.

CORSEMBLEU-DESMAHIS, Joseph-François-Edouard de, 1722-1761, is normally known as Desmahis. His article FEMME (Morale) is mentioned several times in the remainder of this work. He was of good family in the "noblesse de robe" tradition. He had been a pupil of the Jesuits in Orleans. He became a minor playwright, poet and sentimentalist. He is not known to have had any practical experience of teaching. By no means distinguished as a philosophe, Desmahis evinces in his writing ideas current amongst some philosophes.

BOUCHER d'ARGIS, Antoine-Gaspard, 1708-1791, was 57 in 1765. Several of this Encyclopédiste's articles are quoted in this work, mostly with reference to post-school education. Boucher d'Argis was a lawyer in public service, whose contributions to the Encyclopédie on jurisprudence and allied topics are predominantly factual. He received considerable praise in the AVERTISSEMENT to Volume III, q.v. There is no evidence suggesting he had practical experience of teaching. There is nothing to suggest significant lack of orthodoxy in Boucher d'Argis, who is not normally regarded as a philosophe.

MARMONTEL, Jean-François, 1723-1799, wrote CRITIQUE (Belles-lettres), which is amongst the more interesting articles used in the preparation of this study. His article FABLE is also mentioned. Marmontel, who was 42 in 1765, was the son of a tailor. Educated by the Jesuits in their "collège" in Mauriac, he was sent by them to teach philosophy in the Toulouse "collège". He therefore had some practical experience of teaching. He became known as a poet, dramatist and philosophe. Despite humble origins and a spell in the Bastille, Marmontel became "Historiographe de France" and an "Académicien". He was an Encyclopédiste of considerable reputation and standing, in his day.

A number of the abbé Edme MALLET's articles are mentioned in the following chapters. Born in 1713, he died in 1755. When a young man, he had experience as a "précepteur". Later he became "docteur en théologie" and "professeur" of that subject in the Collège de Navarre. He was an orthodox Roman Catholic who is not regarded as a philosophe. Mallet is given posthumous praise by d'Alembert in an "Eloge" at the beginning of Volume VI, q.v.

Jean-Jacques ROUSSEAU, 1712-1778, was 53 in 1765. His famous article ECONOMIE (Morale et Politique) is mentioned a number of times in this study. His education, spasmodic as it was, was supplied in part by Calvinists and in part by Roman Catholics. Rousseau had practical experience of teaching as "précepteur", with little, if any, success. His practical experience of child-rearing was equally limited. Nevertheless he was a most renowned theorist on educational matters, whose influence, then and now, is inescapable. Rousseau is regarded by several scholars as a philosophe, although his claim to this title is disputed by others.

François-Marie Arouet de VOLTAIRE, 1694-1778, who was 71 in 1765, was a distinguished pupil of the Jesuits. His articles, GENS DE LETTRES, HISTOIRE and IMAGINATION, IMAGINER are cited in this study. He had no practical experience as a teacher. He is regarded as a leading philosophe.

Jean-François, marquis de SAINT-LAMBERT, 1716-1803, has been identified as the author of several articles, of which LEGISLATEUR, INTERET (Morale) and MANIERE are mentioned in ensuing chapters. Aged 49 in 1765, a former pupil of the Jesuits, Saint-Lambert had, as well as an army career, a reputation as poet and philosophe. His name was linked with that of Mme du Châtelet, as was Voltaire's, and with that of Mme d' Houdetot, as was Rousseau's. "Il n'eut qu' à paraître pour vaincre." He is not known to have had practical experience either as "précepteur" or in any school.

The article VERTU which is quoted and referred to several times, was written by "ROMILLY, fils", Jean-Edmé ROMILLY, 1739-1779. The son of an Encyclopédiste, he was 26 in 1765. He was born in Geneva and spent part of his life in London as "pasteur de l'église wallonne." Some of his ideas were akin to those of the philosophes but he is not really to be counted as one of them.

Of the half dozen or so Encyclopédistes mentioned in this study but not listed above, three were doctors of medicine: d'AUMONT, who contributed ENFANS (Maladies des), BARTHES, who contributed FEMME (Anthropologie), and MALOUIN, the author of URINE. All three held "chaires" in medical studies and so had some practical experience of teaching. None of them is regarded as a philosophe.⁴⁴ Claude Henri WATELET, 1718-1786, contributed the article DESSEIN, which is quoted in Chapter VII of this study. He is described in the Encyclopédie as "receveur général des finances, et honoraire de l'académie royale de Peinture." (I 889b). He is not regarded as a philosophe, nor is he known to have been personally involved in teaching. Two other Encyclopédistes mentioned were noblemen, the obscure chevalier de SEGUIRAN, (who wrote the article VERITE, BONTE, BEAUTE), and the notable comte de TRESSAN whose article GUERRE, HOMME DE, is mentioned a number of times. Neither of these men is regarded as a philosophe. One of the articles mentioned later, DIEU, is described as "tiré des papiers de M. Formey." Jean Henri Samuel FORMEY, 1711-1797, was a man of considerable academic distinction; a Protestant, who spent much of his life in Prussia. He energetically attacked some of the important publications of the philosophes, although his own views were not noted for their traditional orthodoxy.⁴⁵

44. For further information see J. LOUGH, The Contributors to the Encyclopédie.

45. For more information about the Encyclopédistes mentioned above, see J. LOUGH, The Contributors to the Encyclopédie; the Dictionnaire des Lettres Françaises - 18^e siècle; the Dictionnaire de Biographie Française.

The last part of this section has sought to indicate the range of material from the Encyclopédie used in this study and to identify some of the contributors who supplied the articles and other writings found relevant.

(c) Arrangement and Presentation of Material

Problems of a kind different from those of writing about education and the Encyclopédie arise when the question of management and treatment of material is faced. Restraint has had to be exercised in order to limit the length of this study. Proper discussion of the value of the ideas expressed in terms of theory or of practice would require more space than is available. It has not been possible to demonstrate fully, by means of comparison with written material extraneous to the seventeen volumes of text, the extent to which the Encyclopédie reflected, or indeed repeated, the ideas of the era. The strong influence of Locke and Montesquieu, for example, is clearly discernible in some articles concerned with education. This aspect has not been developed in what follows. Limited space has also drastically curtailed any serious attempt to test the accuracy of the claims made in the Encyclopédie about prevailing educational practices against the known facts as documented in other contemporary material. The principal purpose of the present work is to examine the nature of what is said in the Encyclopédie about education.

The difficulty involved in arranging the material collected into some form of systematic study has proved a major problem. Various possibilities existed. Many writers in the field of education, after a brief theoretical introduction, adopt a chronological approach, starting with the infant and ending with the person who, on leaving an establishment of learning, is deemed "educated". The Encyclopédistes did not always conform with this pattern. Some of them wished to start by having the husband educate his wife before she became a mother. Others acknowledged that formal education

does not always begin around six years of age and end at fourteen or twenty-one. Others again claimed that "real" education began after the completion of formal schooling.

Some writers on education concentrate attention on what is to be taught rather than on those who are to learn. This leads to plans on how to teach Latin or History, for example, with progress charted from elementary knowledge to advanced knowledge and scant reference to the age or aptitude of the learner. Some Encyclopédistes, usually specialists in their fields, contributed articles along these lines. Such material is difficult to accommodate in any plan following chronological development as outlined above.

It is difficult to assess the extent to which readers of the Encyclopédie were deemed to be aware of the education provided in schools and other establishments of the period. Some of the contributors, as has been shown, were experienced as pedagogues and some of these taught in schools, "collèges" and other institutions. In spite of this, many comments and judgments in the Encyclopédie seem to have been based chiefly on memories of school-days, on reports of the happenings in various "collèges" and on published material such as, for example, the Ratio atque institutio studiorum Societatis Jesus, which was closely followed, so it was believed, in all Jesuit "collèges" of the time. Whether Encyclopédistes such as d'Alembert, Diderot and Jaucourt ever, as adults, saw the inside of establishments of learning for children has not been ascertained. There is evidence, albeit not totally convincing, that things inside Jesuit and other "collèges" were not always as they were represented by those who sided ideologically with the philosophe or Encyclopédiste causes. Many valuable and interesting books and articles have been written about education in eighteenth-century France.⁴⁶ These document facts and contemporary evidence of what actually was taught, where, when and by

46. See bibliography for a selection.

whom. The Encyclopédistes, on the other hand, tended to deal in theory and, to some extent, in hearsay. This by no means reduces the importance of their contribution to educational debate. But it does affect the way material from the Encyclopédie is presented in this study.

If the Encyclopédie is seen as a compilation of accumulated, but not unanimous, opinion rather than as a compendium of facts, and a case can be made for this view, then the emphasis on theory as opposed to practice in matters educational may be more readily appreciated. The person who wishes to write on Education in the Encyclopédie cannot ignore the vast amount of theorising and moralising on the subject to be found in the pages of the seventeen volumes.

Of the material examined the greatest amount that is usable is concerned with the teaching of religion and morality, "la morale". For this reason a complete chapter has been devoted to this aspect of education. Alongside the discussion of the teaching of religion and morality, and in many instances interwoven with it, there is much to be found on the general aims and purpose of education. An attempt has been made to summarise this material and to present, in the chapter that follows this introduction, a synthesis of views expressed.

The nature of the material covered in the two chapters mentioned above leads ineluctably to a certain amount of generalisation, which may appear vague or even platitudinous to some readers. The remaining chapters of the work deal with questions of curriculum, teaching methods and education received outside the school class-room. The ideas encountered range from the clear and specific to the absurd and fanciful.

To achieve the stated aims of this study repeated quotation from the pages of the Encyclopédie has been necessary. This has led to serious problems of presentation. The prose style of most Encyclopédistes, in keeping

with the fashion of their era, is prolix rather than terse. Sentences of a hundred words or more are not uncommon. It is difficult to simplify such sentences, when quoting, without distorting their message or lessening their impact. Paraphrase presents similar difficulty. A partial solution to this dilemma has been sought in the device of reference back to passages previously quoted.

Completely satisfactory resolution of problems concerning the organization of material in this study has proved elusive. The pattern of presentation adopted in remaining chapters makes integration of one very important aspect of education treated in the Encyclopédie difficult to achieve. This is the question of self-education. One of the principal claims made in the promotion of the Encyclopédie was that it enabled the individual thirsting for knowledge to satisfy his needs. The final part of this chapter will examine briefly part of what may be found in the seventeen volumes on this subject.

* * * * *

PART II

The Encyclopédie and Self-Education

Self-education was a very fashionable occupation in the middle of the eighteenth century. This is recognized by the Encyclopédistes, who treat the topic seriously and with appropriate awareness of its importance. A primary aim of the Encyclopédie, according to d'Alembert writing in the DISCOURS PRELIMINAIRE, is to provide a means of general instruction, whether of the self or of others. "Nous avons donc crû qu'il importoit d'avoir un Dictionnaire qu'on pût consulter sur toutes les matieres des Arts et des Sciences, et qui servît autant à guider ceux qui se sentent le courage de

travailler à l'instruction des autres, qu' à éclairer ceux qui ne s'instruisent que pour eux-mêmes." (I xxxjv.)

Enthusiasm for knowledge was one of the chief characteristics of the era. This enthusiasm spread through several sections of society which had hitherto been fairly immune to education in its wider sense. Increasing literacy and the more widespread dissemination of reading material aided the pursuit of information. The Encyclopédie contributed in a limited way to these changes. It was intended to do just this and considered by some to have achieved its purpose. It broke new ground with some of its contents. One thinks, for example, of Diderot's excursions into the workshops of artisans in search of material suitable for inclusion in his Dictionnaire Raisoné des Sciences, des Arts et des Métiers. An Encyclopédie, he says in the eponymous article, is "une exposition rapide et desintéressée des découvertes des hommes dans tous les lieux, dans tous les genres, et dans tous les siècles." (V 645 v/b). "Un dictionnaire universel et raisonné est destiné à l'instruction générale et permanente de l'espece humaine." (V 645 v/b).

In the manner of a school text-book, the Encyclopédie, according to Diderot, is for the most part a compendium of material already available elsewhere. "Observons qu' excepté la matiere des Arts, il n' y a proprement du ressort d'un dictionnaire que ce qui est déjà publié." (ENCYCLOPEDIE V 645 v/a).⁴⁷

The attempt to lay before the reading public the means of self-education has been neatly characterised by Daniel Mornet as "vulgarisation".

"L'Encyclopédie est ... un effort de vulgarisation plutôt qu'un effort d'invention. Elle est surtout le témoignage d'un puissant mouvement de curiosité intellectuelle."⁴⁸ In a different work Mornet describes the Encyclo-

47. This should be read alongside the earlier claim: "Notre Encyclopédie a ... l'avantage de contenir une infinité de choses nouvelles et qu'on chercheroit inutilement ailleurs." (V 645 r/a-b). The statements constitute an apparent contradiction.

48. Diderot, - l'Homme et l'Oeuvre, Paris, 1941, p.78.

pédie as "un ouvrage de vulgarisation intelligent."⁴⁹

It is difficult to read the repeated claims made by Encyclopédistes about the social and educational value of the work and the virtues of the contributors without envisaging the readers of the various volumes seeking to inform themselves directly; that is, without the intervention of some other person in the role of teacher.

"Vulgarisation" is brought to mind again by the juxtaposition of Diderot's high moral tone when he claims in the article *ENCYCLOPEDIE: "C'est manquer son but, que d'amuser et de plaire, quand on peut instruire et toucher," (V 647 r/b), and the more jaundiced comment of his fellow-editor in the article CONSIDERATION, EGARDS, RESPECT, (Gramm.): "Les hommes aiment mieux être desennuyés qu' éclairés." (IV 43 b).

The nature of the Encyclopédie did not allow it to develop as some sort of over-sized instruction manual, with different sections graduated according to difficulty. The instruction provided in the Encyclopédie takes the form of exposition rather than progressive pedagogy. In this respect it extends the curriculum without dramatically altering the prevailing idea of an educated person. The emphasis remains on memorised knowledge rather than developed powers of analysis. "Un dictionnaire est fait pour être consulté, et le point essentiel, c'est que le lecteur remporte nettement dans sa mémoire le résultat de sa lecture," says Diderot in *ENCYCLOPEDIE. (V 642 r/b).

However, uniformity in the way the Encyclopédie was used for self-education was not expected even by the Encyclopédistes themselves. "Un dictionnaire bien fait", d'Alembert claims in DICTIONNAIRE, "est un ouvrage que les vrais savans se bornent à consulter, et que les autres lisent pour en tirer quelques lumieres superficielles." (IV 968 b).

49. Littérature française, Bédier-Hazard, II, p.78. Quoted in Encyclopédie, Bordas, Paris, 1967, p.187.

Earlier in this chapter (see p.8) it was said that some people read the Encyclopédie page by page. Diderot mentions this, not without a suggestion of pride: "Il y a des personnes qui ont lû l'Encyclopédie d'un bout à l'autre; et si l'on excepte le dictionnaire de Bayle, qui perd tous les jours un peu de cette prérogative, il n' y a guere que le nôtre qui en ait joui et qui en jouïsse." (*ENCYCLOPEDIE - V 648 r/a). Such devotion to study would certainly win the approbation of the chevalier de Jaucourt. In the article ETUDE (Arts et Sciences) he writes, with customary verbal extravagance: "L'étude est par elle-même de toutes les occupations celle qui procure ... les plaisirs les plus attrayans, les plus doux et les plus honnêtes de la vie; plaisirs uniques, propres en tout tems, à tout âge et en tous lieux." (VI 86 a). He continues in the same vein a few paragraphs later; "Elle orne l'esprit de vérités agréables, utiles ou nécessaires; ... elle apprend à connoître les hommes tels qu'ils sont, ... elle inspire du zele et de l'amour pour la patrie; elle nous rend plus humains ... parce qu'elle nous rend plus éclairés sur nos devoirs, ... etc." (VI 86 a). Judging this prolonged paeon perhaps insufficient to fire his readers with enthusiasm for self-education, Jaucourt ends on a pragmatic note: "Enfin vous aurez sur les autres hommes de grands avantages, et vous leur serez toujours supérieur." (VI 87 a).

The use of books, other than the Encyclopédie, for self-improvement is treated in the article LIVRE (Littérature) in Volume IX. Although unsigned, this article has a few indications of Diderot's hand.⁵⁰ For this reason a cautious approach must be made to the ideas expressed. They are perhaps not fully expected to be taken at face value. After defining a good book in the following terms: "Un bon livre ... selon un homme de bon sens, c'est un

50. See J. LOUGH, "The Problem of the Unsigned Articles" in The Encyclopédie in Eighteenth-Century England and other studies, Newcastle upon Tyne, 1970, p.213.

livre instructif", (IX 604 b) the writer discusses the "harm" that can be done by books in the "wrong" hands and implies that some people will disagree with the contention: "Il n' y a qu' un bien, c'est la science; qu' un mal, c'est l'ignorance." (SOCRATIQUE, PHILOSOPHIE by Diderot, XV 263 b). It is conceded in the article LIVRE (Littérat.) that self-education may lead to trouble. According to the writer, whose sincerity is questionable; "les mauvais effets qu'on peut imputer aux livres" are "qu'ils emploient trop de notre tems et de notre attention, qu'ils engagent notre esprit à des choses qui ne tournent nullement à l'utilité publique, et qu'ils nous inspirent de la répugnance pour les actions et le train ordinaire de la vie civile." (IX 606 a). A little later, in tones which again suggest the possibility of irony, the writer of the article adds; "les caracteres mauvais peuvent y puiser tous les moyens d'infecter le monde d'irréligion, de superstition, de corruption dans les moeurs, dont on est toujours plus avide que des leçons de sagesse et de vertu." (IX 606 a). Then, in what could be taken as a nod in the direction of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, the Encyclopédiste, still discussing books, says; "leur multitude excessive, le peu de certitude qu'on en tire, sont telles, qu'il paroît plus aisé de découvrir la vérité dans la nature et la raison des choses, que dans l'incertitude et les contradictions des livres." (IX 606 a).

The spirit of the philosophes who contributed to the Encyclopédie is more clearly evident in the ELOGE DE MONTESQUIEU, at the beginning of Volume V, by d'Alembert. Illustration is provided here of how a book may be arranged so as to assist the serious seeker after beneficial knowledge and self-improvement by means of self-education. Of Montesquieu's L'Esprit des Lois it is said:

Nous dirons de l'obscurité qu'on peut se permettre dans un tel ouvrage, la même chose que du défaut d'ordre; ce qui seroit obscur pour les lecteurs vulgaires, ne l'est pas pour ceux que l'Auteur a

eus en vûe. D'ailleurs l'obscurité volontaire n'en est point une: M. de Montesquieu ayant à présenter quelquefois des vérités importantes, dont l'énoncé absolu et direct auroit pû blesser sans fruit, a eu la prudence louable de les envelopper, et par cet innocent artifice, les a voilées à ceux à qui elles seroient nuisibles, sans qu'elles fussent perdues pour les sages.

(V xiiij)

Awareness of the activities of the censor is ever-present in the more outspoken publications of the period. This is the case with the Encyclopédie. Because of its bulk and cost the work was not as readily available to the man seeking to educate and enlighten himself as were some shorter works, including pamphlets, tracts, etc. Nevertheless the Encyclopédie attracted the condemnation of those authorities seeking to prevent the spread of material likely to endanger their hold on power. What a man read in private and to himself was not considered his own business.

PART I

Attitudes to Education in General: Ideas Found in the
Encyclopédie Concerning the Aims, Organisation,
Administration and Control of Education

This is an area of considerable complexity. The ramifications of each component of this chapter are numerous. Limitations of space have ruled out fuller treatment of several interesting and important issues. As a result, and because of the disparate nature of much of the material used, a slight lack of cohesion may be detected in a few parts of the present chapter.

At the time when the Encyclopédie first appeared, organised education in France was, in almost every respect, under the control of the Roman Catholic Church. Some measure of control was even available over the education given in households which employed tutors for boys before they went on to attend "collèges".

A certain type of elementary schooling was generally available throughout most of France. This was provided by the catechetical school and was concerned almost totally with teaching the faith and tenets of Roman Catholicism. The tradition behind such schools was firmly established. Henri IV had declared "La félicité des royaumes ... dépend de la bonne éducation de la jeunesse", and had gone on to declare that this education should include learning "le culte religieux et sincère que Dieu exige" and the obligations owed to parents, monarch, the nation and its rulers.¹ Louis XIV had followed, in a decree of 1698, by re-inforcing the power of the Roman Catholic Church in the field of education. The decree was directed against the Huguenots

1. See Gabriel COMPAYRE, Histoire Critique des Doctrines de l'Education en France depuis le 16^e siècle, Paris, 1898, Vol.I, p.437.

and designed to re-establish the authority of the Roman Catholic hierarchy over the life of the nation. The call in the decree was; "Enjoignons à tous [ceux] ... qui sont chargés de l'éducation des enfants ... de les envoyer aux dites écoles et au catéchisme jusqu' à l'âge de quatorze ans."² The schools in question were controlled by diocesan bishops, under the auspices of their appointed "écolâtres", financed by the parishes, and staffed usually by literate or semi-literate assistants, in reality more like servants, to the local priest. "L'école est avant tout un autre catéchisme, une maison où on apprend le catholicisme, ses dogmes, ses pratiques, sa morale."³ Payment was not required for the actual catechetical instruction received but it was required in many cases for extras such as being taught to read, to write, ("l'écriture") to do elementary arithmetic, ("le calcul") or being allocated a seat near the stove in winter. The catechism taught was not standardised throughout France. There were variations between dioceses.

For the most part, the Encyclopédistes pass over this section of the educational system prevailing in the France of their time. Much of their attention is concentrated on the written element in schooling. The catechetical schools had a predominantly oral approach to teaching. This gives rise to the observation in the unsigned article CATECHESE; "c'est un courte (sic) et méthodique instruction des mystères de la religion, laquelle se fait de bouche; car on n'enseignoit pas anciennement ces mystères par écrit, de peur que ces écrits ne vinssent à tomber entre les mains des infideles, qui les auroient tournés en risée, faute de les bien entendre." (II 773 a).

2. Quoted by Marcel BLANC, Essai sur l'Enseignement Primaire avant 1789, Paris, 1954, p.15.

3. Ferdinand BRUNOT, Histoire de la Langue Française des Origines à 1900, Paris, 1917, Vol.V, p.34.

In what may confidently be taken as a reference to catechetical schools of the period, Dumarsais, after saying, "Tous les enfans, ... doivent être souûmis aux soins de l'éducation", goes on to declare;

Il est evident qu' il n' y a aucun ordre de citoyens dans un état, pour lesquels il n' y eût une sorte d' éducation qui leur seroit propre; éducation pour les enfans des souverains, éducation pour les enfans des grands, pour ceux des magistrats, etc; éducation pour les enfans de la campagne, où, comme il y a des écoles pour apprendre les vérités de la religion, il devroit y en avoir aussi dans lesquels (sic) on leur montrât les exercices, les pratiques, les devoirs et les vertus de leur état afin qu' ils agissent avec plus de connoissance.

(EDUCATION V 397 a-b)

The words of Dumarsais touch on other aspects of education pertinent to the subject of this chapter. In so far as the catechetical schools are concerned; "L'école publique, gratuite et obligatoire, a été créée par la Royauté, au profit de l'Eglise et pour le service du catholicisme."⁴

Roman Catholic control of non-compulsory education in eighteenth-century France was exercised in part through the activities of Religious Orders belonging to the Church, amongst which, prior to 1762, the Jesuits were prominent. The Society of Jesus had been established in Paris on August 15, 1534. It was intended to combat protestantism. Essentially, the Jesuits were concerned with teaching, in the broadest sense. During the period between the rise of protestantism and the 1789 Revolution in France the theological concept of the child, born in sin, into an evil world, needing to be rescued from the devil and all his works and to be led along the paths of righteousness, became fused with the desire on the part of those holding political power, and anxious to strengthen and increase their hold, to control education. They hoped thereby to ensure obedience, conformity and patriotism amongst those subject to their rule. In the words of le père Croiset in 1711; "l'éducation consiste à arracher l'élève à une

4. BRUNOT, op.cit., p.36.

puissance hostile qui s'insinue partout."⁵ This may be interpreted both in terms of religion and, in so far as the Church was playing a political role at the time, in terms of politics.

It is apparent that the Roman Catholic Church wanted compulsory, universal education, in the sense of the teaching of the catechism and associated subjects such as "les vertus chrétiennes", because, amongst other possible reasons, this was politically and socially to the Church's advantage. The attitude of most philosophes and Encyclopédistes to the question of universal education is less readily ascertained. They are much given to platitudes such as that education, to quote d'Alembert, is "the noblest prerogative of the human race",⁶ after the art of government. In the Encyclopédie such sentiments are echoed in, for example, the unsigned article CATECHESE where the reader is told that

Jean Gerson, chancelier de l'université de Paris, faisoit gloire parmi ses grandes occupations, d'instruire les enfans, et de les catéchiser, répondant à ceux qui lui conseilloyent de s'appliquer à des emplois plus considérables, qu'il ne croyoit pas qu'il y en eût de plus nécessaire et de plus glorieux que celui-là.

(II 773 a-b)

The irony that infuses part of the article CATECHESE and the fact that ideas about what constitutes education differ do not invalidate the point that great importance was attached to the educational process.

It has been pointed out earlier that Dumarsais in the article EDUCATION stated that all children should undergo some type of formal education, ("Tous les enfans ... doivent être soumis aux soins de l'éducation", (V 397 a)), graded according to their ability and needs. In the DISCOURS PRELIMINAIRE d'Alembert touches on the question of the educability of all people. "Il

5. quoted by Georges SNYDERS, La Pédagogie en France aux XVII^e et XVIII^e Siècles, Paris, 1965, p.44.

6. See Ronald GRIMSLEY, Jean d'Alembert, Oxford, 1963, p.128.

est peut être vrai de dire qu'il n'y a presque point de science ou d'art dont on ne pût à la rigueur, et avec une bonne Logique, instruire l'esprit le plus borné." (I x). The advantages to be derived from education are a constant theme in the Encyclopédie. The matter of availability of formal education to the people of France is dealt with at length in the article METHODE (Gramm.) by Beauzée. He draws attention to the inequities resulting from, or perpetuated by, the variations in what was available by way of education. "Les enfans de la populace, des mainouvres, des malheureux de toute espece qui n'ont que le tems d'échanger leur sueur contre leur pain, demeurent ignorans et quelquefois stupides avec des dispositions de meilleur augure; toute culture leur manque." (X 452 a). Of the children of the "bourgeoisie honnête dans les provinces", he says they "acquierent les lumieres qui tiennent au systeme d'institution qui y a cours." (X 452 a). Beauzée proceeds, not without some very caustic comments, to discuss the educational advantages of the children of "les grands". He speaks of "des enfans qui balbutient encore" as "des prodiges, sinon de raison, du moins de raisonnement" and advances as the reason for this: "c'est qu'on raisonne sans cesse avec ces embryons de l'humanité que leur naissance fait déjà regarder comme des demi-dieux." (X 452 a). Beauzée goes on to discuss the education of Parisian bourgeois children. He finds them to be initially more advanced than those of the provinces. Yet, when they attend the "institution commune" for formal schooling they degenerate and begin to "imiter par air les vices des grands, la mollesse, la paresse, la suffisance, l'orgueil, compagnes ordinaires de l'opulence et ennemies décidées de la raison." (X 452 b).

The sentences quoted above suggest that Beauzée would be in favour of improving the educational opportunities and, of course, the actual schooling available in his day. Many Encyclopédistes express similar ideas. They

want better educational provision and greater availability. This is not the same as saying they want schooling for all or suggest that education should be compulsory.

Little is said in the Encyclopédie on the question of whether schooling, other than catechetical, should be obligatory. In general the belief is expressed that education should be available to all who could benefit from it but encouragement and exhortation rather than compulsion seem to be favoured.

It is well known that a number of prominent Enlightenment thinkers, Voltaire, Rousseau, La Chalotais, tended to exclude "le peuple" when dealing with the question of education in the 1760's. The chevalier de Jaucourt's contempt for this section of society is brought out in the article OCHLOCRATIE where he speaks of "la vile populace" and "la canaille". Diderot himself is not always convinced that education, or anything else, will improve the general mass of humanity. "Le monde a beau vieillir, il ne change pas; il se peut que l'individu se perfectionne, mais la masse de l'espece ne devient ni meilleure ni pire; ... les ennemis de toute chose bonne et utile sont sans nombre aujourd' hui comme autrefois." (AVERTISSEMENT VOL.VIII p.1). A curious but significant article, STUPIDITE, DEMENCE (Médec), which is unsigned, declares that people whose lives are hard because they live in mountainous or marshy regions are "fort sujets à la stupidité", as a result of sweating "plus des extrémités que de la tête." (XV 551 a). The author goes on to speak of "les gens rustiques, en qui l'habitude de la réflexion ne s'étant pas formée, l'incapacité de la réflexion actuelle et du jugement paroît plus sensible." (XV 551 a). Such people are unlikely to benefit from education, partly because "le travail déterminant les esprits dans les muscles, les détourne des fibres du cerveau, qui ... deviennent calleuses et insensibles." (XV 551 a). These somewhat quaint ideas taken from the

article STUPIDITE, DEMENCE, are matched by others, equally odd, in a number of medical articles. Many of these ideas were approaching the end of their viability but they were current at the time of the Encyclopédie. Their relevance here is both general and specific: general in that they furnish insights into the basis for the clear, social stratifications normally accepted as unchangeable at the time, and specific in that they indicate why so little is said by writers of the period, including Encyclopédistes, about the education of the common people. As the final volumes of the Encyclopédie appeared in 1765, the debate about the desirability of universal, secular, compulsory, elementary education was just starting. Encyclopédistes who favour the extension of education think more in terms of providing easier access to sources of enlightenment, such as the Encyclopédie itself, than of setting up schools.

In general terms one may agree with Morange and Chassaing who say of the philosophes; "Ils désirent, et ont obtenu, l'accès des hommes de leur classe, la bourgeoisie, à l'enseignement et aux responsabilités, mais entendent exclure le peuple."⁷

When the focus of attention is shifted from the question of who, in a nation, should be exposed to education to the related question of why, i.e. the purpose of general education, several interesting points emerge.

There are two principal strands to be detected in the approach of the Encyclopédistes; firstly, awareness of the possible use of education as a means of social control and direction and, secondly, re-iterated faith in the benefits accruing to a nation whose inhabitants are well-informed about the world and "les sciences" in general.

The writer of the unsigned article, LEGISLATEUR, Saint-Lambert, states

7. Jean MORANGE- Jean-François CHASSAING, Le Mouvement de Réforme de l'Enseignement en France 1760-1798, Paris, 1974, p.183.

his case quite clearly:

L'éducation des enfans sera pour le législateur un moyen efficace pour attacher les peuples à la patrie, pour leur inspirer l'esprit de communauté, l'humanité, la bienveillance les vertus publiques, les vertus privées, l'amour de l'honnête, les passions utiles à l'état, enfin pour leur donner, pour leur conserver la sorte de caractere, de génie qui convient à la nation.

(IX 360 a)

Similar ideas had been expressed in an earlier volume by Jean-Jacques Rousseau. In his well-known article ECONOMIE (Morale et Politique) he proposes a role for the state and for parents very different from what he was to write in Emile. He makes several comments on the purpose of education, suggesting that amongst the principal aims should be the promotion of the interests of the state. "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. ... Il est certain que les peuples sont à la longue ce que le gouvernement les fait être." (V 340 b). A little later he writes; "Ce n'est pas assez de dire aux citoyens, soyez bons; il faut leur apprendre à l'être." (V 341 b). Further into the same article Rousseau adds: "Or former des citoyens n'est pas l'affaire d'un jour; et pour les avoir hommes, il faut les instruire enfans." (V 343 a). Education is said to be too important a matter to be left in the hands of parents; "L'éducation ... importe à l'état encore plus qu' aux peres; car selon le cours de nature, la mort du pere lui dérobe souvent les derniers fruits de cette éducation, mais la patrie en sent tôt on tard les effets; l'état demeure, et la famille se dissout." (V 343 b). A few sentences later the idea is repeated with greater emphasis; "L'éducation publique ... qui certainement est la plus importante affaire de l'état." (V 343 b).

To some extent education was being used by the Roman Catholic authorities in the way mentioned by Saint-Lambert and Rousseau. They were practis-

ing, not always successfully, a form of what today is loosely termed "social engineering" in that they sought to produce, through their form of "education", people who would fit in to their political and social schemes.

A number of Encyclopédistes were aware of this and drew attention, directly or indirectly, to the vested interest of the authorities in preserving the "status quo" with regard to education. For example, in the unsigned article PHILOSOPHIE, it is stated that the Ancient philosophers, having organised the sum total of their knowledge about the Divinity and all that contributes to social well-being into a system, began to teach this system. However, pride making the philosophers wish to "passer pour les dépositaires de la vraie sagesse", they claimed to have "une prétendue doctrine de réserve, dont ils ne faisoient part qu' à leurs disciples affidés, tandis que la foule des auditeurs étoit repue d'instructions vagues." (XII 512 a). In order to point the similarities between this system and that of eighteenth-century France, the following comment is added; "Philosophes avoient sans doute pris cette idée et cette méthode des prêtres." (XII 512 a). The condemnation inherent in the expression "instructions vagues" is developed elsewhere in the Encyclopédie, as is the suggestion that knowledge was deliberately withheld by the authorities from the mass of the people. The latter idea is usually expressed indirectly. Uneducated or improperly educated people are said to be a prey to tyrants. For example, Diderot, writing of Socrates in the article SOCRATIQUE says; "Il tira nos ancêtres de l'ombre et de la poussiere, et il en fit des citoyens, des hommes d'état. Ce projet ne pouvoit s'exécuter sans péril, parmi des brigands intéressés à perpétuer le vice, l'ignorance et les préjugés." (XVI 261 a). The same idea is treated by Diderot in the article *ENCYCLOPEDIE. Here however the "brigands" mentioned above are more closely identified as the "méchants hommes" opposed to the publication and wide dissemination of the Encyclopédie. The most vociferous opponents of the Encyclopédie and of the

"esprit philosophique" were in holy orders. The article *ENCYCLOPEDIE contains a long attack on such people.

There are few who would disagree with Faiguet de Villeneuve's statement of the aims of education in the article EPARGNE (Morale), although not all would concur in his conclusion: "L'éducation devrait nous apprendre à devenir des citoyens, utiles, sobres, désintéressés, bienfaisants: qu'elle nous éloigne aujourd'hui de ce grand but!" (V 745 b).

The idea of "usefulness" as a major aim of education is a favourite and recurrent theme with writers of the period. Most Encyclopédistes and philosophes sought to spread knowledge, in the stated belief that this would benefit their country ("La Patrie"). The writer of the unsigned article LETTRES suggests that knowledge and culture are to be fostered in a nation which seeks eminence. (see IX 410 b). Turgot in his article FONDATION (Politique et Droit naturel) where he deals, amongst other things, with education, enunciates the principle "l'utilité publique est la loi suprême." (VII 75 b). The philosophe is defined by Dumarsais in PHILOSOPHE as "un honnête homme qui veut plaire et se rendre utile." (XII 510 a). Jaucourt in his article MORALISTE (Science des Moeurs) says of the writer's aim that it is "l'unique but qu'il devrait se proposer, celui d'être utile." (X 702 b). A civilised nation is often defined, in the Encyclopédie as elsewhere, in terms of well-informed, virtuous and useful citizens.

There is truth in the claim that those Encyclopédistes who theorised about education concentrated more on the social than on the personal benefits to be had from it. In the words of Pierre CLARAC: "Les Encyclopédistes envisagent ... le problème de l'éducation plus du point de vue de la société que du point de vue de l'enfant, de sa culture personnelle, de ses aptitudes et de ses goûts."⁸

8. "L'Encyclopédie et les Problèmes d'Education", Conférences faites à la Sorbonne à l'occasion du 2^e Centenaire de l'Encyclopédie, Paris, 1952, p.225.

While comparatively little is said in the Encyclopédie about the education of the lower social orders, quite a lot is written about the desirability of having an educated ruling class, with special mention being made of the monarch. The fashionable eighteenth-century idea of the philosopher-king is found more than once. For example, in the article PHILOSOPHE, after proclaiming how patriotic and socially concerned the true philosophe should be, Dumarsais continues: "Cet amour de la société si essentielle au philosophe, fait voir combien est véritable la remarque de l'empereur Antonin: 'Que les peuples seront heureux quand les rois seront philosophes, ou quand les philosophes seront rois!'" (XII 510 b). The theme is developed by the chevalier de Jaucourt in his article SCIENCES (Connoissances humaines). After typically verbose passages on the advantages of learning, especially in the nobility, some of whom, he insinuates, exist in a condition of "glorieuse stupidité", Jaucourt declares, "Mais une nation qui ... fait gloire de préférer la légèreté et les agréments frivoles, au mérite que l'étude et les occupations sérieuses peuvent donner à l'esprit ... doit tomber dans la barbarie." (XIV 789 b). To underline the relevance of his article to his contemporaries, Jaucourt continues:

Aussi faut-il croire que dans cette nation, l'amour des sciences n'étoit sous Louis XIV qu'une nouvelle mode; d'ailleurs leur culture a passé comme une mode. Quelqu' autre Louis, dans la révolution des tems, pourra la faire naître et la changer en un goût durable; car c'est au génie éclairé des monarques, et à leurs mains bienfaisantes, qu'il appartient de fonder aux sciences des temples, qui attirent sans cesse la vénération de l'univers. Heureux les princes qui sauront ainsi mériter de l'humanité.

(XIV 789 b)

The claim that a nation which neglects education will become barbarous, corrupt and decadent is found in other articles. There seems to have been a serious attempt on the part of a number of Encyclopédistes to foster dissatisfaction with the educational provision of their times. In the article

DEMOCRATIE (Droit. polit.) Jaucourt proclaims, "Le principe de la démocratie se corrompt, lorsque l'amour ... de la patrie commence à dégénérer, lorsque l'éducation générale et particulière sont négligées; ... dès-lors l'ambition entre dans les coeurs ... et l'avarice entre dans tous." (IV 818 a).

Diderot too, in JESUITE, (Hist. eccles.) speaks of "le mépris qui a suivi, et qui suivra dans tous les tems et dans toutes les maisons religieuses, la décadence des études et la corruption des moeurs." (VIII 515 a). Diderot is concerned in this article with a general attack on the Jesuits and not only on their activities in the field of education.

Despite the apparent vagueness in some of the articles quoted above, there can be little doubt that the comments made were regarded by both writers and readers as designedly applicable to the France of their day. The same is true of another remark by Jaucourt in DEMOCRATIE. He says young people cannot be blamed if their elders are corrupt and negligent and fail to educate them properly. "Ce n'est point le peuple naissant qui dégénere; il ne se perd que lorsque les hommes faits sont déjà corrompus." (IV 818 a).

Some of those Encyclopédistes with greater, and more direct, experience of teaching, such as Beauzée, Bourgelat, Faiguet, Lefebvre, were very ready to add their voices to the condemnation of decadence, degeneration and corruption which they found evident in the education provided for the young. (See for example the articles, METHODE (Gramm.), EXERCICES (Manège), EPARGNE, ETUDES, GOUVERNANTE D'ENFANS.)

One of the most popular ways of criticising education, usually adversely, is to draw comparison with the experiences of one's youth. This approach is found in the Encyclopédie. Faiguet, for example, in EPARGNE writes: "Je me souviens que dans ma jeunesse on remarquoit avec une sorte de mépris les jeunes gens trop occupés de leur parure; aujourd' hui on regarderoit avec mépris ceux qui auroient un air simple et négligé." (V 745 b). Similarly in

ETUDES (Littérat.), after numerous scriptural references on the theme "He that spareth his rod hateth his son", Faiguet goes on; "Ces oracles divins ne sont plus écoutés: ... etc." (VI 89 b). The comte de Tressan goes further in his wish to revert to the educational practices of former times. In his article GUERRE (HOMME DE) he laments the passing of the days when young men were taught to carry increasingly heavy weights, to bear arms, and to acquire knightly virtues. (See VII 994 b ff). The comte de Tressan is concerned particularly with the education of aristocratic youth preparing for a military life. This was provided in "académies".

Although most of the attack in the Encyclopédie is directed against the "collèges", there are occasions when it is levelled elsewhere, at parents for example, and at other educational institutions. There is a hint of malpractice in EXERCICES (Manège) where Bourgelat speaks of some directors of "académies" as being so concerned with their own material advantage that they tolerate poor and unworthy students simply because the latter are able to pay. A further example may be found in the article LICENCE (Gramm. Littérat. et Morale) by Boucher d'Argis: "La licence en Théologie, en Droit, en Médecine, est le pouvoir que l'on acquiert de professer ces sciences et de les enseigner: ce pouvoir s'accorde à l'argent et au mérite, quelquefois à l'un des deux seulement." (IX 482 a). While some readers may perceive an ambiguity in this passage there is little real doubt that Boucher d'Argis is hinting that venality was practised in certain places of higher education.

Although the adverse criticism of education in eighteenth-century France outlined above takes up considerable space in the Encyclopédie, the greatest impact was made by the attack on the "collèges". Perhaps this was because it was that much more specific than the somewhat vague and generalised condemnation of other types of education. The best-known of all the educational articles is COLLEGE in which d'Alembert is highly critical... It is not always remembered that his chief targets were the Jesuit-run "collèges" of

his day. He did not condemn completely all "collèges" nor all institutions of formal education. Nevertheless the article he wrote did much to establish the belief that a "collège" education was irrelevant as a preparation for life, time-consuming, and corrupt. Of the typical pupil he writes;

Il résulte ... qu'un jeune homme après avoir passé dans un collège dix années, qu'on doit mettre au nombre des plus précieuses de sa vie, en sort, lorsqu' il a le mieux employé son tems, avec la connoissance très - imparfaite d'une langue morte, avec des préceptes de Rhétorique et des principes de Philosophie qu'il doit tâcher d'oublier; souvent avec une corruption de moeurs dont l'altération de la santé est la moindre suite; quelquefois avec des principes d'une dévotion mal-entendue; ... etc.

(III 635 b)

Although d'Alembert refers to Latin as "une langue morte", there were others who would claim that it lived as the language of scholarship and international learning. The Jesuits taught it as a living language in their schools. There was however considerable pressure for more time to be devoted to the study of French at the expense of Latin in the school curriculum. This matter is discussed in a later chapter.

D'Alembert was by no means alone in his views. According to Morange and Chassaing, speaking of others who were critical; "Beaucoup avaient eu l'impression de perdre leur temps au collège. On se souvient du mot de Voltaire: 'Je savais du latin et des sottises'."⁹ In the article LITTERATURE Jaucourt uses the expression "science de collège" to indicate sneering contempt (IX 595 a) and follows with a condemnatory reference to "la poussiere des classes." (IX 595 a).¹⁰

It may be appropriate at this stage to mention that when d'Alembert speaks of "Rhétorique" and "Philosophie" he is not referring to comparatively minor elements in the curriculum. Both were major areas of study and formed

9. op.cit., p.46.

10. fuller quotation may be found in Ch.IV, p. 122.

distinct stages in the educational process. "La Rhétorique", which had numerous subdivisions, was concerned with nothing less than "la maîtrise de la parole."¹¹ "La Philosophie" also had many components which might surprise the modern reader, including "la Physique", which, in its turn, might be a form of "physique métaphysique" rather than what might be called a "physique mathématique".¹² It might be as well to recall the variations within courses bearing identical titles. "Il y a pratiquement autant de cas différents que de colléges."¹³

In the article COLLEGE d'Alembert was also scathing about the time spent on theatricals which he ranks "parmi les différentes inutilités qu'on apprend aux enfans dans les colléges", and which he declares "une perte de tems pour les écoliers et pour les maîtres." (III 636 a). He later adds "le précieux tems de la jeunesse ne doit point être employé à de pareilles inepties." (III 636 a). The intention of the Jesuits in their use of theatricals in teaching was "de cultiver chez leurs élèves l'Action, la Voix et le Geste, en un mot l'art de bien dire."¹⁴ The question of drama as part of the curriculum is developed in a later chapter.

D'Alembert caused further offence when he criticised in COLLEGE the way time could be wasted on religious matters.

A l'égard de la Religion, on tombe sur ce point dans deux excès également à craindre: le premier et le plus commun, est de réduire tout en pratiques extérieures, et d'attacher à ces pratiques une vertu qu'elles n'ont assurément pas: le second est au contraire de vouloir obliger les enfans à s'occuper uniquement de cet objet, et de leur faire négliger pour cela leurs autres études,

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11. R. CHARTIER, M-M COMPERE, D. JULIA, L'Education en France du XVI^e au XVIII^e Siècle, Paris, 1976, p.197. For details of subdivisions, see also F. CHARMOT, La Pédagogie des Jésuites, Paris, 1951, p.253.
12. For details see CHARTIER, COMPERE, JULIA, op.cit., p.201.
13. MORANGE et CHASSAING, op.cit., p.72 and Ch.I above p.11.
14. CHARMOT, op.cit., p.310.

par lesquelles ils doivent un jour se rendre utiles
à leur patrie.

(III 635 b)

The teaching of religion is dealt with in the next chapter.

The strictures voiced by d'Alembert in COLLEGE are echoed elsewhere in the Encyclopédie. Faiguet de Villeneuve, for example, in ETUDES (Littérat.), having discussed curriculum changes he considers desirable, continues:

Il est vrai que pour produire tant de bons effets, il ne faudroit pas que les enfans fussent distraits, comme aujourd'hui, par des fêtes et des congés perpétuels, qui interrompent à chaque instant les exercices et les études: il ne faudroit pas non plus qu'ils fussent détournés par des représentations de théâtre; rien ne dérange plus les maîtres et les disciples, et rien par conséquent de plus contraire à l'avancement des écoliers.

(VI 92 a)

It will be apparent from what has been quoted above that much of the appraisal and criticism of education in the Encyclopédie took the form of polemical attack on the prevailing system. Sometimes criticism was constructive, as in much of d'Alembert's article COLLEGE, sometimes it was little more than cheap abuse, as in Jaucourt's article ORATEURS GRECS, whose content is purported to come from M. l'abbé d'Orgival. Speaking of moral corruption, bad education, effete and ignorant pedagogues, together with unsuitable teaching programmes, in Ancient Greece, he ends with a snide comparison: "Ils (the teachers) déclamoient et chantoient ... et se démenoiént comme des forcenés, pour se faire croire remplis de l'esprit des dieux: c'étoit à quoi aboutissoit toute leur rhétorique; certes, je crois que celle de quelques - uns de nos colléges en est la copie." (XI 564 a).

It is part of the polemicist's armoury to argue from the particular to the general and to be so selective in material adduced in support of a case as to present a picture which is partially true but incomplete. This is as true of the Encyclopédistes writing about education as it is of other pressure groups. It is also true of such people that they exaggerate in

order to give force to an argument. Jaucourt is a case in point. In his article METHODE (Arts et Sciences) he writes; "On diroit, à voir la marche qu'on suit dans la plûpart des écoles, que les maîtres et les disciples ont conspiré contre les Sciences. ... Le maître, par une fausse vanité, cache son art; et le disciple par indolence n'ose pas le sonder." (X 460 a).

Another example may be found in the article EXERCICES (Manège) by Bourgelat. He claims that in order to be a success in the eyes of the world one has to contribute to society in some way that is either useful or pleasing. The latter requires a simple, modest demeanour and uncomplicated manners.

Bourgelat maintains that to this end the young person must abandon everything he has acquired in his early education and learn what he has never been taught, namely to think, to speak and to remain silent. (See VI 252 a).¹⁵

That there was good reason for general dissatisfaction with the state of education in mid-eighteenth-century France is beyond dispute. In the case of the Jesuits, the accusation that in their teaching they were out of date and out of touch with contemporary needs may be partially accounted for by the fact that the schooling they provided was still based on the Ratio atque institutio studiorum Societatis Jesus, which had been published in the year 1599. It is as well however to heed the warning of Charmot: "On ne peut faire connaître les principes de la pédagogie des Jésuites sans distinguer avec soin la lettre et l'esprit du Ratio Studiorum."¹⁶ There is evidence to suggest that in education, as in other fields, the Jesuits were very much aware of the contemporary world. Nevertheless, in view of the "esprit formaliste et superficiel qui distingue la pédagogie de la Compagnie de Jésus", mentioned by Compayré, it is easy to see why they appeared "condamnés par leurs principes à l'immobilité",¹⁷ and why this should lead to concern

15. For quotation of this passage, see Ch. VII, p.183.

16. op.cit., p.9.

17. op.cit., Vol. I, pp.240-241.

amongst educationalists both practising and theoretical.

It is claimed by both d'Alembert and Faiguet that practising teachers were dissatisfied with the conditions in which they worked and supported the call for change. Such claims of widespread, but unidentified, support for a cause, from those who dare not allow their names to be mentioned, is another common device used by the polemicist. This may be seen in COLLEGE; "Je sai que les maîtres les plus sensés déplorent ces abus, avec encore plus de force que nous ne faisons ici; presque tous desirent passionément qu'on donne à l'éducation des colléges une autre forme: nous ne faisons qu'exposer ici ce qu'ils pensent, et ce que personne d'entre eux n'ose écrire." (III 635 b). The frustration said to be felt by practising teachers is mentioned again in Faiguet's ETUDES; "Aussi plusieurs maîtres des pensions et des colléges reconnoissent - ils de bonne foi le vuide et la vanité de leur méthode, et ils gémissent en secret de se voir asservis malgré eux à des pratiques déraisonnables qu'ils ne sont pas toujours libres de changer." (VI 88 b).

As will be clear from the evidence presented in the preceding pages much energy was devoted by the Encyclopédistes to denigrating the educational provision available in the France of their day. Within the general attack was a more specific condemnation of the Jesuits and their schools. The Society of Jesus was a popular target of the time. Theorists in general, and educational theorists in particular, are given to "endeavour at eminence by pulling others down" and the Encyclopédistes do their share of this. There is a danger however of believing that the Encyclopédistes wished to do away with all Church control of schooling. This is not true in every case. Mallet, for instance, seems to see nothing wrong with this form of control. In the article COLLEGE (terme d'Architecture) he writes; "La plûpart de ces établissemens destinés à l'instruction de la jeunesse, ont toujours été confiés aux personnes consacrées à la Religion." (III 634 b). It is evident that

many French people were prepared to accept the "status quo" in the matter of education. Even after the expulsion of the Jesuits the secularisation of education was a slow process. Only very few teachers were not affiliated to religious orders before the Revolution. Jaucourt, d'Alembert and others strove in their articles in the Encyclopédie to effect a change of attitude. In a footnote to Boucher d'Argis' article RELIGIEUX (Jurisp.), Jaucourt quotes Voltaire's claim that those members of religious orders who have sworn allegiance and obedience to the pope in Rome constitute a danger to the nation. "Prêter serment à un autre qu' à son souverain, est un crime de lese-majesté dans un laïque; c'est dans le cloître un acte de religion." (XIV 78 b). D'Alembert spells out the implication of this for education in his article FRERES DE LA CHARITE.

Appliquera-t-on les religieux à l'instruction de la jeunesse? Mais ces mêmes préjugés de corps, ces mêmes intérêts de communauté ou parti, ne doivent-ils pas faire craindre que l'éducation qu'ils donneront ne soit ou dangereuse, ou tout au-moins puérile; qu'elle ne serve même quelquefois à ces religieux de moyen de gouverner, ou d'instrument d'ambition, auquel cas ils seroient plus nuisibles que nécessaires?

(VII 301 a)

Similar views are expressed in the article FEMME by Desmahis. (VI 472 b).

The Encyclopédistes do not condemn all educational institutions and all teaching methods. In the article COLLEGE there is even a word of praise for the Jansenists at the Collège des Quatre Nations where d'Alembert had been a pupil. "Je n'ai donc garde dans ces réflexions sur l'éducation publique de faire la satire de ceux qui enseignent; ces sentimens seroient bien éloignés de la reconnoissance dont je fais profession pour mes maîtres." (III 636 a).

D'Alembert also makes a point, in the article COLLEGE, of praising the University of Paris whose progressive practices are contrasted with the educational activities of the "collèges" under Jesuit control.¹⁸ "Il faut

18. See Ch. VII, p.175 for further details.

pourtant convenir que dans l'université de Paris ... les Humanités sont plus fortes que dans les collèges de réguliers." (III 635 a).

In a later volume Jaucourt was to repeat the praise of the University and to claim that pupils were being won by it from the Jesuit "collèges". Referring in his article UNIGENITUS, CONSTITUTION, (Hist. du jansénisme) to the earlier part of the century, Jaucourt writes; "L'université qui commençoit alors à faire de bonnes études dans la littérature, et à donner une excellente éducation, leur enleva une grande partie de la jeunesse." (XVII 384 a). Diderot, too, in his article JESUITE was to take up d'Alembert's theme. Referring again to the Jesuit "collèges", he claims

Pendant que les études se relevoient dans l'université, elles achevoient de tomber dans leur college, et cela lorsqu' on étoit à demi convaincu que pour le meilleur emploi du tems, la bonne culture de l'esprit et la conservation des moeurs et de la santé, il n'y avoit guere de comparaison à faire entre l'institution publique et l'éducation domestique.

(VIII 516 a)

The past tenses used by Jaucourt and Diderot serve as a reminder that the publication of the Encyclopédie was spread over fourteen years, during which important events took place affecting education, not least of which was the expulsion of the Jesuits and the end of their teaching activities in France.

In the passage from JESUITE quoted above, and which was published in 1765, Diderot reiterates several points made by D'Alembert in COLLEGE published in 1753. Amongst them is the matter of private as opposed to public education. D'Alembert's suggestion had provoked some strong opposition. The reasons he advanced and the fact that he obviously regarded private education as a temporary solution to an immediate problem are worth remembering.

Au reste c'est au gouvernement, comme je l'ai dit, à faire changer là-dessus la routine et l'usage; qu'il parle, et il se trouvera assez de bons citoyens pour proposer un excellent plan d'études. Mais en attendant cette réforme, dont nos neveux auront peut-

être le bonheur de jouiir, (sic) je ne balance point à croire que l'éducation des colléges, telle qu'elle est, est sujette à beaucoup plus d'inconvéniens qu'une éducation privée, où il est beaucoup plus facile de se procurer les diverses connoissances dont je viens de faire le détail.

(III 637 b)

The whole process may be seen as an attempt to drive wedges between various branches of authority concerned, amongst other things, with education at the time. One such wedge was to cause a split between the Roman Catholic Church in France and the Society of Jesus. Another was designed to draw apart the secular elements in government and the Roman Catholic hierarchy in charge of education.

D'Alembert's desire for governmental intervention is different from the role for government in education envisaged by theorists such as Rousseau and Saint-Lambert discussed earlier in this chapter in that d'Alembert, drawing attention to a particular set of circumstances, is more pragmatic in his approach.

D'Alembert's critics were quick to suggest that private, domestic education would leave the child exposed to the idiosyncratic whim of parent or tutor with regard to what was taught. The fear was expressed that some children might never learn the truths of religion nor proper Christian morality.

Arguments for and against private education are weighed by Dumarsais in the article CLASSE, (Gramm.) where some form of compromise is suggested. Speaking about Quintillian, a favourite source of quotation in the Encyclopédie, he says;

il fait voir que l'éducation domestique a des inconvéniens, mais que l'éducation publique en a aussi. Seroit-il impossible de transporter dans l'une ce qu'il y a d'avantageux dans l'autre? L'éducation domestique est-elle trop solitaire et trop languissante, faites souvent des assemblées, des exercices, des déclamations. ... L'éducation publique éloigne-t-elle trop les enfans de l'usage du monde, de façon que lorsqu'ils sont hors de leur collége ils paroissent aussi embarrassés que s'ils étoient transportés dans un autre monde? ... faites leur voir souvent des

personnes raisonnables, accoutumez - les de bonne heure
à voir d'honnêtes gens, qu'ils ne soient pas décontenancés
en leur présence.

(III 506 b)

The tone of Dumarsais here is one almost of sweet reasonableness compared with that of other contributors to the debate. To some extent the suggestions advanced by Dumarsais may have operated already, especially in those households where boys had tutors, while continuing to attend the "collège".

Amongst the major aspects of education arising from d'Alembert's article COLLEGE, and other Encyclopédie material, which demand consideration at this point are the question of parental involvement, direct or indirect, partial or total, and the question of payment for teachers.

Attitudes in the Encyclopédie to the question of parental involvement in education are both obscure and extremely complex. The view of Rousseau and others that education is a concern of the state more than of parents has already been noted. The question of who, parent or tutor, should be in charge of private, domestic education is mentioned quite frequently and in several contexts. The approach to the question by different contributors is very varied. The specifically social connotations of parental duties in respect of the education of children impinge on the subject of the present chapter. Parental duties in the family, as opposed to the civic, context are dealt with more fully in a later chapter.

D'Alembert, without making his position absolutely clear, would seem to have been thinking, in the relevant part of the article COLLEGE, (see III 637 b), in terms of a paid tutor. Lefebvre, contributor of articles GOUVERNEUR, GOUVERNANTE D'ENFANS, etc., may safely be assumed to believe that domestic education should be in the hands of a paid tutor. Faiguet de Villeneuve, to judge from his condemnation of parents in ETUDES (VI 89 b), as "plus éclairés que la sagesse même" and "presque tous aveugles et mondains", would seem to think them unfitted to the task of educating their offspring.

However, much effort is put by Encyclopédistes into an attempt to persuade parents to pay more attention to the responsibilities they have in respect of the education of their children. Yvon in his article AMOUR PATERNEL puts the argument forcefully. "Si la raison dans l'homme, ou plutôt l'abus qu'il en fait, ne seroit pas quelquefois à dépraver son instinct, nous n'aurions rien à dire sur l'amour paternel: les brutes n'ont pas besoin de nos traités de morale, pour apprendre à aimer leurs petits, à les nourrir et à les élever." (I 369 b). A little later Yvon says that, if humans behaved like the rest of creation, "dès que l'enfant auroit vu la lumière, sa mere le nourriroit de son propre lait, veilleroit à tous ses besoins, le garantiroit de tout accident, et ne croiroit pas d'instans dans sa vie mieux remplis que ceux qu'elle auroit employés à ces importans devoirs." (I 369 b - 370 a). The father, for his part, "contribueroit à le former; il étudieroit son goût, son humeur et ses inclinations pour mettre à profit ses talens." (I 370 a). Jaucourt, in his article ENFANT (Dr. nat. Morale) takes up Yvon's theme; "Il n'y a que ceux qui ont donné la naissance à un enfant, qui soient naturellement chargés du soin de le gouverner." (V 653 a).

The duties of parenthood with regard to education, as set out in the Encyclopédie, are further complicated by the parallels drawn by a number of contributors between father and children, monarch and subjects, God and human beings. Some writers went out of their way to stress the reciprocal duties of rulers and ruled, using the concept of the state as a large family with the king as its head, i.e. the father. Yvon, in AMOUR PATERNEL, is one such writer. "On compare les rois à des peres de famille, et l'on a raison. ... Un roi pouvant être comparé à un pere, on peut réciproquement comparer un pere à un roi, et déterminer ainsi les devoirs du monarque par ceux du chef de famille, et les obligations d'un pere par celles d'un souverain: aimer, gouverner, récompenser et punir." (I 370 a). Yvon comes close in

this article to equating the "natural right" of parents to rule their children with the "divine right" of kings. "Le pere et le roi sont l'un et l'autre des images vivantes de Dieu, dont l'empire est fondé sur l'amour." (I 370 a). Similar ideas and parallels may be found in the article AUTORITE POLITIQUE but the approach is by no means identical. "Aucun homme n' a reçu de la nature le droit de commander aux autres. ... Si la nature a établi quelque autorité, c'est la puissance paternelle; mais la puissance paternelle a ses bornes." (I 898 a). Later in the unsigned article Diderot refers to the "sentiments qui font que le souverain dans la société se regarde comme le pere de famille, et ses sujets comme ses enfans." (I 900 a).

The association of religion and parenthood is clearly brought out in the article GOUVERNANTE D'ENFANS where Lefebvre writes lengthily on the subject. Addressing the "gouvernante" on the subject of the child, he says; "Ses devoirs envers ses parens marcheront de pair avec ceux de la religion; apprenez-lui que son bonheur ou son malheur est dans leurs mains; ... qu'ils sont pour lui l'image de Dieu." (VII 785 b). The thinking on relationships between parents and children indicated by such parallels had a profound influence on attitudes to education and upbringing. Jaucourt epitomizes the attitude in his article ENFANT (Droit nat. Morale): "Les enfans ayant une relation très-étroite avec ceux dont ils ont reçu le jour, la nourriture et l'éducation, sont tenus par ces motifs à remplir vis-à-vis de leurs pere et mere des devoirs indispensables, tels que la déférence, l'obéissance, l'honneur, le respect." (V 652 b).

Further light is thrown on this complicated question of who, parent or tutor, should be directly responsible for the education of the child by what contributors have to say about the "gouverneur" or "précepteur". While some Encyclopédistes, such as Lefebvre and Faiguet, accept the idea of having tutors for the boys of a family, others appear vigorously to deny the value of such appointments. Yvon, referring to the child as a plant, says of the

ideal father, in AMOUR PATERNEL; "il cultiveroit lui-même cette jeune plante, et regarderoit comme une indifférence criminelle, de l'abandonner à la discrétion d'un gouverneur ignorant, ou peut-être même vicieux." (I 370 a).

Writers on education frequently criticise parents for employing tutors as a status symbol, appointed for snobbish rather than educational reasons. The person appointed, part of the household staff, was regarded and treated by many as a domestic servant, albeit, perhaps, of a superior type. If the commentators of the period are to be believed, a major consideration was that the tutor should not cost much. These points are made in the unsigned article ARISTOTELISME, generally attributed to Yvon; "la vanité fait donner des précepteurs et des gouverneurs aux enfans; il suffit qu'on en ait un, on ne s'embarrasse guere s'il est propre à donner l'éducation convenable; on ne demande point s'il sait ce qu'il doit apprendre à son élève; on veut seulement qu'il ne soit pas cher." (I 668 a). The idea that cheapness is often a prime consideration in the choice of person appointed tutor leads to the suggestion that the quality of service he supplies will be commensurably poor. A similar attitude is expressed in the article ORATEURS GRECS, signed by Jaucourt who indicates indebtedness to d'Orgival. The applicability of the following comments to the situation in eighteenth-century France hardly needs to be stressed. "La mauvaise éducation suivit de près la servitude et le luxe. Les études furent négligées et altérées, parce qu'elles ne conduisoient plus aux premières portes de l'état. On vouloit qu'un précepteur coûtât moins qu'un esclave." (XI 563 b). The polemical intention of the writer may here have overridden the knowledge that a slave, by definition, is unpaid, whereas a "précepteur" would expect some remuneration.

The question of appropriate payment for teachers, not tutors only, was a matter of some controversy at the time. D'Alembert, in the article COLLEGE, made his contribution to the argument. "Je ne puis m'empêcher non plus de faire sentir à cette occasion les inconvéniens de l'instruction gratuite, et

je suis assuré d'avoir ici pour moi tous les professeurs les plus éclairés et les plus célèbres: si cet établissement a fait quelque bien aux disciples, il a fait encore plus de mal aux maîtres." (III 637 a). The outrage and righteous indignation provoked by this one sentence might have been anticipated. The idea that teachers should be paid attracted scathing comment. Teaching was generally regarded as an act of service to God and education as an act of charity. Those working "ad majorem gloriam Dei" were not expected to seek remuneration. The opposition to d'Alembert was led by a rejoinder to his article published by M***, Principal du Collège de ***. q.v.

In the article COLLEGE, d'Alembert also suggested that the social status of those engaged in teaching was lower than it should be; "si l'éducation de la jeunesse est négligée, ne nous en prenons qu' à nous-mêmes, et au peu de considération que nous témoignons à ceux qui s'en chargent." (III 637 b).

It is worth noting at this point that whereas quite a lot is written in the Encyclopédie about the tutor, comparatively little is to be found about the teacher in the sense of class-teacher. Of course, class-teaching was not practised to the same extent nor in the same way as it is today. One Encyclopédiste, Meyzieu, recognizes the paucity of material dealing with group teaching. Several prominent writers about education, such as Locke, dealt with the upbringing of one child rather than a group and this set a fashion followed by later writers. In the article ECOLE MILITAIRE Meyzieu writes: "En effet, nous avons un assez grand nombre d'ouvrages dans lesquels on trouve d'excellens préceptes, très propres à diriger l'instruction d'un jeune homme en particulier; nous en connoissons peu dont le but soit de former plusieurs personnes à-la-fois." (V 308 a).

The lack of status accorded by society to the teacher is mentioned by Jaucourt in the article PEDAGOGUE (Littérat.) where after a short definition, he adds; "Mais en même tems par le peu de cas que nous faisons de l'instruc-

tion de la jeunesse, il est arrivé qu'on est obligé d'ajouter quelque épithete à ce mot pour le faire recevoir favorablement." (XII 234 b).

The unsuitability of certain categories of people for the task of teaching is mentioned by a number of contributors. Members of religious orders are unsuitable according to d'Alembert in FRERES DE LA CHARITE (VII 301 a) and according to Desmahis in FEMME (Morale) (VI 472 b).

The qualities and qualifications which fit a man to the post of tutor will be dealt with in a later chapter. For teachers in general the characteristics most often mentioned are moral virtues. A saint-like probity would seemingly qualify a person to teach in mid-eighteenth-century France.

Whilst it might be expected that teachers in general should rank amongst the educated in the eyes of the Encyclopédistes, this may not always be taken for granted. None the less, it is probably relevant to note briefly that Jaucourt in LITTERATURE claims that society does not properly appreciate the learned. Marmontel in CRITIQUE (Belles-lettres) suggests that the erudite man is less respected than formerly. On the other hand Voltaire in GENS DE LETTRES says that educated people, those with "l'esprit philosophique", are more socially acceptable than they used to be. He declares they are "aussi propres pour le monde que pour le cabinet" and adds "c'est en quoi ils sont fort supérieurs à ceux des siècles précédens." (VII 599 b). It is at least possible that, alongside people like Montesquieu and Voltaire himself, certain people who were or had been engaged in teaching, for example, former tutors such as Diderot or Rousseau, came into this category.

On the whole, the social status of the teacher, whether in public or domestic education, was low.

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PART II

The Interpretation in the Encyclopédie of the Idea
of Education as a Preparation for Life

The concluding part of this chapter is concerned briefly with attitudes to man, to life, and to society and ideas on these matters found in the Encyclopédie in the writings about education.

The view of education as being a preparation for life is a common-place amongst theorists. Eighteenth-century theorists on education consider it as preparation for life in (a) general terms, (b) in terms of social role and position, and, (c) in strictly utilitarian terms. (For example, as preparation for a military career.)

These ideas are reflected in the Encyclopédie. Faiguet de Villeneuve in the article ETUDES asks rhetorically; "Qu' est-ce en effet que l'éducation, si ce n'est l'apprentissage de ce qu'il faut savoir et pratiquer dans le commerce de la vie?" (VI 90 a). In the article FEMME (Morale) Desmahis states; "Pour les hommes, ... l'état auquel ils sont destinés décide l'éducation et la différencie." (VI 472 b). The chevalier de Jaucourt in his article DEVOIR (Droit nat. Relig. nat. Morale) declares that parents should ensure that their children receive "une bonne éducation qui les rende utiles à leur patrie, gens de bien et de bonnes moeurs. Ils doivent leur faire embrasser de bonne heure une profession honnête et convenable, établir et pousser leur fortune suivant leurs moyens, etc." (IV 916 b).

Life for the Frenchman of the period would be spent in an authoritarian society. In order to prepare people for this life, characterised by subservience and fear-full respect for authority, divine or secular, education was generally expected to be based on fear and to instil respect and obedience. This is stressed in the Encyclopédie. Lefebvre in the article GOURVERNANTE D'ENFANS pronounces: "le premier sentiment qu'on doit exiger

d'un enfant, ce n'est pas son amitié, c'est son respect: si l'on veut s'en faire aimer par la suite, il faut commencer par s'en faire craindre."

(VII 785 b). Later in the same article Lefebvre speaks of "l'obéissance" as "la base de toute éducation". (VII 786 a). A similar attitude may be seen in Yvon's article AMOUR PATERNEL. "Les deux mobiles du coeur humain sont l'espoir et la crainte. Peres et rois ... Dieu vous a établis sur la terre ses substituts et ses représentans." (I 370 b).

The eighteenth-century attitude to society, as reflected in the Encyclopédie, is different in emphasis, and possibly in more fundamental respects, from the attitude to society taken by most thinking people today. Education, as practised in mid-eighteenth-century France, was supposed to prepare people to take an appointed place in a social structure that was rigidly stratified and whose stratifications were viewed by most people as permanent because established by God in accordance with His will. Recognition of this is of fundamental importance to an appreciation of much that is written in the Encyclopédie on education. This dominant concept finds expression in the article INVERSION (terme de Grammaire), where Beauzée speaks of "les procédés de l'esprit humain qui sont les mêmes dans tous les individus de tous les lieux et de tous les tems, parce que l'intelligence est dans tous une émanation de la raison immuable et souveraine, de cette lumiere véritable qui éclaire tout homme venant en ce monde." (VIII 853 a).

The thinking encapsulated in the words quoted above helps to explain the idea found in the unsigned article LIVRE that educational text-books need not be changed or updated from one generation to the next. "Les livres élémentaires semblent être ceux qui se sont les moins multipliés puisqu' une bonne grammaire ou un dictionnaire, ou des institutions en quelque genre que ce soit, sont rarement suivis d'un double dans un ou même plusieurs siècles." (IX 608 b). The article goes on to say that many new text-books

have appeared in France in the course of thirty years on various subjects but that "tous ces livres sont remplis des mêmes idées, des mêmes découvertes, des mêmes vérités, des mêmes faussetés." (IX 608 b).

Just as there is no need to change text-books so, according to Yvon in the article ANALYSE (en Logique), there is no need to change teaching methods from one generation to the next. "Il semble que la meilleure maniere d'instruire les hommes, c'est de les conduire par la route qu'on a dû tenir pour s'instruire soi-même. En effet, par ce moyen, ~~on~~ ne paroîtroit pas tant démontrer des vérités déjà découvertes, que faire chercher et trouver des (sic) nouvelles vérités." (I 402 a).¹⁹

The belief in universality is frequently expressed in the Encyclopédie. The concept was firmly established and applied not only to abstractions such as truth, virtue and morality but to such mundane things as, for example, punctuation. (See the article PONCTUATION, signed E.R.M.B.,(XIII 15 a).)

Romilly fils gives a clear indication of the importance attached to the concept of universality at the time of the Encyclopédie. In the article VERTU, he writes; "la vertu est une, simple et inaltérable dans son essence, elle est la même dans tous les tems, tous les climats, tous les gouvernemens; c'est la loi du Créateur qui donnée à tous les hommes, leur tient par-tout le même langage. ... La vertu ... est immuable comme son Auteur." (XVII 176 b). Jaucourt in the article MORALE (Science des Moeurs) expresses a comparable belief in the universality of his subject. (X 702 a). Diderot, too, whatever he may have come to think later, mentions in the AVERTISSEMENT to Volume VIII "la superiorité de la Morale universelle." (p. ij).

Although belief in universality in respect of moral values and so on, does not necessarily exclude belief in progress and in improvement from one

19. The passage is quoted in a different context in Ch. IV, p. 105.

generation to the next, (some philosophes were to demonstrate this,) such belief does tend to have a calcifying effect on attitudes to education. A conviction that there were universal rules of grammar, for example, which could be learnt and applied to all languages, ancient or modern, did nothing to promote belief in the evolutionary development of languages or the need for teachers to take cognizance of such development. Furthermore, it was widely believed at the time that a person could not think correctly unless and until he had learnt the rules of grammar and acquired mastery of various language forms. The attitude to language as a, sometimes inadequate, means of expressing thought came later.

The general acceptance of society as, to all intents and purposes, static, together with the concept of universality, lies beneath much of the writing on education in the Encyclopédie. Equally important and fundamental to eighteenth-century thinking on education in France is the concept of what Daniel Mornet characterised as "le type homme".

Les Encyclopédistes ... ont eu, d'une part, comme toute leur génération le sentiment très fort de la complexité et de la diversité humaines. Mais ils ne pouvaient pas admettre que leur idéal, bon pour des Français de 1750, n'avait aucune valeur pour des Français ou pour des Russes de 1800. S'appuyant sur la nature et sur la raison, ils ont cru qu'on pouvait, partout et toujours, retrouver dans l'humanité une même nature et une même raison et proposer à l'homme des règles de conduite conformes au type homme, à un type qui aurait toujours existé et existerait toujours. (20)

The view reflected in the Encyclopédie is often of man as something of an abstraction. This view, based on biblical texts, derived from religion and the teachings of the Church. "Man" is seen as established on earth by God and as having a special place in creation, as distinct from that of other living species. Emile Durkheim underlines this point. He first

20. Daniel MORNET, Diderot, l'Homme et l'Oeuvre, Paris, 1941, pp.96-97.

talks of the characters of French Classical drama in terms of "simples aspects de l'homme en général" and proceeds to show that the Jesuits embraced this idea of "man" as a universal being. In their view "un des principaux objets de tout enseignement, c'est, en effet, de donner aux enfants une idée de ce que c'est que l'homme."²¹

It is worth noting that the Jesuit view of man as something of an abstraction has a parallel in the attitude of most writers to "the child".

Within the system of beliefs about the world and the place of man in it, as outlined above, important changes were taking place at the time of the publication of the Encyclopédie. It is claimed by some scholars that the first half of the eighteenth century witnessed a shift in outlook from a God-centred ("theocentric" is their term) to a man-centred ("anthropocentric") conception of the universe. Certainly there is evidence of a nascent humanism in the Encyclopédie itself. Diderot in the article *ENCYCLOPEDIE, for example, asks; "Pourquoi n'introduirons - nous pas l'homme dans notre ouvrage, comme il est placé dans l'univers? Pourquoi n'en ferons - nous pas un centre commun? ... L'homme est le terme unique d'où il faut partir, et auquel il faut ramener, si l'on veut plaire, intéresser, toucher." (V 641 r a-b).

As will be demonstrated in later chapters of this study, several of the articles in the Encyclopédie dealing with educational matters contain passages advocating that more time should be allotted in the school curriculum to the study of man. Elementary humanism combining with a stated belief in the universality of certain values, truth, goodness, virtue, for example, leads towards a more secular approach to morality. The encroachment of secularism on the domain of education is apparent in a number of articles. By suggesting, for example, that the whole field of

21. Emile DURKHEIM, L'Evolution Pédagogique en France, Vol.II, Paris, 1938, p.94.

ethical and moral matters may not be exclusively the preserve of the Roman Catholic Church, certain philosophes and others amongst the Encyclopédistes opened up the question of the place in the teaching curriculum of religious and moral education, which is the subject of the next chapter.

(a) Religion Shown to Permeate Life in all its Aspects,
Including Education

In eighteenth-century France religion permeated the lives of the people to an extent which is not always readily recognised today. The power of organised religion and the controls exercised by the Roman Catholic Church affected not only what people did and how they did it but how they expressed their ideas and sought to disseminate them.

Because education was commonly seen as preparation for life, and because that life was to be lived in an authoritarian society controlled by Church and monarchical State, much of what was written about education was rooted in the ideas of religion and morality dominant at the time.

In the seventeen volumes of the Encyclopédie much space is devoted to discussing questions which are broadly concerned with matters of religion and morality. Such discussion is often vague and generalised even by the standards of the Encyclopédistes. Indeed, a complete book could be filled with an examination of what the contributors wrote, and what they are believed to have meant, in the numerous articles where such topics as religion, faith, virtue, morality, ethics and so on are mentioned. The area is fraught with difficulty and the unwary reader may readily fall prey to misapprehension and even misunderstanding.

Before proceeding to the methodological problems involved in the teaching of religion and "la Morale", it seems appropriate to attempt to discover what some of the writers had in mind when they discussed these elements of the teaching programme. In the article ECOLE MILITAIRE Paris de Meyzieu writes: "La Religion étant sans contredit ce qu'il y a de plus important dans quelque éducation que ce soit, on imagine aisément qu'elle

a attiré les premiers soins." (V 309 a). The words "quelqu' éducation que ce soit" act as a reminder that this part of education is usually seen as taking place outside as well as inside the class-room. "La Religion" does not mean exclusively, or even predominantly, scriptural knowledge; it means, above all, the observing and, to some extent, the understanding of religious practices and adhering to the Roman Catholic Church's teachings about virtue, truth, decency, ethics and so on, as conceived in the middle of the eighteenth century.

In an article in the journal Dix-Huitième Siècle Louis Trenard rightly stresses the religious element in the education of the time. "La finalité de l'enseignement au dix-huitième siècle apparaît avant tout religieuse. Quelques novateurs corrigeaient ce que cet idéal pouvait comporter de déception et de résignation, les adversaires suggéraient des finalités plus humaines et plus réalistes."¹ This point will be demonstrated by reference to various articles in the Encyclopédie. Trenard continues; "Cependant, à la veille de la Révolution française, enseigner est une des missions de l'Eglise. Les Universités sont conçus en fonction de la théologie, enseignement suprême. Les collèges dispensent un humanisme dévot; les Petites Ecoles apportent à tous le bien le plus considérable: le moyen d'assurer son salut en connaissant les vérités de la foi." (p.148) In view of this, it is understandable that so many Encyclopédistes writing about education concentrate attention on religious and moral aspects of the subject. Trenard proceeds to a further valid and pertinent comment; "Les buts restent à dominante morale: ... les facultés intellectuelles n'offrent pas de valeur en soi, elles doivent s'harmoniser dans une éthique." (p.148) This last remark reinforces realisation of the distinctly moral tone sounded by many Encyclopédistes even when their attitude appears predominantly secular. An

1. "Culture, Alphabétisation et Enseignement au 18^e Siècle", Dix-Huitième Siècle, 1973, p.148.

example of this may be found in Jaucourt's article DEVOIR, (Droit. nat. Relig. nat. Morale) (IV 916 b), in which he says parents should ensure for their children an education which will make them useful to their country, moral citizens engaged in respectable and appropriate occupations.² In this article, as elsewhere in the Encyclopédie, the principle of utility is enclosed within a framework of conventional morality. As Trenard says; "Les encyclopédistes mettent l'accent sur les notions de bien public, de service civique, d'utilité sociale."³

In the article ATHEISME, written by Yvon from notes by Formey, the close links, especially during the early and middle parts of the eighteenth century, between religion, morality and politics are emphasised. The belief that the properly educated person will be religious, moral, virtuous and loyal to the state is apparent. The dangers to the stability of the nation emanating from atheism are indicated. Implicit in the article is the message that a sound religious education, which will produce morally upright citizens, is a necessity for the well-being of society. So the consequences of atheism are stated; "On peut aussi attaquer l'athéisme par ses conséquences, qui, en s'appant la religion, renversent du même coup les fondemens de la morale et de la politique." (I 816 a-b).

Although it will be suggested later in this chapter that certain philosophes amongst the Encyclopédistes may have been seeking to promote the idea that religious education may be separable from moral education, for the most part the two were regarded as so closely fused that Lefebvre is more likely to have been considered guilty of tautology than of innovation when, in the article GOUVERNEUR, de la personne d'un prince, he wrote; "Puisque les rois sont hommes avant que d'être rois, il faut commencer par leur inspirer toutes les vertus morales et chrétiennes, également nécess-

2. See Ch.2 p.60 for quotation.

3. op.cit., p.149.

aires à tous les hommes." (VII 797 b). The priority here assigned to religious and moral education is further evidence of the way in which religion permeates the theory and practice of education in the era of the Encyclopédie.

A comment made by Vauvenargues and inserted, without acknowledgement, by Yvon into his article AMOUR, DES SCIENCES ET DES LETTRES, may serve as a corrective to any impression given that Frenchmen of the eighteenth century necessarily practised what they so vociferously preached. "La plûpart des hommes honorent les Lettres, comme la religion et la vertu, c'est-à-dire, comme une chose qu'ils ne veulent, ni connoître, ni pratiquer, ni aimer." (I 368 b). Such lack of enthusiasm is not apparent in the Encyclopédistes writing about education, who are by no means reticent on these subjects.

Although his words are not to be taken at face value, Diderot in the article *CAS DE CONSCIENCE (Morale) speaks of "la lumiere de la raison, les lois de la société, les canons de l'Eglise et les maximes de l'Evangile" as "quatre grandes autorités qui ne peuvent jamais être en contradiction." (II 738 b). Despite the irony involved, Diderot's choice of categories and the juxtaposition indicate the depth of religion's penetration into the everyday living and thinking of the period.

Whatever the editorial policy of the Encyclopédie may have been there is no concerted effort on the part of the contributors writing about the teaching of religion and morality to achieve anything revolutionary by way of reform.

When d'Alembert wrote in a footnote to the Avertissement of the 1763 edition of his works, "On prétend que l'Encyclopédie est une société formée pour détruire la morale et la religion, et on accuse en même temps les auteurs de se contredire les uns les autres, ce qui suppose bien peu de concert entre eux" he indirectly revealed a truth more apparent to contemp-

orary critics of the work than to some of their successors. Voltaire's reported comment on the Encyclopédie, "C'est une Babel",⁴ reveals commendable perception.

Evidence abounds in the Encyclopédie of the way religion permeated life and how this was reflected in the teaching of the period. In the article DIEU, for example, which is derived from Formey's papers, the question whether awareness of God is innate is discussed and in a way which throws interesting light on the early religious education of the child.

Il est extrêmement difficile, pour ne pas dire impossible, de discerner ce qui vient de la nature d'avec ce qui vient de l'éducation. Voudriez-vous bien répondre, après y avoir bien pensé, qu'on découvreroit des vestiges de religion dans des enfans à qui l'on n'auroit jamais dit qu' il y a un Dieu? C'est ordinairement par-là qu'on commence à les instruire, dès qu'ils sont capables de former quelques sons et de bégayer. Cette coùtume est très-loùtable; mais elle empêche qu'on ne vérifie si d'eux-mêmes, et par les seules impressions de la nature, ils se porteroient à reconnoître un Dieu.

(IV 977 a)

Religion then was taught to the child as soon as possible. According to the article SYLLABAIRE, unsigned but attributable to Beauzée, this could affect the suitability of material commonly chosen to teach a child to read.

Mais quelle matiere offrira-t-on à ses premiers essais? ... Dans quelques syllabaires, c'est l'oraison dominicale, la salutation angélique, le symbole des apôtres, la confession, les commandemens de Dieu et de l'Eglise, et quelquefois les pseaumes de la pénitence; choses excellentes en soi, mais déplacées ici: 1.^o parce qu'elles ne sont pas de nature à fixer agréablement l'attention des enfans ... : 2.^o parce qu'on a soin dans les familles chrétiennes d'apprendre de bonne heure aux enfans les mêmes choses qu'on leur met ici sous les yeux, ce qui les expose à rendre très-bien l'enchaînement des syllabes, et la suite des mots, sans être plus intelligens dans l'art de lire.

(XV 714 b)

4. Quoted in Pierre GROSCLAUDE, Un Audacieux Message. L'Encyclopédie, Paris, 1951, p.203.

The teaching of reading as such is discussed in a later chapter. Concern here is with the nature of elementary reading material and Beauzée's comment on it.

As an example of a sentence from a reading primer of which he approves Beauzée quotes; "Dieu touché de la vertu de Joseph, lui fit trouver grace devant le gouverneur." (XV 714 b).⁵ In fact later in the article Beauzée wishes to combine the teaching of reading with that of religion and morality by the use of the biblical story of Joseph. "L'histoire de Joseph la plus intéressante et la plus instructive de toutes pour les enfans, la plus favorable au développement des premiers germes de vertu qui sont dans leurs coeurs, et la plus propre à mettre dans leurs ames: l'idée heureuse et la conviction utile des attentions perpétuelles de la providence sur les hommes, me semble mériter par tous ces titres, la préférence sur toute autre histoire pour paroître la première sous les yeux de l'enfance." (XV 715 a).

Beauzée returns to the idea of combining the teaching of morality with other subjects in his article METHODE (Gramm.). An elementary Latin textbook should consist of appropriate moral precepts for the child to learn by heart. He talks of "un livre utile par le fonds autant que par la forme: il ne s'agiroit que d'en faire une suite de maximes intéressantes, qui avec le tems pourroient germer dans les jeunes esprits où on les auroit jettées (sic) sous un autre prétexte, s'y développer, et y produire d'excellens fruits." (X 455 a).

In another of his articles SENS (Gramm.) Beauzée chooses as an example a sentence reading; "Les EVEQUES jugent infailliblement en matiere de foi." (XV 19 a). There is nothing to suggest that Beauzée was being in any way facetious or even mildly ironic in his choice of this example, which provides further evidence of the dominant role of religion and the Church at the time.

5. The text is printed in large type with words divided into syllables, etc.

(b) Variations in Terminology and Meaning

"La Morale", "la Vertu", "la Religion", "la Superstition" are words that recur constantly in the Encyclopédie. One of the major difficulties encountered in trying to write about the treatment of religious and moral education in the work stems from variations in the meaning of the words used. The word "superstition", for example, may indicate, on different occasions, pre-Christian religions, protestant heresies, Roman Catholicism or even all forms of religious belief whether Christian or non-Christian. This, coupled with the guarded articulations of some writers and the ironies of others, inhibits in many cases exact understanding of the plethora of high-sounding generalities, often from well-intentioned writers, about the teaching of religion and morality. The problem has not gone away. Most people today are more than a little hesitant when asked to explain what is meant by "Religious Education". The variety of terms used for this activity, Scripture, Divinity, Religious Knowledge, Religious Instruction, Religious Studies, etc., when compared with, say, English, Mathematics or Science, indicates the uncertainty felt.

In the Encyclopédie, as in other French writings of the period, "la religion" is frequently used as a synonym for orthodox Roman Catholicism. Furthermore, any attempt to criticise the moral and religious education given at the time was immediately seen as an attack on the Church and censured as impious. There are many devices used by philosophes to try and circumvent this danger. A telling example is the use of heavy irony in the unsigned article MAGES, (Théologie); "Il y a bien de la différence entre la vérité de la religion et la vérité de l'histoire, entre la certitude d'un fait, et la sincérité de celui qui le raconte. ... Les faits n'ont qu'une certitude morale ... mais la religion a une certitude infaillible, appuyée non-seulement sur la vérité des faits ..., mais encore sur l'infaillibilité de la révélation et l'évidence de la raison." (IX 849 b).

Confusion of meaning with regard to morality is recognised by the chevalier de Séguiran in the article VERITE, BONTE, BEAUTE.

Dans la même ville, l'altier courtisan, l'insolent millionnaire, l'humble manoeuvre rassemblés dans le réduit d'un philosophe, et interrogés sur le sens du mot décence, disputent et ne s'entendent pas. C'est que les géomètres parlent tous une même langue; mais les hommes, en traitant de la morale, ne prononcent que les mêmes sons; leurs idées varient suivant le mode et le degré d'opposition de l'intérêt de chaque individu de l'intérêt général.

(XVII 183 a-b)

On the other hand, d'Alembert in the DISCOURS PRELIMINAIRE gives a lengthy explanation of the term "la Morale" dividing it into the categories "générale" and "particulière", the former consisting of "jurisprudence naturelle, économique et politique" and the latter having as object the need to do one's duties and to be good, just and virtuous.

Religion is often seen as part of philosophy. "Les objets de la Philosophie ... se réduisent à trois principaux, Dieu, l'ame et la matiere. A ces trois objets répondent trois parties principales de la Philosophie. La première, c'est la Théologie naturelle, ou la science des possibles à l'égard de Dieu. ... La seconde, c'est la Psychologie, qui concerne les possibles à l'égard de l'ame. La troisième, est la Physique, qui concerne les possibles à l'égard des corps." (PHILOSOPHIE XII 513 a).

The words quoted above serve to illustrate a point made in the preceding chapter that the term "philosophie" encompassed rather more than the modern reader might suspect.⁶ They will also be referred to again later, in the chapter dealing with the rest of the curriculum. The reason for citing the article, PHILOSOPHIE, here is to draw attention, in a specific case, to the danger of attaching to the terminology of the eighteenth century the significance which it has come to have today.

6. See Ch.II, p.47.

(c) Religion Considered as a Social Necessity

Despite the hesitations and uncertainties that may be detected in several articles, despite the reservations voiced about how religion is taught, despite the doubts about what was thought to be the precise nature of moral duties and obligations and how they should feature in the teaching programme, it is safe to say, in general terms, that the Encyclopédistes, as a group, were not against religion or the teaching of it. It is fair to go beyond this and to say that for many contributors some form of religion and religious education was not only desirable in itself but a social necessity without which civilised society was inconceivable and the social structure of eighteenth-century France would disintegrate.

Romilly fils expresses the idea in his article VERTU; "si vous ôtez le frein de la conscience et de la religion ... vous sappez tous les états par leurs fondemens." (XVII 179 a).

It often happens in the Encyclopédie that writers seek to promote the cause they favour by attacking the alternatives. So, in the article ATHEISME, Yvon, after claiming that his subject undermines the foundations of morality and politics, (see quotation p. 68 above) proceeds to question the intellectual integrity of the atheist. "Il s'ensuit (...) que les athées ont des hypotheses beaucoup plus difficiles à concevoir que celles qu'ils rejettent; et qu'ils s'eloignent des sentimens communs plutôt pour se distinguer, que parce que les difficultés leur font de la peine; autrement ils n'embrasseroient pas des systèmes tout-à-fait incompréhensibles, sous prétexte qu'ils n'entendent pas les opinions généralement reçues." (I 816 a). This theme is also treated by the anonymous contributor, thought to be Yvon again, of the article ARISTOTELISME. "Il est aisé de fixer les yeux de tout le monde sur soi-même, en écrivant contre la religion, et sur-tout lorsqu'on écrit avec esprit; on voit que tout le monde s'empresse à acheter ces livres."

(I 669 a). A touch of irony may be detected in the sentence quoted above.

Yvon makes another attack in his article ATHEES (Métaph.). "L'erreur des athées vient ... de l'ignorance et de la stupidité", (I 798 b) adding "La seconde source d'athéisme, c'est la débauche et la corruption des moeurs." (I 799 a). In a later article, ATHEISME, Yvon was to claim; "En effet, l'athéisme avilit et dégrade la nature humaine, en niant qu'il y ait en elle les moindres principes de morale, de politique, d'équité et d'humanité." (I 816 b).

Unorthodox religious views are attacked by Yvon; "On se partage beaucoup sur ce problème, si l'irreligion est pire que la superstition: on convient que ce sont les deux extrémités vicieuses au milieu desquelles la vérité est située." (ATHEES, I 801 b). Yvon goes on to commend a refutation of Bayle by "M. Warbutton, (sic) dans ses dissertations sur l'union de la religion, de la morale et de la politique." (I 802 a). The work is mentioned again by Romilly fils in a cross-reference to ATHEES and "l'ouvrage de Warburton sur l'union de la morale, de la religion, et de la politique." (Article VERTU XVII 179 b).

Some Encyclopédistes who write in support of religion and religious practices may be more given to diplomacy or lip-service than their colleagues mentioned above. D'Alembert in DICTIONNAIRE refers to Bayle's work as "[un] ouvrage que l'auteur auroit rendu infiniment estimable, en y supprimant ce qui peut blesser la religion et les moeurs." (IV 967 a). The views of the contributor of PHILOSOPHE are more difficult to determine. In the article he writes of those who "se regardent comme les seuls véritables philosophes, parce qu'ils ont osé renverser les bornes sacrées posées par la religion, et qu'ils ont brisé les entraves où la foi mettoit leur raison." (XII 509 b). There follows a direct reference to religious education. "Fiers de s'être défaits des préjugés de l'éducation en matiere de religion,

ils regardent avec mépris les autres comme des ames foibles." (XII 509 b). Although it may be difficult to reconcile some of the ideas expressed in PHILOSOPHE with the belief that Dumarsais was an atheist at heart, the article does contain the statement "Or, le philosophe est disposé plus que qui que ce soit par ses réflexions à trouver plus d'attrait et de plaisir à vivre avec vous, à s'attirer votre confiance et votre estime, à s'acquitter des devoirs de l'amitié et de la reconnoissance. Ces sentiments sont encor nourris dans le fond de son coeur par la religion, où l'on (sic) conduit les lumieres naturelles de sa raison." (XII 510 b).

The fusion, not to say confusion, of religion and morality is clearly indicated by the pedagogue Faiguet de Villeneuve in the article CITATION (Gramm.) where he describes "l'incrédulite" in terms of a "disposition funeste qui sape le fondement des vertus, et qui assure le triomphe des vices." (III 483 a-b).

The political use of religion and, by extension, of religious education is mentioned directly in the article LEGISLATEUR by Saint-Lambert. "Le législateur doit-il faire usage de la religion comme d'un ressort principal dans la machine du gouvernement?" (IX 359 b). An answer of sorts may be found in the article VERTU where Romilly fils declares that mere legislation is helpless against corruption, "les lois les plus sages sont impuissantes contre la corruption générale", (XVII 179 a) if the restraints of conscience and religion have been removed.

The orthodox abbé Mallet also points to a close connection between religion and moral virtues in his article ECRITURE-SAINTE. "Le but des Ecritures étoit de rendre les hommes bons, vertueux, justes, agréables aux yeux de Dieu; et que fait à cela tel ou tel système de physique?" (V 364 b).

The preceding pages have attempted to show briefly how a number of Encyclopédistes treated questions of religion and morality. There seems

little need laboriously to stress the relevance of this to the teaching of these subjects whether to children or adults, in schools or elsewhere.

Lefebvre shows general awareness of the political, social and educational facets of the contemporary state of affairs in France. In his article GOUVERNEUR, D'UN JEUNE HOMME, he addresses the tutor on the subject of religion and morality and says about the boy; "Fortifiez les principes qu'il a: donnez-lui ceux qui lui manquent. ... Les premiers de tous et les plus négligés sont ceux de la religion." (VII 795 a). Lefebvre then repeats the familiar claim to be living in an irreligious age. Later in the article there follow significant observations on the purpose of moral and religious education especially for a young gentleman.

L'homme du peuple est contenu par la crainte des lois; l'homme d'un état moyen l'est par l'opinion publique. Le grand peut éluder les lois, et n'est que trop porté à se mettre au-dessus de l'opinion publique. Quel frein le retiendra, si ce n'est la religion? Faites-lui en remplir les devoirs, mais ne l'en excédez pas. Montrez-la-lui par tout ce qu'elle a de respectable; il n' y a que les passions qui puissent empêcher de reconnoître la grandeur et la beauté de sa morale. Elle seule peut nous consoler dans les maladies, dans les adversités; les grands n'en sont pas plus exempts que le reste des hommes.

(VII 795 b)

The struggles between the irreconcilable claims of religious faith, Christian and secular morality, and "la Raison" are repeatedly evident in the Encyclopédie. Contradictions of all sorts abound and confused thinking is manifest throughout the seventeen volumes of text. There is too much material of this sort, having direct or indirect relevance to education, for a comprehensive survey to be attempted in this study. Very different viewpoints are expressed, ranging from the uncompromising tones of the orthodox abbé Mallet; "il faut recourir à une autorité visible et infaillible dans le discernement des vérités catholiques, autorité qui n'est autre que l'Eglise enseignante", (ECRITURE-SAINTE V 367 b) to the mischievous insertions

by Diderot, such as those in the article *ECCLECTISME; "En effet, le Christianisme ne souffre aucune exception. Rejetter un de ses dogmes, c'est n'en admettre aucun", (V 274 a), "ses leçons furent mêlées de théologie et de philosophie. Ce mélange monstrueux ...," (V 274 b), "Porphyre, follement persuadé que le Christianisme rend les hommes méchants et misérables", (V 276 b), "La conversion de ce prince à la Religion chrétienne, fut un événement fatal pour la Philosophie." (V 277a).

The disputes are inescapable. In his educational articles the pedagogue Beauzée remains quite orthodox. In the context of the origins of language, he says;

La raison et la révélation sont, pour ainsi dire, deux canaux différens qui nous transmettent les eaux d'une même source, et qui ne diffèrent que par la manière de nous le (sic) présenter. ... D'où il suit que les lumières véritables de la raison ne peuvent jamais être opposées à celles de la révélation, et que l'une par conséquent ne doit pas prononcer autrement que l'autre sur l'origine des langues.

(LANGUE IX 250 b)

Later in the article Beauzée, dealing with the existence of different languages, points to the need to accept the miraculous without question. "Ainsi c'est une véritable illusion que de vouloir expliquer par des causes naturelles un événement qui ne peut être que miraculeux." (IX 255 b). The lawyer, Boucher d'Argis, talks in terms of "la raison et la religion" as "les deux grandes lumières que Dieu a données à l'homme pour se conduire." (DROIT DE LA NATURE ou DROIT NATURAL V 134 b). Earlier in the same article he says; "On entend plus souvent par droit naturel, certaines règles de justice et d'équité, que la seule raison naturelle a établies entre tous les hommes, ou pour mieux dire, que Dieu a gravées dans nos cœurs." (V 131 b). Boucher d'Argis proceeds to relate "ces idées générales" to "le droit naturel" and comes up with the conclusion "ce droit n'est proprement autre chose que la science des mœurs qu'on appelle morale." (V 132 a).

Following, with apparent approval, Burlamaqui, Boucher d'Argis also writes, "On ne peut douter qu'il y ait des lois naturelles, puisque tout concourt à nous prouver l'existence de Dieu." (V 134 a). The pastor Romilly fils regards man as naturally inclined towards good (see VERTU XVII 177 a) as compared with the Roman Catholic view of man born in sin and inclined towards evil.⁷ The Protestant chevalier de Jaucourt declares in his article SENS MORAL that God inspires in man a feeling of goodwill towards his fellow. (see XV 28 b). In another article, MORALE (Science des Moeurs), Jaucourt observes; "Il nous manque peut-être un ouvrage philosophique sur la conformité de la morale de l'Evangile avec les lumieres de la droite raison; car l'une et l'autre marchent d'un pas égal, et ne peuvent être séparées." (X 702 a). There follows an interesting claim that in several respects "la Morale l'emporte sur la foi." The reasons given in support of this claim are revealing and interesting. (see X 702 a).

A variety of ideas are expressed concerning personal happiness. Jaucourt seems to consider it man's divine duty to "acquérir tout le bonheur dont il est capable." This statement is made in the article DEVOIR (Droit. nat. Relig. nat. Morale) (IV 915 b) where further interesting ideas about religion, morality and allied persuasions are to be found. A somewhat different, less optimistic, attitude may be detected in the article ENFANS (MALADIES DES) by the medical doctor d'Aumont.

L'homme ... à peine a-t-il respiré, qu'il commence à annoncer ses miseres par ses cris, et qu'il est en danger continuel de perdre une vie qui semble ne lui être donnée que pour souffrir: c'est donc avec raison que l'on peut dire ... que l'homme ne commence à sentir qu'il existe, que par les supplices au milieu desquels il se trouve, sans avoir commis d'autre crime que celui d'être né.

(V 657 b)

7. See Lefebvre's words quoted on p. 92 of this chapter.

In this situation Lefebvre's belief that religion should be taught as the sole consolation available to man (see p.77 above) makes a sort of sense.

The frequently repeated dictum of Juvenal, "mens sana in corpore sano", as formulating one of the principal aims of education, receives something of a set-back in the unsigned article SANTE (Oecon. anim.). The writer argues that intellectual activity weakens the constitution and proceeds to the quasi-moral observation, couched in scriptural terms; "On ne peut pas réunir dans ce monde toutes les conditions qui peuvent rendre heureux à tous égards: ainsi celui qui a la sagesse (c'est-à-dire le savoir) de Salomon, ne peut pas se promettre la longue vie de Mathusalem." (XIV 630 a).

The belief that superstition, in the modern sense, will never yield to the arguments of reason is expressed in another unsigned article, IMAGINATION des femmes enceintes sur le foetus, pouvoir de l'; "Les préjugés, sur-tout ceux qui sont fondés sur le merveilleux, triompheront toujours des lumieres de la raison; et l'on seroit bien peu philosophe si l'on en étoit surpris." (VIII 564 b). "Le merveilleux" in this context has connotations of folk-lore, which, as will be illustrated later in this chapter, was much confused in the popular mind with the teachings of religion and biblical mythology.

It is with an awareness of the more general attitudes found in the Encyclopédie to questions of religion, morality and allied topics as a background that the articles dealing with the teaching of these subjects should be approached. It is understandable that in a world so beset by intellectual conflict and evident uncertainties in the realm of religion and morality there should be instances of vagueness and hesitancy about curricular details to be recommended.

D'Alembert suggested in the article COLLEGE that knowledge of religion acquired in a "collège" was "si superficielle, qu'elle succombe à la premiere conversation impie, ou à la premiere lecture dangereuse." (III 635 b). It

goes almost without saying that such "conversation impie" and "lecture dangereuse" were to become more and more readily available as the century progressed. Control over book publishing and distribution was supposed to preserve the purity of religious faith. David says as much in his article DROIT DE COPIE; "Nos rois ... ont sagement établi des lois sur le fait de l'Imprimerie, dont l'objet a été de conserver dans le royaume la pureté de la religion, les moeurs et la tranquillité publique." (V 146 a). Any young man who, on leaving his "collège", might wish to make good the deficiencies in his religious education, indicated by d'Alembert, by self-education might run up against difficulties created by Roman Catholic authorities in Rome, according to Boucher d'Argis. In the article INDEX (Jurispr.) he writes; "Je ne sçais si nous n'avons pas le sens commun, ou si c'est la congrégation de l'indice qui en manque, mais il est sûr qu'il n'y a presque pas un seul bon livre de piété, ou de morale dans notre langue, qu'elle n'ait proscrit." (VII 673 a).

In the preceding chapter attention was drawn to the strong words of condemnation in articles by d'Alembert and Faiguet of time spent (or "wasted") by "collégiens" in attending religious services and festivals.⁸ Such "pratiques extérieures" were regarded by others as a very important element in education. The reasons are brought out in the unsigned article RELIGION (Théolog.)

Si la piété est une vertu, il est utile qu'elle regne dans tous les coeurs: or il n'est rien qui contribue plus efficacement au regne de la vertu, que l'exemple. Les leçons y feroient beaucoup moins; c'est donc un bien pour chacun de nous, d'avoir sous les yeux des modeles attrayans de piété. Or, ces modeles ne peuvent être tracés, que par des actes extérieurs de religion. Inutilement par rapport à moi, un de mes concitoyens est-il pénétré d'amour, de respect et de soumission pour Dieu, s'il ne le fait pas connoître par quelque démonstration sensible qui m'en avertisse.

(XIV 82 a)

8. See Ch.II, p.47ff.

It will be recognised from the words quoted that the writer appears to make no distinction between moral qualities ("la vertu," etc.) and religious devotion ("la piété").

There are certain inconsistencies in the views expressed in different articles by Jaucourt. This is not surprising in view of his activities as a diligent harvester of other people's ideas. His contributions are interesting and important in that they often reflect currents of thought circulating at the time. In his article DEVOIR (Droit. nat. Relig. nat. Morale), his comments coincide with the strictures of Faiguet in EPARGNE about the moral education of the young and, in particular, upper-class youth. Jaucourt, having expatiated on the reciprocal duties of parents and offspring,⁹ declares; "Les ministres de la religion doivent se borner aux fonctions de leur charge; ne rien enseigner qui ne leur paroisse vrai, instruire le peuple de ses devoirs, ne point deshonorer leur caractere, ou perdre le fruit de leur ministere par des moeurs vicieuses, etc." (IV 917 b). Jaucourt proceeds to suggest that inculcating standard virtues and practising them has proved too formidable a task for the times. As a result, he says, "nous avons insensiblement altéré la signification du mot de devoir pour l'appliquer à des moeurs, des manieres, ou des usages frivoles, dont la pratique aisée nous tient lieu de morale. Nous sommes convenus de substituer des oboles aux pieces d'or qui devoient avoir cours." (IV 917 b). Then, turning his attention to "les grands" and the education they receive, Jaucourt writes:

Il est arrivé de-là que les devoirs ainsi nommés chez les grands, et qui font chez eux la partie la plus importante de l'éducation, ne consistent guere que dans des soins futiles, des apparences d'égard et de respect pour les supérieurs, des regles de contenance ou de politesse, des compliments de bouche ou par écrit, des modes vaines, des formalités puériles, et autres sottises de cette

9. Part of this is quoted in Ch.II, p.60.

espece que l'on inculque tant aux jeunes gens, qu'ils les regardent à la fin comme les seules actions recommandables, à l'observation desquelles ils soient réellement tenus.

(IV 917 b)

Writing in the same vein, Jaucourt then deals with the moral education of women. This will be discussed in a later chapter. The final paragraph of the article DEVOIR suggests that "les vrais devoirs qui procedent de la loi naturelle et du Christianisme coûtent à remplir, combattent sans cesse nos passions et nos vices; et pour surcroît de dégoût, leur pratique n'est pas suivie de grands éloges." (IV 917 b)

Jaucourt's theme is taken up by Bourgelat in the article EXERCICES (Manège). "Le religion et la probité s'étayent mutuellement et ne se séparent point." (VI 251 b). Honour, like religion, should be taught from an early age. What children are usually taught is not the proper thing and consequently what they learn "les menent plutôt à l'idiotisme ou au mépris de la religion qu'au ciel." (VI 251 b).

(d) Evidence of Increasingly Secular Attitudes

By creating and stimulating dissatisfaction with contemporary educational provision in respect of religion and morality, as in other areas, certain Encyclopédistes, and particularly the philosophes amongst them, sought to promote the introduction into the teaching curriculum, or the expansion within it, of certain new and more overtly secular subjects for study. This, in its turn, was to lead eventually to the redeployment of a number of elements of the educational programme into somewhat different categories. Central to this question, in the context of the present chapter, is the relationship for teaching purposes between religion and morality.

Faiguet had already questioned the need for so many religious festivals before his claim in ETUDES that they reduced the time available for the

"proper" education of the child. In his article EPARGNE, thrift is linked with piety; "L'épargne économique s'allie ... parfaitement avec la piété ..." (V 745 b), and it is suggested that desirable savings could be made by abandoning three quarters of the Church's festivals; "Que d'épargnes possibles enfin dans l'exercice de la religion, en supprimant les trois quarts de nos fêtes." (V 747 b). Faiguet condemns the "mauvaise éducation" which results in an unseemly attitude to thrift. "Au reste, l'indifférence ou plutôt le mépris que nous avons pour cette vertu, nous est inspiré dès l'enfance par une mauvaise éducation, et sur-tout par les mauvais exemples que nous voyons sans cesse." (V 745 b). He implies that wrong standards are presented to young people; "On entend louer perpétuellement la somptuosité des repas et des fêtes, la magnificence des habits, des appartemens, des meubles, etc. Tout cela est représenté, non-seulement comme le but et la récompense du travail et des talens, mais sur-tout comme le fruit du goût et du génie, comme la marque d'une ame noble et d'un esprit élevé." (V 745 b). In a wide-ranging article Faiguet repeatedly claims scriptural support for his ideas; "L'Esprit-Saint ... fait en mille endroits l'éloge de l'économie", (V 746 a), before ending his article with the suggestion that the educational practices of ancient times were more suitable than those of eighteenth-century France: "Rien ne devrait être plus recommandé aux jeunes gens que cette habitude vertueuse [l'épargne], laquelle deviendrait pour eux un préservatif contre les vices. C'est en quoi l'éducation des anciens étoit plus conséquente et plus raisonnable que la nôtre." (V 750 b). Comparable ideas may be found in a number of other articles, e.g. LEÇON, LOGIQUE, CRITIQUE, MORALE.

D'Alembert in COLLEGE had already suggested the use of classical texts in the teaching of "la Morale", making a controversial distinction between Christian and non-christian elements of the subject. "Dans la Philosophie,

on borneroit ... la Morale purement philosophique, aux ouvrages de Sénèque et d'Épictète; la Morale chrétienne, au sermon de Jésus-Christ sur la montagne." (III 637 a). This suggestion was not well received by Church authorities concerned with education. In a later article, EXPERIMENTAL (Philosophie natur.) d'Alembert goes so far as to suggest the establishment at the Collège Royal of "une [chaire] ... de Morale." (VI 301 b).

It will be clear from what has been written so far in this chapter that many Encyclopédistes saw religion and morality as two elements of one whole. It will also be apparent that a number of writers were aware of attempts to make clear distinctions between the two and that some of them resisted such distinctions. In addition it will be clear that a few contributors, notably d'Alembert, were prepared to divorce morality from religion to the extent of having the two taught as separate subjects in the syllabus.

The concept of a secular morality with a validity independent of Christianity is introduced, as has been shown, a number of times in the Encyclopédie. The question whether pre-Christian philosophers, such as Plato or Socrates, were capable of completely moral and virtuous teaching and of propounding the truth is also raised.

In this connection the use of teaching material drawn from the Classical texts of Greece and Rome is a matter of some significance. In the context of teaching morality, Classical Fables, especially those of Aesop, are mentioned in a number of articles.

This introduces yet another area of complexity, in which inconsistencies and confusion, at least for the twentieth-century reader, abound. There is in the Encyclopédie quite a lot of material dealing with fable, fairy-tale, legend, myth, allegory and so on, and with their place in the education of the child. It is perhaps advisable to recall at the outset of this discussion

that the Encyclopédistes lived in an era which preceded the development of the science of social anthropology, and the work of the brothers Grimm in collecting fairy-tales, an era unaware of the role of myth and legend in the collective consciousness, which was to be revealed by pioneering psychologists such as C.G. Jung. It is also important to remember the commonly accepted attitude to Bible stories as revealed truth to be taken literally, on the grounds that God would not lie. In rural France much local folklore and legend had strong connections, perpetuated by the local clergy, with practised Christianity. (Worship at local shrines, homage to local saints, etc.)

Encyclopédistes writing about fables do not always mean the same thing. On the one hand "la Fable", usually with capital letter, indicates a short, moral tale as written, for example, by Aesop or La Fontaine. This is usually approved of. On the other hand reference is sometimes made to the fabulous in the sense of some risible folk superstition, which is condemned as the product of uneducated minds and imaginations.

A simple, and somewhat inadequate, definition of the former, "la Fable", is supplied in the eponymous article by Marmontel. Following La Mothe, he calls it "instruction déguisée sous l'allégorie d'une action." (VI 344 b). Marmontel calls for the fable to be convincing, amusing and useful. "Le premier soin du fabuliste doit donc être de paroître persuadé; le second, de rendre sa persuasion amusante; le troisieme, de rendre cet amusement utile." (VI 347 a). Respectability is sought for the fable by a Classical reference, "L'oracle de Delphes avoit, dit-on, conseillé à Esope de prouver des vérités importantes par des contes ridicules", (VI 348 a) and by insisting on its educational usefulness, "Cependant comme ce n'est pas uniquement à nous amuser, mais sur-tout à nous instruire, que la fable est destinée, l'illusion doit se terminer au développement de quelque vérité utile." (VI 348 a).

Jaucourt in his article FABULISTE echoes and reinforces Marmontel's ideas. "Un fabuliste doit se proposer sous le voile de la fiction, d'annoncer quelque vérité morale, utile pour la conduite des hommes." (VI 352 a).

Jaucourt then sets out, at some length, his belief in the value of the fable as a means of instruction.

Les enfans nouveaux venus dans le monde, n'en connoissent pas les habitans, ils ne se connoissent pas eux-mêmes; mais il convient de les laisser dans cette ignorance le moins qu'il est possible. Il leur faut apprendre ce que c'est qu'un lion, un renard, un singe, et pour quelle raison on compare quelquefois un homme à de tels animaux: c'est à quoi les fables sont destinées et les premières notions de ces choses proviennent d'elles; ensuite par les raisonnemens et les conséquences qu'on peut tirer des fables, on forme le jugement et les mœurs des enfans.

(VI 352 a)

Jaucourt is here repeating the view that it is never too early to start the moral (often synonymous with religious) education of the child. Volume VI appeared in 1756, six years before Rousseau published his condemnation both of the fable as a teaching tool and of starting early with lessons on religion, in Emile. That this early education of the child is not to be confined to the school class-room is suggested by Jaucourt's next sentence; "Plûtôt que d'être réduits à corriger nos mauvaises habitudes, nos parens devroient travailler à les rendre bonnes, pendant qu'elles sont encore indifférentes au bien et au mal; or les fables y peuvent contribuer infiniment, et c'est ce qui a fait dire à Lafontaine qu'elles étoient descendues du ciel pour servir à notre instruction." (VI 352 a). Always keen to make a Classical allusion, Jaucourt on the same page, underlines the points just made by a reference to the story that Plato wished children to be brought up on Aesop's fables; "Il souhaite que les enfans sucent les fables d'Esopé avec le lait, et recommande aux nourrices de les leur apprendre; parce que, dit-il, on ne sauroit accoutumer les hommes de trop bonne heure à la vertu." (VI 353 a).

Approval of Aesop is found in the article IMAGINATION, IMAGINER by Voltaire in Volume VIII, which was published in 1765, three years after Emile. "Un jugement toujours sain regne dans les fables d'Esopé; elles seront toujours les délices des nations." (VIII 562 a). In the next sentence Voltaire deprecates fairy-tales and similar material, in part, it appears, because they do not conform with his ideas about literary aesthetics. "Il y a plus d'imagination dans les contes des fées; mais ces imaginations fantastiques, toujours dépourvues d'ordre et de bon sens, ne peuvent être estimées; on les lit par foiblesse, et on les condamne par raison." (VIII 562 a).

Dumarsais was equally scathing about material of this sort, claiming it had no part to play in the education of the child. In his article EDUCATION he wrote;

... il importe extrêmement à un jeune homme, que dès qu'il commence à juger, il n'acquiesce qu' à ce qui est vrai, c'est-à-dire qu'à ce qui est. Ainsi loin de lui toutes les histoires fabuleuses, tous ces contes puériles (sic) de Fées, de loup-garou, de juif-errant, d'esprits folets, de revenans, de sorciers, et de sortileges, tous ces faiseurs d'horoscopes, ces diseurs et diseuses de bonne aventure, ces interpretes de songes, et tant d'autres pratiques superstitieuses qui ne servent qu' à égarer la raison des enfans, à effrayer leur imagination, et souvent même à leur faire regretter d'être venus au monde.

(V 399 a)

The wish of Dumarsais to protect children from fear may revealingly be set against the desire of other Encyclopédistes (Yvon, Lefebvre, etc.) to instil it, of different things, admittedly, such as tutors, parents, the wrath of God, etc. but one would think equally likely to make them "regretter d'être venus au monde."

The attack launched by Dumarsais is pushed home by Jaucourt in his article LAMIES (Mythol. littér.), where he indicates more precisely the circumstances in which small children learnt of such things. After defining "Lamies" as the name of a creature with the face of a woman "qu'on disoit

se cacher dans les buissons, près des grands chemins, pour dévorer les passans." Jaucourt continues;

Ce qu'il y a de sûr, c'est que de tout tems et en tout pays, on a inventé de pareilles chimeres, dont les nourrices, les gouvernantes, et les bonnes femmes, se servent comme d'un épouvantail pour faire peur à leurs enfans, les empêcher de pleurer, ou les apaiser. C'est une coutume d'autant plus mauvaise, que rien n'est plus capable d'ébranler ces petits cerveaux, si tendres et si flexibles, et d'y produire des impressions de frayeur dont ils se ressentent malheureusement toute leur vie.

(IX 229 a-b)

While full account must be taken of the inconsistencies in what the Encyclopédistes find to say about teaching religion and morality, a tendency may be discerned in certain articles to move towards the more extensively and more obviously secular. This is revealed in what is said about some Classical texts, such as Aesop's fables, and developed in articles dealing with the teaching of moral responsibilities in the context of society, or civic duties. One such article is LEÇON (Gramm. Morale) where the anonymous writer says;

On formeroit mieux la raison en faisant observer la liaison naturelle des choses et des idées, qu'en donnant l'habitude de faire des argumens; il faut mêler l'Histoire naturelle et civile, la Fable, les emblèmes, les allégories, à ce qu'il peut y avoir d'abstrait dans les leçons qu'on donne à la jeunesse; on pourroit imaginer d'exécuter une suite de tableaux dont l'ensemble instruiroit des devoirs des citoyens, etc.

(IX 332 b)

The article, LEÇON, also condemns the verbiage of many pedagogues. (See IX 332 b).¹⁰

Voltaire similarly condemned too much talk suggesting, in IMAGINATION, IMAGINER, that the child becomes conscious of moral values, such as justice and injustice more as a result of the actions of other people. "Vous prononcez

10. The article is quoted in Ch.IV, p.105 q.v.

les termes abstraits, grandeur, vérité, justice, fini, infini; mais ce mot grandeur est-il autre chose qu'un mouvement de votre langue qui frappe l'air, si vous n'avez pas l'image de quelque grandeur?" (VIII 560 b). "Avez-vous la notion de juste et d'injuste autrement que par des actions qui vous ont paru telles? Vous avez commencé dans votre enfance par apprendre à lire sous un maître; vous aviez envie de bien épeller, et vous avez mal épellé. Votre maître vous a battu, cela vous a paru très-injuste." (VIII 561 a). Already in the DISCOURS PRELIMINAIRE d'Alembert had claimed that the idea of injustice derived from the experience of oppression, i.e. the mis-use of power. (See I iij).

Despite this, and despite the several references, discussed later, to the desirability of teaching by example, much of the teaching of morality advocated in the Encyclopédie is concerned with telling the child to be good by means either of the spoken or written word.

Passages already cited in other contexts have demonstrated that the call for more attention to be paid to moral education is a common-place with Encyclopédistes. Paris de Meyzieu gives the subject special prominence in his list of things to be studied in ECOLE MILITAIRE; "La Grammaire, ... un peu de Droit naturel, beaucoup de Morale." (V 309 a). Faiguet in ETUDES declares; "La Morale est trop négligée, on pourroit l'étendre et l'approfondir davantage." (VI 93 a). Part of what he has in mind may be found in one, massive, sentence from his article EPARGNE:

Qu'un jeune homme ait plus de talent que de fortune, on lui dira tout au plus d'une manière vague, qu'il doit songer ... à son avancement; qu'il doit être fidèle à ses devoirs, éviter les mauvaises compagnies, la débauche, etc. mais on ne lui dira pas, ce qu'il faudroit pourtant lui dire et lui répéter sans cesse, que pour s'assurer le nécessaire et pour s'avancer par des voies légitimes, pour devenir honnête homme et citoyen vertueux, utile à soi et à sa patrie, il faut être courageux et patient, travailler sans relâche, éviter la dépense, mépriser également la

peine et le plaisir, et se mettre enfin au-dessus
des préjugés qui favorisent le luxe, la dissipation
et la mollesse.

(V 745b - 746a)¹¹

(e) The Use of Maxim, Aphorism, etc.

Oneway of furthering the moral and religious education of the young child was to place before him, as he progressed towards literacy, a series of maxims and aphorisms which, while presented in the guise of an exercise in, for example, punctuation, sought to increase his perception of moral virtues. Mention has already been made of the long article METHODE (Gram.) (see especially p.71 above,) in which Beauzée speaks of filling Latin primers with "une suite de maximes intéressantes" and of having "un livre utile par le fonds autant que par la forme." The idea is developed in the next sentence. "Et quand je dis des maximes, ce n'est pas pour donner une préférence exclusive au style purement dogmatique: les bonnes maximes se peuvent présenter sous toutes les formes; une fable, un trait historique, une épigramme, tout est bon pour cette fin: la morale qui plait est la meilleure." (X 455 a). A number of examples of the type of aphorism Beauzée had in mind may be found in the later article PONCTUATION, signed ERMB, (sic), for instance; "la richesse, le plaisir, la santé, deviennent des maux pour qui ne sait pas en user." (XIII 17 a). Further sentences are taken from the writings of Bossuet, La Bruyère and Fénelon. Others, whose works are mentioned with approval in this article, are Fontenelle, La Rochefoucauld, Racine, J-B. Rousseau, Voltaire, Boileau, Diderot and Bourdaloue. Similar use of sententious material of this sort is found in other articles. Dumarsais, for example, in CAS (terme de grammaire) illustrates a point with the sentence; "Le Roi aime le peuple." (II 735 b).

11. This sentence of 123 words illustrates the difficulties mentioned in Ch.I - see especially pp.26-27.

A refreshingly different view of the maxim may be found in the unsigned article INTERET (Morale) by Saint-Lambert. "C'est la folie des moralistes de généraliser leurs idées, de faire des maximes. Le public aime les maximes, parce qu'elles satisfont la paresse et la présomption; elles sont souvent le langage des charlatans répété par les dupes." (VIII 819 a).

It should not be thought too fanciful to suggest that behind Saint-Lambert's words an awareness of the relativity of certain moral values may be detected. Certainly, excessively harsh application of rigid moral precepts is not favoured by Marmontel in CRITIQUE (Belles-lettres): "il ne seroit pas à souhaiter que le critique en Morale fût exempt de passions et de foiblesses: il faut juger les hommes en homme vertueux, mais en homme; ... être enfin le juge non le tyran de l'humanité." (IV 494 a). The idea is taken up, with a strong hint of a more religious attitude, in GOUVERNEUR, D'UN JEUNE HOMME. Addressing the "gouverneur" on the subject of teaching his charge, Lefebvre says; "En lui montrant plus en détail les fragilités de notre espece, ne la lui peignez pas trop en noir; faites-la lui voir plus foible que méchante, entraînée vers le mal, mais capable du bien." (VII 796 b).

Lefebvre's attitude to teaching is here, as elsewhere, shown to be one of telling the child what to think and of reinforcing the approved point of view by didactic interpretation of selected examples. Influence of this sort is recognised by Jaucourt in the article PENSEE, SENTIMENT, OPINION. (Synon.Gram.). "Les opinions doivent beaucoup à la prévention; il est d'ordinaire aux écoliers de tenir celles de leurs maîtres." (XII 309 a).

(f) Enthusiasm for Emulation

A stronger influential force is acknowledged as coming from the example to the pupil set by the teacher in his personal conduct. Whether they are thinking of moral values as relative or absolute, as religious or secular,

the contributors to the Encyclopédie agree on this important point about teaching in general and the teaching of religion and morality in particular; teaching by good example is the most effective way of ensuring that the young develop into worthy and upright members of society.

The effect of example on the young, and on others, has already been mentioned indirectly, and in other contexts, several times in this study. (See, for example, pp. 81 and 84 above.) Direct treatment of the subject need only be brief. Jean-Jacques Rousseau states the case clearly in ECONOMIE (Morale et Politique): "car partout où la leçon n'est pas soutenue par l'autorité, et le précepte par l'exemple, l'instruction demeure sans fruit, et la vertu même perd son crédit dans la bouche de celui qui ne la pratique pas." (V 343 b). The same theme is treated at some length by Lefebvre in GOUVERNANTE D'ENFANS. Referring to the soul of the child, he informs the "gouvernante"; "Son ame sera entre vos mains comme une cire molle ... vous n'aurez plus à travailler que sur vous-même ... pour avoir une conduite soutenue: car ne croyez pas qu'on élève un enfant avec de beaux discours et de belles phrases: vos discours pourront éclairer son esprit; mais c'est votre conduite qui formera son caractère. (VII 785 a-b). A little further on Lefebvre declares: "prêchez d'exemple, rien n'est plus puissant sur les enfans comme sur les hommes faits." (VII 785 b).

Similar advice is found in the article GOUVERNEUR D'UN JEUNE HOMME where Lefebvre succinctly informs the tutor with regard to his charge; "Rien ne peut vous autoriser à lui donner un mauvais exemple." (VII 795 a).

Much stress was laid at the time by those involved with education, either as practitioners or theorists, on emulation as a powerful factor in the moral development of the young. This fitted in well with the spirit of competition amongst pupils so strongly fostered, especially in some

Jesuit establishments.¹² Models for emulation set before the young were chosen not only from those around them; tutors, priests, etc., but from amongst historical figures, people in the Scriptures, the Saints, etc. In fact a major reason for the study of history was seen by a large number of people as being to provide suitable figures for the young to emulate or, *mutatis mutandis*, to condemn. Dumarsais, for example, in EDUCATION says; "La lecture de l'histoire fourniroit un grand nombre d'exemples, qui donneroient lieu à des leçons très-utiles." (V 399 a).¹³

(g) The Religious and Moral Education of the Younger Child

As with the question of teaching by example, so another important matter, belief in the need to start as early as possible the religious and moral education of the child, has already been mentioned, indirectly and in different contexts, several times.¹⁴ It seems unnecessary to introduce many further lengthy quotations from articles in which this recurrent topic is mentioned. Lefebvre's words in GOUVERNANTE D'ENFANS illustrate the direct treatment of the subject. Addressing the "gouvernante" about her charge, he says; "Dès qu'il sera capable d'avoir une idée de Dieu, expliquez-lui ce que c'est que sa toute-puissance, sa bonté, sa justice; apprenez-lui le culte qu'on lui doit et les prières qu'il faut lui adresser." (VII 785 b). With regard to promoting moral awareness and virtuous habits Lefebvre advises making the child realise "qu'il est dépourvû de tout ce qui mérite l'estime des hommes; qu'il n'a ni science, ni raison, ni vertus; qu'il ne peut rien pour lui-même, et que personne n'a besoin de lui." (VII 786 a). This is followed by the admonition: "bien loin de dissimuler

12. See G. DUPONT-FERRIER, La Vie Quotidienne d'un Collège Parisien pendant plus de 350 ans, Paris, 1921, Vol.I, Part 1, pp.244-245 ff.

13. The teaching of history is dealt with in the next chapter.

14. See pp.70-71 above; pp.87 etc.

ses fautes, il faut les exagérer. Il faut le rendre sensible à la honte, si vous voulez qu'il le devienne à l'honneur." (VII 787 a).

According to the anonymous author, possibly Diderot, of the article INCORRIGIBLE (Gram.), some children are born with ineradicable vices "Je ne sais pas comment on corrige les enfans mal-nés; il y a des vices de l'esprit qui sont incorrigibles. On ne donne pas de la sensibilité à ceux qui n'en ont point: je doute qu'on rectifie le jugement." The way to cope with such difficult children is to strengthen any tendency towards goodness. "Si un enfant pêche (sic) par défaut de sensibilité, il faut lui imprimer profondément des idées d'ordre et de justice. ... Quand on trouve trop de difficultés (sic) à affaiblir une passion, il faut en fortifier une autre, et n'abandonner un enfant à son sort, qu'après avoir tout tenté pour le corriger." (VIII 656 a).

One idea concerning the moral well-being of the child remains to be mentioned. He should be sheltered from contact with "unsuitable" persons. Lefebvre expresses this in GOUVERNANTE D'ENFANS: "Veillez sur les personnes qui l'approcheront; ne le laissez jamais entre les mains des valets, ou d'autres gens imprudens et grossiers." (VII 786 b). Curiously, for the modern reader, this injunction is extended elsewhere to the question of wet-nursing an infant. Yvon in AMOUR PATERNEL condemns the habit: "L'enfant est à peine né, qu'on le sépare pour toujours de sa mere; ... la Nature ne sera point écoutée. ... L'enfant sera livré à une mere empruntée et mercenaire, qui mesurera ses soins au profit qu'elle en attend." (I 370 a). Yvon points to possible dire consequences for the child: "Qui sait si son tempérament robuste et sain dans l'origine n'en a point été altéré? Qui sait si cette transformation n'a point influé sur son coeur? l'ame et le corps sont si dépendans l'un de l'autre! s'il ne deviendra pas un jour, précisément par cette raison, un lâche, un fourbe, un malfaiteur? (I 370 a).

Yvon's theme is treated again in the unsigned article NOURRICE (Médec.). Mothers should feed their own children but, if a wet-nurse is required, she must be morally as well as physically suitable; "Il faut nécessairement qu'elle soit saine, d'une santé ferme et d'un bon tempérament; ... il faut qu'elle soit vigilante, sage, prudente, douce, joyeuse, gaie, sobre, et modérée dans son penchant à l'amour." (XI 260 b - 261 a).

The sentences quoted above provide further insight¹⁵ into the relatively unsophisticated understanding of human physiology at the time of the Encyclopédie. This in its turn helps to explain some contemporary attitudes to education in general and to specific aspects of moral and religious education in particular.

An attempt has been made in this chapter to illustrate from the pages of the Encyclopédie that religion and the Roman Catholic Church profoundly affected the life in eighteenth-century France for which education was regarded as a preparation. This, in its turn, strongly influenced both the practice and the theory of religious and moral education. Such influence is indicated by quotation from various articles in the Encyclopédie. An attempt has also been made to disentangle several strands of thought and to show some key ideas and recurrent themes in the area of religious and moral education and how these are dealt with by different Encyclopédistes. A few threads have been isolated in some articles which are thought to show awareness on the part of the writer of changing ideas about the nature and function of religion and ethics in society and how education might cope with changes in this field.

Discussion of the teaching of religion and morality has been separated from discussion of the rest of the curriculum because of its complexity and obvious differences in other respects from remaining subjects on the timetable of the school-room, which are dealt with in the next chapter.

15. See Ch.II, pp. 38-39.

CHAPTER IV

THE EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMME:
CURRICULUM; METHODOLOGY; ASSESSMENT

PART I

The Acquisition of Primary Skills

The distinction made in the twentieth century between Primary and Secondary schooling is not very helpful when it comes to sub-dividing educational provision in mid-eighteenth-century France. There were often great variations in age amongst pupils in the same class. There was little uniformity in the level or standard of teaching in the different educational establishments, especially in the provinces. Circumstances differed from place to place. Teaching of the elementary skills, of reading and writing for example, might be received in any one of several places and provided by different kinds of people. Some of the teachers in the catechetical schools mentioned earlier, some of which taught reading and writing as part of their programme, would supplement their income by giving private tuition in elementary skills outside school hours. Sometimes the local priest would teach the rudiments, including first steps in Latin. Some boys learnt to read and write "chez les bonnes soeurs" in a nearby convent. Others attended classes run by the followers of De la Salle or similar religious groups. Even some Jesuit "collèges" in the eighteenth century had classes in which pupils were taught the elements of reading and writing.

Very little is to be found in the Encyclopédie dealing with these aspects of education. For the most part writers on the educational curriculum concentrate attention on recognized "subjects" and take for granted the acquisition of rudimentary skills such as reading and writing. There is a reference in the article ALPHABET by Mallet to the "petites écoles." He is discussing changes in orthography. Having pointed out that children

had long been accustomed to learning to read by using books in which the spelling conformed to the pronunciation of by-gone ages, Mallet observes; "On a déjà changé dans les petites écoles la dénomination des lettres; on dit be, fe, me, ne: on a enfin introduit, quoiqu' avec bien de la peine (sic), la distinction de l'u consonne v, qu'on appelle ve, et qu'on n'écrit plus comme on écrit l'u voyelle; il en est de même du j, qui est bien différent de l'i: ces distinctions sont très-modernes." (I 296 b). Mallet then says that there has been some resistance to changes from "quelques vieux écrivains" but that "la distinction dont nous parlons étoit raisonnable, elle a prévalu." He continues; "Il en seroit de même d'un alphabet bien fait, s'il étoit proposé par les personnes à qui il convient de le proposer, et que l'autorité qui préside aux petites écoles ordonnât aux maîtres d'apprendre à leurs disciples à le lire." (I 296 b).

The teaching of reading and the sort of material suitable for this purpose are dealt with quite extensively in the unsigned article SYLLABAIRE. This article has been quoted at some length in Chapter III to illustrate the strong religious element in the subject material of recognized or recommended reading primers.¹ The idea that elementary primers could usefully combine teaching of the rudiments of reading, grammar, Latin, etc. and the inculcation of appropriate moral, religious, social or philosophical attitudes is common-place. Beauzée refers in METHODE (Gramm.) to "un livre utile par le fonds autant que par la forme." (X 455 a). In the article SYLLABAIRE this idea is repeated and developed. "C'est que tout livre préparé pour l'instruction, et sur-tout pour celle des enfans, doit être conçu et rédigé par la Philosophie." (XV 713 b). The author proceeds to say such books should not be inspired by the wrong philosophy, "mais par cette philosophie modeste et rare, qui s'occupe simplement des choses dont

1. See Ch. III pp. 70-71.

la connoissance est nécessaire, qui les examine avec discrétion, qui les discute avec profondeur, qui s'y attache par estime, et qui les estime à-proportion de l'utilité dont elles peuvent être." (XV 713 b).

While some consideration is given in the Encyclopédie to the material to be used in the teaching of reading and even to the methodology involved, little is said of the circumstances in which reading was taught. The article SYLLABAIRE begins with a definition followed by a cautionary comment.

C'est ainsi que l'on nomme communément le petit livre qui renferme les premier (sic) élémens de la lecture, en quelque langue que ce soit. Il en est des élémens de l'art de lire comme de tous les autres; les livres abécédaires ne sont point rares, les bons ne sont pas communs, et les meilleurs ne sont pas sans défauts.

(XV 713 b)

Into the remainder of the article there are woven so many strands that it is impossible to extract what is said about the teaching of reading without straying into other areas of educational debate.

The opening sentence quoted above ends with the words "en quelque langue que ce soit." The expression may well have had special significance for the readers of the Encyclopédie because at the time not all French children were taught to read in French. Some learnt to read in Latin. The debate about which of the two languages should be used for teaching, and not only of reading, was still being pursued. The question is considered later in this chapter.

The acquisition of the skill of reading is seen as being by means of learning and recognizing the separate letters in the alphabet, combinations of these letters, etc. The stress is on analysis and memory. No other approach is mentioned and one assumes none had been contemplated. "Mais à quoi faut-il réduire un syllabaire? ... Elemens des mots. La premiere chose qu'il faut faire connoître aux enfans, ce sont les lettres, et les diverses combinaisons de lettres auxquelles l'usage a attaché la représenta-

tion des élémens simples de la voix." (XV 714 a). Approval is expressed for elementary reading books with the words split into syllables and examples, such as "gou-ve-rneu-r", are given. The examples quoted are in French. Books with the same text printed normally on the left page and divided into syllables on the right page are recommended.

Further points made in the article SYLLABAIRE are that children like variety and should be given several smaller books when learning to read, in preference to one large volume. "Quelques-uns de nos syllabaires les mieux faits sont de gros in-douze. Ce sont des livres trop volumineux pour des enfans, qui aiment à changer souvent, et qui croient avancer d'autant; si c'est une illusion, il est utile de la leur laisser, parce qu'elle sert à les encourager." (XV 713b - 714a).

The cost of reading primers is also considered and used in support of the recommendation that a variety of books should be available to the child learning to read. "Ajoutez à cette première observation, que des livres si considérables sont par là même beaucoup trop chers pour leur destination; la partie la moins aisée des citoyens est la plus nombreuse, et les enfans ont le tems de déchirer plusieurs fois des livres un peu gros, avant que d'arriver à la fin." (XV 714 a).

Mention is also made of devices other than books that could be used to teach reading. "Il s'en faut beaucoup qu'ils puissent tous fournir à leurs enfans, ces secours ingénieux mais dispendieux, que l'art a inventés pour apprendre à lire avec succès, comme des fiches, des cartes, une boîte typographique, etc." (XV 714 a).

The writer of SYLLABAIRE proceeds to analyze the suitability of material commonly used to teach reading and finds the subject matter inappropriate because it constitutes those very elements of religion; psalms, commandments, confessions, etc., which many children would already know by heart before

being set to read them.² Such religious elements are said to be "choses excellentes en soi, mais déplacées ici." (XV 714 b). Reasons given are; "parce qu'elles ne sont pas de nature à fixer agréablement l'attention des enfans, dont la curiosité n'y trouve aucune idée nouvelle nettement développée et tenant à leur expérience." (XV 714 b). Secondly, it is said, children will "read" the familiar texts "sans être plus intelligens dans l'art de lire" with the result that they will "tromper ainsi l'espérance de leurs maîtres, qui en les faisant passer à un autre livre, les trouvent aussi embarrassés et aussi neufs que s'ils n'avoient encore rien vu de pareil." (XV 714 b).

Alternative reading material is then put forward together with suggestions about presentation. "Il est constant qu'ils s'occuperont d'autant plus volontiers de leur lecture, qu'ils la trouveront plus à la portée de leur esprit, et qu'ils auront plus de facilité à l'entendre; que rien n'est moins éloigné de leur intelligence que les faits historiques, parce que ce sont des tableaux où ils se retrouvent eux-mêmes, et dont leur petite expérience les rend déjà juges compétens; mais ..." The second part of this long sentence (stretching to some 120 words) recommends concise and simply structured sentences in material put before children; "... que cette matiere même doit encore être rapprochée d'eux par la maniere dont on la leur présente; que le style doit en être concis et clair, les phrases simples et peu recherchées, les périodes courtes et peu compliquées." (XV 714b - 715a).

From evidence provided in a cross-reference it may be deduced that this important and interesting article, SYLLABAIRE, although unsigned, was written by Beauzée. "Comme je l'ai montré ailleurs. Voyez SYLLABE." (XV 714 a). SYLLABE is signed B.E.R.M.

2. See Ch.III, pp. 70 for quotation.



The teaching of writing is mentioned infrequently in the Encyclopédie. There are a number of interesting passages reflecting changing social attitudes to literacy and to the ability to write a decent hand. Changes occurring in eighteenth-century France included the belief that noblemen should be not only educated but well educated even in elementary literary skills. Writing in his article STYLE (Littérat.) Jaucourt, having expressed approval of Quintilian's ideas on learning to write, adds "car, ajoute notre judicieux critique, [Quintilian,] c'est une chose fort importante de savoir écrire bien, et vite; et c'est ce que les personnes de condition négligent un peu trop. Si Quintilien vivoit parmi nous, il auroit dit négligent au point, qu'on reconnoit un homme de qualité à son écriture illisible et aux fautes d'orthographe." (XV 556 b).

As for Quintilian's advice on how to teach writing, Jaucourt records: "Quintilien conseille pour apprendre aux enfans à écrire, de faire graver toutes les lettres sur une planche, afin que la trace des caracteres dirigeât le style, et que la main trouvant une égale résistance aux extrémités, ne sortît point de son modele; par cette méthode l'enfant, à force d'imiter des caracteres fixes, ne pouvoit manquer de rendre promptement sa main sûre, sans aucun besoin de maître pour la conduire." (XV 556 b).

The article *ECRITURE (Art méch.) goes into details of penmanship, letter formation, etc. and cross-references draw attention to pens, paper and ink as well as to relevant sections of the Planches. Diderot, like Jaucourt, is concerned about poor standards of performance in this area adding another interesting social comment.

Nous observerons d'abord qu'on néglige trop dans l'éducation l'art d'écrire. Il est aussi ridicule d'écrire mal ou d'affecter ce défaut, qu'il le seroit ou d'avoir ou d'affecter une mauvaise prononciation; car l'on ne parle et l'on n'écrit que pour se faire entendre. Il n'est pas nécessaire qu'un enfant qui a de la fortune sache écrire comme

un maître d'école; mais celui qui a des parens
pauvres et qui trouve l'occasion de se perfectionner
dans l'écriture, ne connoît pas toute l'importance
de cette ressource, s'il la néglige.

(V 371 a)

It is clear that in mid-eighteenth-century France writing, in the sense of penmanship, was still regarded as a saleable skill. Diderot makes this point in the next sentences.

Pour une circonstance où l'on seroit bien-aise
d'avoir un homme qui sût dessiner, il y en a cent
où l'on a besoin d'un homme qui sache écrire. Il
n'y a presque aucune place fixe destinée au
dessinateur; il y en a une infinité pour l'écrivain.
Il n'y a que quelques enfans à qui l'on fasse
apprendre le dessein: on apprend à écrire à tous.

(V 371 a)

The final statement is obviously not to be taken literally.

Further references to writing and penmanship may be found in the unsigned article ATTITUDE, en Ecriture. (I 845 b).

Nothing of interest or great significance has been found in the Encyclopédie dealing with the teaching of elementary arithmetic ("le calcul").

The first part of this chapter has been concerned with what the Encyclopédie has to say about the acquisition of certain basic school-room skills.

* * * * *

PART II

General Comments in the Encyclopédie on
Matters of Curriculum and Methodology

It seems appropriate, before proceeding to a discussion of specific "subjects" in the curriculum, to examine briefly more general comments in the Encyclopédie concerning teaching, methodology, motivation, the curriculum and related matters.

The fact that children like variety when learning and that consequently short books are recommended for teaching purposes was brought out in discussing the article SYLLABAIRE. Beauzée repeats this in the article METHODE (Gramm.) (see X 452 b) and adds;

Je réduirois donc à quatre les livres élémentaires
dons (sic) nous avons besoin.

1. Elémens de la grammaire générale appliquée à la langue françoise. (X 452 b).
2. Elémens de la langue latine. (X 454 a).
3. Elémens grammaticaux du discours figuré, ou traité élémentaire des métaplasmes, des tropes et des figures de construction. (X 454 b).
4. Selectoe è probatissimis scriptoribus eclogoe. (X 454 b).

Beauzée's selection of books underlines the point made by d'Alembert in ERUDITION (V 915b-916a) that the traditional education of the period had a marked bias towards language and literary studies.

The article SYLLABAIRE also brought out the point that children learn better when their interest is aroused.³ Interest as a motivating factor in learning is mentioned in the unsigned article INSTRUCTION (Gram.) although there is no indication that the writer is thinking specifically of children. "On nous instruit par les discours, par les écrits, par les raisons,

3. See p. 101 above. Also Ch.III, p. 71.

par les faits, et par les exemples. L'intérêt est le grand instituteur." (VIII 802 a). It should be noted in passing that in the above list pride of place is given to "les discours".

Some Encyclopédistes criticised teachers for relying too much on talk. The author of the unsigned article LEÇON (Gram. Mor.), possibly Diderot, says for example; "Les maîtres de la jeunesse, en s'écartant trop de la maniere dont la nature nous instruit, donnent des leçons qui fatiguent l'entendement et la mémoire sans les enrichir et sans les perfectionner." (IX 332 b). He then moves from criticism of teachers to criticism of their lessons. "Les leçons, la plupart ne sont qu'un assemblage de mots et de raisonnements, et les mots sur quelque matiere que ce soit, ne nous rendent qu'imparfaitement les idées des choses." (IX 332 b).⁴

There was, indeed, a far greater emphasis on the oral element in teaching during the eighteenth century than there is today. This is partially explained by the very great importance attached to the development of language skills. As the child masters language, says Lefebvre in GOUVERNANTE D'ENFANS, "son esprit devient capable de combinaisons morales." (VII 783 b).

Possible variations in the approach to teaching are mentioned in some articles in the Encyclopédie. For example, Yvon in ANALYSE, en Logique, suggests a teaching technique somewhat akin to the "discovery" methods favoured by many educationalists today. "Il semble que la meilleure maniere d'instruire les hommes, c'est de les conduire par la route qu'on a dû tenir pour s'instruire soi-même. En effet, par ce moyen, ou ne paroîtroit pas tant démontrer des vérités déjà découvertes, que faire chercher et trouver des (sic) nouvelles vérités." (I 402 a).⁵ In the article LEÇON another idea is put forward; "On formeroit mieux la raison en faisant observer la

4. This passage has been mentioned already in Ch.III, p. 89. The points made are discussed later in this chapter.

5. This quotation has been used in a different context in Ch.II, p.62.

liaison naturelle des choses et des idées, qu'en donnant l'habitude de faire des argumens."⁶ (IX 332 b). Jaucourt in his article METHODE (Arts et Sciences) pursues the idea that teachers rely too much on oral exposition⁷ and too little on encouraging the pupil to find out for himself. Of the latter he writes; "s'il cherchoit le fil, il le trouveroit par lui-même, marcheroit à pas de géant, et sortiroit du labyrinthe dont on lui cache les détours." (X 460 a).

In another part of the same article Jaucourt acknowledges that teaching methods could and should be varied in accordance with the ability of the pupil. "Il y a des méthodes profondes et abrégées pour les enfans de génie, qui les introduisent tout-d'un-coup dans le sanctuaire, et levent à leurs yeux le voile qui dérobe les mysteres au peuple. Les méthodes classiques sont pour les esprits communs qui ne savent pas aller seuls." (X 460 a). The ideas expressed here may be set against the more traditional view of children as so many, virtually identical, empty vessels ready to receive knowledge.

This last idea of each succeeding generation of children seen as containers to be filled with the same series of facts as their parents and grandparents before them and in an identical manner is not absent from the pages of the Encyclopédie.⁸

The alternative idea of education as a process which evolves and changes as the society for which it caters changes was however gaining ground at the time of the Encyclopédie and finds expression in it. Voltaire's article GENS DE LETTRES, for example, draws attention to the changing social

6. The point is discussed later in this chapter.

7. The relevant passage is also mentioned in Ch.II, p.49.

8. See i.a. the article LIVRE (IX 608 b).

position of the educated man⁹ as well as to differences in his education. The article states: "Ce titre a de nos jours encore plus d'étendue que le mot grammairien n'en avoit chez les Grecs et chez les Latins." (VII 599 b). The man of letters, says Voltaire, studies Italian, Spanish and English in addition to Latin and Greek. History, he points out, covers more ground than formerly, with the result that "on n'exige pas qu'un homme de lettres approfondisse toutes ces matieres; la science universelle n'est plus à la portée de l'homme: mais les véritables gens de lettres se mettent en état de porter leurs pas dans ces différens terrains, (sic) s'ils ne peuvent les cultiver tous." (VII 599 b). Voltaire goes on to speak of "l'esprit philosophique" as the successor to the omniscient scholarship of ancient grammarians. The "esprit philosophique" combined with "le bon goût" makes scholars "aussi propres pour le monde que pour le cabinet." (VII 599 b).

Numerous articles reflect awareness of the need to change the curriculum in accordance with the changing needs of society and several of them provide a broad survey of the teaching programme together with lists of its components. Articles listing subjects for study include ETUDES by Faiguet, CLASSE by Dumarsais, ECOLE MILITAIRE by de Meyzieu, whose list includes appropriate specialist studies such as Artillery, Theory of Warfare, etc., and COLLEGE and ERUDITION by d'Alembert. Some lists are essentially factual, while others, such as that in COLLEGE, form the basis for critical appraisal of the current programme of studies. Together with religion and "la morale", language studies feature prominently in these lists especially in connection with the study of Latin. The modern educationalist might notice how little importance is attached by most writers to the teaching of handicrafts, music, art, physical education, or even chemistry, if indeed they even mention such things.

9. This has been mentioned in a different context in Ch.II, p.59.

In the article ERUDITION (Philosoph. et Litt.) d'Alembert takes issue with those whom he sees as attaching disproportionate importance to literary and language studies. The "collège" programme, he says, should make room for more mathematics and what he calls "les sciences exactes". Starting with a definition; "L'érudition, considérée par rapport à l'état présent des lettres, renferme trois branches principales, la connoissance de l'Histoire, celle des Langues, et celle des Livres", he proceeds to state a point made again by Voltaire in GENS DE LETTRES; "Celui qui posséderoit parfaitement chacune de ces trois branches, seroit un érudit véritable et dans toutes les formes: mais l'objet est trop vaste, pour qu'un seul homme puisse l'embrasser." (V 914 a). The distinction to be made between "science" and "belles-lettres" is outlined: "On a réservé le nom de science pour les connoissances qui ont plus immédiatement besoin du raisonnement et de la réflexion, telles que la Physique, les Mathématiques, etc. et celui de belles-lettres pour les productions agréables de l'esprit, dans lesquelles l'imagination a plus de part, telles que l'Eloquence, la Poésie, etc." (V 914 a). D'Alembert goes on to discuss arguments advanced in favour of concentrating study on the two areas and the way this affects the curriculum.

Ceux de nos contemporains qui cultivent encore
 ce dernier genre d'étude [goût de nos pères pour
 la matière d'érudition] se plaignent de la pré-
 férence exclusive et injurieuse que nous donnons
 à d'autres objets. ... Leurs plaintes sont raisonn-
 ables et dignes d'être appuyées; mais quelques-
 unes des raisons qu'ils apportent de cette préférence
 ne paroissent pas aussi incontestables. La culture
 des Lettres, disent-ils, veut être préparée par les
 études ordinaires des collèges, préliminaire que
 l'étude des Mathématiques et de la Physique ne
 demande pas.

(V 915b-916a)

D'Alembert then criticizes the reasons sometimes given by participants in the debate saying there are "raisons plus réelles de la préférence qu'on donne aujourd'hui à l'étude des Sciences, et aux matieres de bel esprit."

(V 916 a). He follows this with the claim; "Aucun genre de connoissance n'est méprisable"; (V 916 b) while revealing his own inclination in the following; "l'utilité des découvertes, en matière d'érudition, n'est peut-être pas aussi frappante, sur-tout aujourd'hui, que le peut être celle des découvertes dans les sciences exactes." (V 916 b). The concluding part of the article finds d'Alembert at his most high-minded. It also reveals attitudes to education which are of general interest and of particular application to the "collège" curriculum. "Ne méprisons ni aucune espece de savoir utile, ni aucune espece d'hommes; croyons que les connoissances de tout genre se tiennent et s'éclaircent réciproquement; que les hommes de tous les siecles sont à-peu-près semblables, et qu'avec les mêmes données, ils produiroient les mêmes choses." (V 918 b).

Broadly similar ideas about curriculum changes he considers desirable are expressed by d'Alembert in COLLEGE. Many of the points made in this article are treated in other parts of this study.

One of the most telling criticisms voiced in COLLEGE is the claim that the practice of having the "Classe de Rhétorique" followed by the "Classe de Philosophie"¹⁰ is inappropriate: "Rhétorique. -- on donne à ces discours le nom d'amplifications; nom très-convenable en effet, puisqu'ils consistent pour l'ordinaire à noyer dans deux feuilles de verbiage, ce qu'on pourroit et ce qu'on devroit dire en deux lignes. ... Philosophie. - Après avoir passé sept ou huit ans à apprendre des mots, ou à parler sans rien dire, on commence enfin, ou on croit commencer, l'étude des choses." (III 635 a). The theme is taken up by the author of the unsigned article RHETORIQUE, terme d'école: "c'est la classe où l'on enseigne aux jeunes gens les préceptes de l'art oratoire. On fait la réthorique (sic) avant la philosophie, c'est-à-dire qu'on apprend à être éloquent, avant que d'avoir appris

10. These terms are discussed in Ch.II. See pp. 46-47.

aucune chose, et à bien dire, avant que de savoir raisonner." (XIV 250 b). Although there is a deal of confused thinking on this matter, the last statement quoted does not seem to accord fully with Beauzée's claim that the ability to reason is developed earlier, being a product of the study of grammar. (See pp. 111 ff. of this chapter.)

Another attack directed more at the substance of studies may be found in the DISCOURS PRELIMINAIRE. "A l'égard de ces puérilités pédantesques qu'on a honorées du nom de Rhétorique, ou plutôt qui n'ont servi qu' à rendre ce nom ridicule, et qui sont à l'Art oratoire ce que la Scholastique est à la vraie Philosophie, elles ne sont propres qu' à donner de l'Eloquence l'idée la plus fausse et la plus barbare." (I x).

* * * * *

PART III

Language Studies

The traditional view, justifying the primacy of language studies in the curriculum, is expressed by Beauzée in his immensely long and complex article TEMS (Gramm.) "Ce n'est pas juger des choses avec équité, que de regarder comme minutieuse la doctrine des tems: il ne peut y avoir rien que d'important dans tout ce qui appartient à l'art de la parole, qui differe si peu de l'art de penser, de l'art d'être homme." (XVI 114 b). The crucially significant claim in the second part of this sentence would not seem extravagant to many of Beauzée's contemporaries, especially those engaged in teaching the young. Beauzée proceeds to quote with approval some words of the abbé Desfontaine:

Quoi que les questions de Grammaire paroissent peu de chose à la plupart des hommes, et qu'ils les regardent avec dédain, comme des objets de l'enfance, de l'oisiveté, ou du pédantisme; il est certain cependant qu'elles sont très-importantes à certains égards, et très-dignes de l'attention des esprits les plus délicats et les plus solides. La Grammaire a une liaison immédiate avec la construction des idées; ensorte (sic) que plusieurs questions de Grammaire sont de vraies questions de logique, même de métaphysique.

(XVI 114 b)

The connection between language and thought has been a matter of debate for centuries. Leibniz initiated a dispute of some vehemence when, in 1697, he "put forward the all-important suggestion that language is not the vehicle of thought but its determining medium."¹¹ The problem has many ramifications, but it underlies much of the thinking behind educational theory and practice in eighteenth-century France. For this reason, and despite the many anomalies to be found throughout the various articles, the whole question is of fundamental importance in the discussion of education in the Encyclopédie, as elsewhere.

There is no discernible consensus, but there is discernible confusion, amongst Encyclopédistes dealing with the complex issues mentioned above. Nevertheless, their articles commonly focus attention on language.

A major component of language studies is grammar. Because of its emphasis on analysis, and for other reasons, grammar is often considered by Encyclopédistes and other writers of the period as a sub-division of the subject logic, itself a branch of philosophy. D'Alembert in the DISCOURS PRELIMINAIRE talks of "la Grammaire, que l'on peut regarder comme une des branches de la Logique." (I x). In the passage from TEMS (Gramm.) quoted above it is claimed that "plusieurs questions de

11. George STEINER, After Babel, O.U.P., Oxford, 1975, p.74.

Grammaire sont de vraies questions de logique." (XVI 114 b).

The unsigned article IDEE (Philos. Log.) makes an important contribution to the discussion.¹² The writer complains about the inadequacy of words to express ideas and the lack of precision in the way they are used. (VIII 493 b). He calls for each word to have one meaning only, saying this would help in the search for "la vérité". (VIII 493b-494a). The linguistic and philosophical naiveté of the author of IDEE finds a close parallel in one of the attitudes to translation, discussed later in this chapter, (see p. 127) where a simplistic view, manifested by stated belief in the efficacy of word for word substitution, aided by a "good" dictionary, is found. Such a mechanistic approach to both language and philosophical questions connected with language has implications for teaching. It leads to the belief that "correct method", good categorization and set patterns of procedure, as found, for example, in the approach to the study of "la grammaire" will readily enable the pupil to think "properly". Towards the end of the article IDEE there is a reference of considerable significance: "C'est à l'article des définitions et à tant d'autres, sur la partie philosophique de la Grammaire que nous renvoyons." (VIII 494 a).

It is evident that Encyclopédistes, in common with many eighteenth-century writers, attached great importance to logic, in various forms, and, by extension, to its place in the teaching programme, but not necessarily, or exclusively, as a distinct subject. A few words on this matter seem appropriate.

Logic is not simply a subject taking up a given number of hours on the school time-table. As part of philosophy, it affects the thinking on and practice of formal education from start to finish. In the article LOGIQUE (Philol.), the subject is described as "une méthode pour nous faire

12. Considerations of space preclude full treatment here.

découvrir le vrai." (IX 640 a). The anonymous author views logic as "l'organe de la vérité, la clé des Sciences, et le guide des connoissances humaines." (IX 640 a). Such properties, real or imagined, attracted the attention and the active concern of the educator to the subject of logic.

In the DISCOURS PRELIMINAIRE d'Alembert declares; "La LOGIQUE peut se distribuer en Art de penser, en Art de retenir ses pensées, et en art de les communiquer." (I xlvij a). In this statement d'Alembert would appear to take it for granted that thinking is a logical process. He also claims that "truth" is the goal of logic. Be that as it may, the teaching of the "arts" mentioned above was most certainly considered the business of the educator in the eighteenth century.

Another matter of concern to do with logic is indicated by the contributor of the eponymous article when he condemns what he claims to be a widely held view of the subject as "une sorte d'intelligence absolue ou de divinité qui prescrit certaines lois à quoi il faut que l'univers s'assujétisse." (IX 640 b). There is here an implied criticism of treating "la logique" as an end in itself and of blind faith in rules and regulations such as characterised teaching in several "collèges". Indeed, in some educational establishments a disproportionate amount of time seems to have been taken up with analysis of the process of articulation rather than of the substance of the thought or idea being examined. A number of articles in the Encyclopédie are critical of the amount of attention given to nomenclature by intellectuals of the time, and especially of their concern with labelling each component part of a statement with obscurantist jargon. This is what was sometimes taught in the class-room. Direct criticism of such treatment of logic and analysis in the schools is to be found in the article LOGIQUE. "Comme on a fait un grand abus de la logique, elle est tombée maintenant dans une espece de discrédit. Les écoles l'ont

tant surchargée de termes et de phrases barbares, elles l'ont tellement noyée dans de seches et de vaines subtilités, qu'elle semble un art qui a plutôt pour but d'exercer l'esprit dans des querelles et des disputes, que de l'aider à penser juste." (IX 637 b). Over-indulgence in verbiage and specious argumentation is wordily condemned elsewhere. D'Alembert, for example, touches on the subject in the DISCOURS PRELIMINAIRE: "On ne sait souvent quel nom donner à la plupart des connoissances où la spéculation se réunit à la pratique; et l'on dispute, par exemple, tous les jours dans les écoles, si la Logique est un art ou une science: ... " et seq. q.v. (I xij).¹³ More detail may be found in the unsigned article LOGIQUE, the relevant passage ending; "véritablement il faut avouer que la maniere dont on traite encore aujourd'hui la logique dans les écoles, ne contribue pas peu à fortifier le mépris que beaucoup de personnes ont toujours pour cette science." (IX 638 a). The author then provides a long list of subjects claimed to be examined in class. The subjects are silly, "recherché", or both. (See IX 638 a). Later parts of the article contain further material relevant to the teaching of logic, including the concept of "la logique artificielle", described as "un amas d'observations et de regles faites pour diriger les opérations de notre esprit." (IX 641 a).

Similar points to those made in LOGIQUE are found in another unsigned article, SYLLOGISME (Logique). The author again is unhappy about some of the activities taking place in the class-rooms of the time. He questions the necessity of so much explanation of rules relating to syllogisms in order to arrive at truth, but suggests that to declare these rules of no use is "la plus grande de toutes les hérésies dans l'école." (XV 723 b). A recurrent criticism of teachers found in the Encyclopédie is that they are too attached to traditional class-room methods. The article continues:

13. Considerations of space make it necessary to curtail quotation from this interesting passage.

"Quiconque erre dans les regles, est un grand homme; mais quiconque découvre la vérité d'une maniere simple ... n'est qu'un ignorant."

(XV 723 b). After more lengthy disquisition to the effect that great statesmen have not bothered much with the formality of syllogisms, the author concludes; "Je serois fort étonné qu'on voulût me prouver que le reverend pere professeur de philosophie du couvent des cordeliers, grand et subtil scotiste, fût aussi excellent ministre que le cardinal de Richelieu, ou Mazarin, qui, à coup sûr, ne formoient pas un syllogisme dans les regles aussi-bien que lui." (XV 723 b). Later in the article analogy is drawn between users of spectacles and users of syllogisms; some people need them, others do not. (See XV 725 a).

The pedagogue and grammarian Beauzée takes a somewhat different view. He reveals in several articles the relationship, as he sees it, between language, logic and thought and how these matters are the direct concern of those involved in education. In the article INVERSION (terme de Grammaire), after discussing works by Pluche and Chompré and the methodology of language teaching, he declares; "L'objet principal de la parole est donc l'énonciation de la pensée." (VIII 853 a). Pages later in this long article comes the further statement: "L'énonciation claire de la pensée est le principal objet de la parole, et le seul que puisse envisager la Grammaire." (VII 861 a). Beauzée, in common with other pedagogues,¹⁴ regarded teaching as being primarily concerned with enabling pupils to express concepts they were presumed already to have.

It is evident from Beauzée's articles, (see in particular the quotation from Batteux in INVERSION, VIII 859 a,) that he attached extraordinary importance to abstract analysis. This affected his ideas on the teaching of language, grammar and logic to the pupil at all levels. In another part

14. See, for example, Dumarsais, pp.116-117 of this chapter.

of the article, INVERSION (terme de Grammaire), Beauzée discusses the application of what he calls "la Logique grammaticale" and its relevance to language teaching. (See VII 862 a).¹⁵ Towards the end of his article Beauzée declares, with bland disregard of class-room realities; "ce qu'il faudra donner aux enfans de cette logique, sera clair, précis, utile, et sans difficulté." (VIII 862 b).

The belief that thinking and speaking are inseparable was widespread at the time of the Encyclopédie and is found, for example, in Beauzée's article NOM (Metaph. Gram.) (See XI 199 b), where, in addition, the conviction is expressed that God gave man "tout-à-là-fois ... la faculté de parler et une langue toute faite." (XI 199 a). Thought is defined in LOGIQUE as "une espece de discours intérieur," (IX 637 b). Such ideas about language and thought exercised a profound influence affecting an important area of education and throwing light on attitudes towards orderly articulation and language acquisition.

The difference in attitude between eighteenth-century educators and their successors is well illustrated by quoting a long sentence from Dumarsais' article CONSTRUCTION (terme de Grammaire), in which the process of language acquisition in the infant child is discussed. The stress on the putative role of analysis, together with dependence on exposition from outside, in the activity of cognitive learning is worth noting.

Dès les premières années de la vie, le penchant que la nature et la constitution des organes donnent aux enfans pour l'imitation, les besoins, la curiosité, et la présence des objets qui excitent l'attention, les signes qu'on fait aux enfans en leur montrant les objets, les noms qu'ils entendent en même tems qu'on leur donne, l'ordre successif qu'ils observent que l'on suit, en nommant d'abord les objets, et en énonçant ensuite les modificatifs et les mots déterminans; l'expérience répétée à chaque instant et d'une

15. The passage is quoted later in this chapter. See pp.118-119.

maniere uniforme, toutes ces circonstances et la liaison qui se trouve entre tant de mouvemens excités en même tems: tout cela, dis-je, apprend aux enfans, non-seulement les sons et la valeur des mots, mais encore l'analyse qu'ils doivent faire de la pensée qu'ils ont à énoncer, et de quelle maniere ils doivent se servir des mots pour faire cette analyse, et pour former un sens dans l'esprit des citoyens parmi lesquels la providence les a fait (sic) naître.

(IV 74 a)

This single sentence from Dumarsais has been quoted in full because it reveals many facets of his attitude to language. The claims Dumarsais makes may well appear somewhat excessive to the modern reader. They are however paralleled by Lefebvre's belief, expressed in *GOUVERNANTE D'ENFANS*, that the associations made by the child while learning to talk have the result that "son esprit devient capable de combinaisons morales." (VII 783 a).¹⁶

Confidence in the effective power of analysis in the fields of language, logic and morality is reinforced for many Encyclopédistes by belief in steadfast rules applicable in these areas. So d'Alembert can state in the *DISCOURS PRELIMINAIRE*; "la Grammaire, la Logique et la Morale ... ont des regles fixes et arrêtées, que tout homme peut transmettre à un autre." (I xiiij). The transmission (d'Alembert's "transmettre") of such rules was regarded as a primary concern of the teacher. However, some Encyclopédistes would undoubtedly agree with d'Alembert when, also in the *DISCOURS PRELIMINAIRE*, he declares; "Nous devons ... bien des erreurs à l'abus des mots." (I viij). Most philosophes and like-minded colleagues condemned the pedantry they perceived in the "collèges" and, at the same time, pleaded for greater precision in the use of words. They had great faith in the power and efficacy of language.

D'Alembert's comment, quoted above, comes in a passage dealing with the nature of ideas. In the Encyclopédie there is considerable discussion

16. See p. 105 above.

of a related topic, namely the origin of ideas. The debate on this subject is rather more animated. For the most part however those who contributed articles more directly involved with educational practices avoided the issue by concentrating on the ways ideas are expressed rather than on their origin.

This consideration brings the present discussion back to the teaching of language and of languages.

Awareness of ideas favoured in the eighteenth century about the nature of language is crucial to an understanding of attitudes towards the place of language studies in the educational curriculum.

It has been pointed out in an earlier chapter¹⁷ that many contributors to the Encyclopédie held firmly to a belief in universals and that this belief applied to language. The consequence was a distinction made in the teaching curriculum between the study of language and the study of languages. It seems proper to deal with the former before proceeding to discuss the teaching of languages and the ranking given to various languages in terms of importance by different Encyclopédistes.

In the article GRAMMAIRE, signed E.R.M., the subject is defined as "la science de la parole prononcée ou écrite." The article continues; "La parole est une sorte de tableau dont la pensée est l'original. ... Une saine Logique est le fondement de la Grammaire." (VII 841 b). The universal application of this logic and this grammar is stated; "en un mot, toutes les langues assujettiront indispensablement leur marche aux lois de l'analyse logique de la pensée; et ces lois sont invariablement les mêmes partout et dans tous les tems, parce que la nature et la manière de procéder de l'esprit humain sont essentiellement immuables." (VII 841 b). In the article INVERSION (terme de Grammaire) Beauzée repeats these ideas,

17. See Ch.II, pp. 62 ff. esp. pp. 62-63.

(VIII 853 a), adding, several pages later;

j'ajoute que quelque difficile qu'on puisse imaginer la Logique grammaticale, c'est pourtant le seul moyen sûr que l'on puisse employer pour introduire les commencans à l'étude des langues anciennes. ... les mener dans les routes obscures d'une langue qui leur est inconnue, sans leur donner le secours du flambeau de la Logique, ou en portant ce flambeau derriere eux, au lieu de les en faire précéder, c'est d'abord retarder volontairement et rendre incertains les progrès qu'ils peuvent y faire, et c'est d'ailleurs faire prendre à leur esprit la malheureuse habitude d'aller sans raisonner.

(VIII 862 a)

It should be noted that the ideas expressed above are applied particularly to the teaching of the "langues anciennes". A somewhat different approach to the teaching of living languages will be found in Beauzée's article METHODE, (see X 447 b), which will be discussed later in this chapter.

In a further article, PONCTUATION, signed E.R.M.B., the author of a work on punctuation, abbé Girard, is taken to task by the magisterial Beauzée.

Il s'est encore mépris sur le titre de son seizieme discours, qu'il a intitulé de la ponctuation françoise. Un système de ponctuation construit sur de solides fondemens, n'est pas plus propre à la langue françoise qu' à toute autre langue. C'est une partie de l'objet de la Grammaire générale; et cette partie essentielle de l'Orthographe ne tient de l'usage national (sic) que le nombre, la figure, et la valeur des signes qu'elle emploie.

(XIII 16b-17 a)

While the existence of these universals applicable to all languages was widely accepted by writers in the eighteenth century there remained the disputed question of which language should be used for the teaching of "la Grammaire générale". Traditionally, certainly until and for the most part during the early eighteenth century, the working language of the class-room in Jesuit-run schools was Latin. The Jesuits and their

pupils spoke Latin to each other all the time. One result of this was that they were said on occasions to lack knowledge of and fluency in their own language. D'Alembert's gibe in COLLEGE is familiar; "Le tems qu'on employe à composer en Latin est un tems perdu. Ce tems seroit bien mieux employé à apprendre ... sa propre langue, qu'on ignore toujours au sortir du collège, et qu'on ignore au point de la parler très-mal. Une bonne grammaire Françoisse seroit tout à la fois une excellente Logique, et une excellente Métaphysique." (III 636 b). It would, of course, be a mistake to accept unequivocally all d'Alembert's claims. The fact that Latin was the language of the Roman Catholic Church and of international scholarship and that the Jesuits were very much an international organisation goes some way to explain why so much attention was concentrated in Jesuit "collèges" on the language of Rome, ancient Rome and the Rome of the popes.

On the whole the Encyclopédistes favour the use of French to teach French children. Paris de Meyzieu is typical when, in the article ECOLE MILITAIRE he says of "la Grammaire": "On juge aisément qu'elle ne peut s'enseigner qu'en françois." (V 309 b). The idea is reinforced by Beauzée in METHODE (Gramm.). Of the four elementary books chosen by him and mentioned earlier in this chapter (see p. 104 above), the first three have titles in French, a strong indication of the teaching language favoured. In the same article, Beauzée speaks of French as the pupils' own language, as "leur propre langue, la langue qu'il leur importe le plus de savoir, et que communément on néglige le plus malgré les réclamations les plus sages, malgré l'exemple des anciens qu'on estime le plus, et malgré les expériences réitérées du danger qu'il y a à négliger une partie si essentielle." (X 453b-454a).

The words quoted above help move discussion forward to the next part of this chapter.

Consideration of the relative merits of different languages and their claim to a place in the educational curriculum forms part of several articles in the Encyclopédie. Because of the variations in the opinions expressed, this becomes yet another confusing area for the reader.

The call for more direct study of French and of French literature is heard repeatedly. The reasons why such studies are advocated are in part connected with notions of patriotism and nationalism. Recognition of the merits of French culture is canvassed in several articles. The words of Jaucourt in the article LANGUE FRANÇOISE (Gramm.) are typical:

il me semble que les ouvrages françois faits sous le siecle de Louis XIV. tant en prose qu'en vers, ont contribué autant qu'aucun autre événement, à donner à la langue dans laquelle ils sont écrits, un si grand cours, qu'elle partage avec la langue latine, la gloire d'être cette langue que les nations apprennent par une convention tacite pour se pouvoir entendre. Les jeunes gens auxquels on donne en Europe de l'éducation, connoissent autant Despréaux, La Fontaine, et Moliere, qu' Horace, Phédre et Térence.

(IX 266 a)

It is important that the status retained by Latin in Jaucourt's estimation should not be overlooked. There is much condemnation in the Encyclopédie of "school" Latin and specifically of the way it was often taught. It would be a mistake to imagine that the condemnation extended to all forms of Latin studies. In the article, COLLEGE, d'Alembert spoke of the time wasted by setting pupils to "composer en Latin". (III 636 a). In another article, DICTIONNAIRE, he condemns the use made in Latin teaching of collections of synonyms. He says they "ne servent qu' à faire produire aux enfans de très-mauvaise poésie latine," (IV 965 b) adding later; "Un enfant né avec du talent ne doit point s'aider de pareils ouvrages pour faire des vers latins, supposé même qu'il soit bon qu'il en fasse;

et il est absurde d'en faire faire aux autres." (IV 965 b). Jaucourt in LITTERATURE (Sciences, Belles-Lettres, Antiq.) provides further evidence of the contempt felt by many of his contemporaries for the approach to Latin teaching in the "collèges", although it will be seen that he does not approve of a general condemnation of Classical scholarship. "Il ne faut pas douter que l'une des principales raisons qui ont fait tomber les Belles-Lettres, ne consiste en ce que plusieurs beaux-esprits prétendus ou véritables, ont introduit la coutume de condamner, comme une science de collège, les citations de passages grecs et latins, et toutes les remarques d'érudition." (IX 594b-595a). Later in the same article Jaucourt characterises as "cette censure méprisante" the disparagement of Classical learning; "avec des airs dédaigneux, on a relégué hors du beau monde et dans la poussière des classes, quiconque oseroit témoigner qu'il avait fait des recueils, et qu'il s'étoit nourri des auteurs de la Grece et de Rome." (IX 595 a).

It is quite likely that the more polemically inclined contributors to the Encyclopédie seized the opportunity to combine adverse criticism of school Latin with further thrusts against the Jesuits and the Church. Loyal Frenchmen, it could be argued, should study French. The Latin-loving Jesuits owed their loyalties to a foreign power, the pope in Rome.

Such motivation would explain in some measure the discernible ambivalence in the attitudes taken at different times by Encyclopédistes to the status and relative importance of the Latin and French languages. On the one hand there is recognition that French is taking over from Latin as the "lingua franca" of eighteenth-century Europe, even to some extent amongst intellectuals and academics. On the other hand, Latin is acknowledged as the established language of international scholarship. Consequently any man claiming to be educated should be well versed in the Latin tongue. In addition, of course, Latin is the working language of the

world-wide Roman Catholic Church.

Reference has already been made to Jaucourt's claim that Latin and French are on a par (p. 121 above). Beauzée promotes the claims of Latin, even of expanding Latin and extending its use, while later appearing prepared to acknowledge the claims of French as an international language.

In LANGUE (Gramm.) he writes:

La langue latine est d'une nécessité indispensable, c'est celle de l'église catholique, et de toutes les écoles de la chrétienté, tant pour la Philosophie et la Théologie, que pour la Jurisprudence et la Médecine: c'est d'ailleurs, et pour cette raison même, la langue commune de tous les savans de l'Europe, et dont il seroit à souhaiter peut-être que l'usage devînt encore plus général et plus étendu, afin de faciliter davantage la communication des lumieres respectives des diverses nations qui cultivent aujourd'hui les sciences: car combien d'ouvrages excellens en tous genres de la connoissance desquels on est privé, faute d'entendre les langues dans lesquelles ils sont écrits?

(IX 265 b)

In the concluding part of this single, massive, sentence Beauzée draws attention to the value of familiarity with languages as a means of access to other fields of knowledge. Faiguet in the article ETUDES advocates the learning of Latin while condemning the way it is taught in some "collèges". He claims the support of Locke, Lefebvre, Fleury, Rollin, Dumarsais and Pluche for his view that a thorough mastery of Latin is an educational necessity. Like d'Alembert he opposes "des compositions peu nécessaires, et dont la plûpart des étudiants ne sont pas capables." (VI 87 b). Beauzée in METHODE (Gramm.) declares himself against learning to speak Latin, "à quoi bon parler une langue qu'on ne parle plus?" (X 447 a), but in favour of studying it, as one studies other dead languages such as Greek or Hebrew, as "la clé nécessaire pour entrer dans les recherches qui m'occupent. En un mot, j'étudie l'Histoire dans Hérodote, la Mythologie dans Homère, la Morale dans Platon; et je cherche dans les grammaires, dans

les lexiques, l'intelligence de leur langue, pour parvenir à celle de leurs pensées." (X 447 a).

The case made out above by Beauzée for studying "dead" languages is balanced by passages elsewhere which set out the claims of other, modern, foreign languages. Before these claims are examined it seems worth concluding this section, dealing with the parallel claims of Latin and French for primacy within the teaching curriculum, by quoting a few words found at the end of Beauzée's article LANGUE (Gramm.):

Si quelqu' autre langue que la latine devient jamais l'idiome commun des savans de l'Europe, la langue française doit avoir l'honneur de cette préférence: elle a déjà les suffrages de toutes les cours où on la parle presque comme à Versailles; et il ne faut pas douter que ce goût universel ne soit dû autant aux richesses de notre littérature, qu' à l'influence de notre gouvernement sur la politique générale de l'Europe.

(IX 266 a)

This sentence may be seen as a move towards reconciling the tradition of Latin studies with the demands for greater recognition of French.

In comparison with the treatment of Latin and French, the amount of space devoted in the Encyclopédie to discussion of other languages, particularly modern, European languages, in the context of the educational curriculum, is, surprisingly perhaps, quite limited. Assessment of the relative importance of various languages is made in a number of articles. The utility principle dominates the approach to the teaching of languages, both dead and living. Faiguet suggests in ETUDES that English might be a better language to study than ancient Greek because this could lead to improvements in international relations (See VI 91 a-b). By and large English as a language suitable for study does not seem to be highly regarded. Meyzieu omits it from his list of "études" in his article ECOLE MILITAIRE, although he includes Italian and German. (V 309 a).

Diderot's comments about the English language in *ENCYCLOPEDIE are revealing. He speaks of Latin, Greek and French in terms of established languages, using the expression "radical". He claims that languages are enriched when they are the means of expression of men of genius. This has happened in the case of established languages, he says, and continues; "Quelle prodigieuse supériorité une nation acquiert sur une autre, surtout dans les sciences abstraites et les Beaux-Arts, par cette seule différence! et à quelle distance les Anglois sont encore de nous, par la considération seule que notre langue est faite, et qu'ils ne songent pas encore à former la leur!" (V 638 v. a-b). In the article LANGUE (Gramm.) Beauzée quotes with apparent approval from Diderot's work, Lettre sur les Sourds et les Muets: "Le françois est fait pour instruire, éclairer, et convaincre; le grec, le latin, l'italien, l'anglois pour persuader, émouvoir et tromper: parlez grec, latin, italien au peuple; mais parlez françois au sage." (IX 265 a). D'Alembert accords English a passing reference when, in COLLEGE, he suggests English and Italian, together perhaps with German and Spanish, should be taught in school in order to give pupils access to "un grand nombre de bons auteurs." (III 637 a).

Some distinctions are made by contributors to the Encyclopédie between methods considered suitable for teaching the different languages mentioned above. Much space is given over to questions of methodology. Certain articles contain what amount to model lessons. (See, for example, METHODE, X 449 b.) The negative approach to language teaching, which takes the form of adverse criticism of the way Latin, for example, was taught by means of "compositions", has been mentioned already. Much of the more positive material on teaching method comes from the pen of the grammarian Beauzée. There is great praise for Dumarsais and his ideas on the subject. Approaches involving translation are much favoured both for "living" and

for "dead" languages. Dumarsais himself, in his article EDUCATION, outlines a method involving a book in which a line of Latin is followed by a literal translation into French. This gradually gives way to a line of Latin text followed by a blank line for the pupil to fill with his own French translation. (See V 400 b.) This method lays less emphasis on analytical grammar, such as the study of declensions and conjugations, and departs from the traditional method of Latin composition.

A distinction is made by Dumarsais between "deux sortes de traductions." As quoted by Beauzée in the article SENS (Gramm.) he says;

il faut toujours distinguer deux sortes de traductions. Quand on ne traduit que pour faire entendre la pensée d'un auteur, on doit rendre, s'il est possible, figure par figure, sans s'attacher à traduire littéralement; mais quand il s'agit de donner l'intelligence d'une langue, ce qui est le but des dictionnaires, on doit traduire littéralement, afin de faire entendre le sens figuré qui est en usage dans cette langue à l'égard d'un certain mot; autrement c'est tout confondre.

(XV 18 a)

In yet another article by Beauzée, IDIOTISME (Gramm.), Dumarsais is again quoted with approval on the subject of translation:¹⁷ "or il n'y a rien qui soit plus propre à donner aux jeunes gens de la netteté et de la justesse d'esprit, que de les exercer à la traduction littérale, parce qu'elle oblige à la précision, à la propriété des termes, et à une certaine exactitude qui empêche l'esprit de s'égarer à des idées étrangères."

(VIII 500 b). Further comments on translation and its use, in different forms, in the class-room are found in the article TRADUCTION, VERSION, (Synonymes) again by Beauzée. "L'art de la traduction suppose nécessairement celui de la version; et delà (sic) vient que les translations (sic) que l'on fait faire aux jeunes gens dans nos collèges du grec ou du latin

17. The quotation comes from Dumarsais' METHODE POUR APPRENDRE LA LANGUE LATINE, p.14.

en françois, sont très-bien nommées des versions: les premiers essais de traduction ne peuvent et ne doivent être rien autre chose." (XVI 511 a).

Connected with discussion of the place of translation in language learning, and often part of it, is the evaluation of dictionaries and their usage. Faiguet ascribes the dependence of language teaching in the past on the learning of rules to the absence of dictionaries. In the article ETUDES he says that translation methods for language teaching have only been available since French-Latin dictionaries appeared, that is for some two hundred years. Prior to that "il a fallu, pour aller du françois au latin, imaginer une espece de mécanique fondée sur des milliers de regles." (VI 89 a).

Several other articles mention the use and availability of dictionaries. In METHODE (Gramm.) Beauzée says there is no "good" Latin-French dictionary suitable for young people. (X 457 a). Indeed, the Encyclopédistes show great faith in the efficacy of a "good" dictionary in the context of teaching. Much memorising of vocabulary is recommended. The existence of a precise meaning for each word, independent of context, is almost invariably taken for granted. Confident belief is shown in the possibility of complete accuracy in translation which is coupled with total understanding on the part of the pupil. In part this derives from the concept of a "grammaire générale" mentioned earlier. The stress on linguistic analysis is paramount. D'Alembert's recipe for learning a new language is simple and revealing: "Voulez-vous donc apprendre promptement une langue, et avez-vous de la mémoire? apprenez un dictionnaire, si vous pouvez, et lisez beaucoup; c'est ainsi qu'en ont usé plusieurs gens de lettres." (DICTIONNAIRE IV 966 b).

Beauzée remains attached to translation as the way to learn languages when, in the article METHODE (Gramm.), he switches discussion from "dead"

to "living" languages. Addressing the teacher about the pupils, he says; "si la langue que vous leur enseignez est vivante; faites-leur traduire beaucoup, premierement de votre langue dans la leur, puis de la leur dans la vôtre." (X 447 b).

There are differences in the approach to the teaching of modern languages. As Beauzée says, "ces langues peuvent nous entrer dans la tête par les oreilles et par les yeux tout-à-la-fois." (METHODE X 446 b). Less studious and less academic methods are advocated, by Faiguet for example. He favours the learning of languages by residence abroad rather than by studying rules. (See ETUDES VI 87 b.) Beauzée suggests that native speakers of the languages to be learnt should be employed as teachers. (METHODE X 456 b). He advocates combining translation work with oral practice. After teaching children grammar, number, gender, pronouns, adjectives and verb conjugations, he advises "Parlez-leur ensuite sans délai, et faites-les parler, si la langue que vous leur enseignez est vivante." (X 447 b).

It is clear both from extracts already quoted and from other passages in the Encyclopédie that much of the thinking about language learning and teaching is bounded by concepts of grammar and linguistic analysis. The approach is predominantly bookish. The primacy of Latin is also much in evidence. Even Diderot in *ENCYCLOPEDIE advises any Frenchman knowing Latin and wishing to learn English to use an English-Latin dictionary in preference to an English-French dictionary. (V 638 r/a).

The Encyclopédistes are agreed that it is a good thing for a man to have knowledge of several languages. The advantages to be derived from this knowledge are seen more often as academic rather than social. D'Alembert expresses this in the article ERUDITION (Philos. et Litt.) where he also writes of the inadequacy of many translations:

Mais outre que tout n'est pas traduit, la lecture des traductions, même en fait d'érudition pure et simple (car il n'est pas ici question des lectures de goût), ne supplée jamais parfaitement à celle des originaux dans leur propre langue. Mille exemples nous convainquent tous les jours de l'infidélité des traducteurs ordinaires, et de l'inadvertance des traducteurs les plus exacts.

(V 918 a)

The general educational value of language learning with regard to such things as the development of the mind, the broadening of intellectual experience and the formulation of ideas is discussed in the Encyclopédie, almost exclusively and for obvious reasons, in terms of Latin and French. The mastery of other languages is seen as a means to an end rather than an end in itself. The end in question is usually a better understanding of other areas of study, such as, for example, history, which it is appropriate to consider next.

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PART IV

History and Other Subjects

The last major element of the educational curriculum to be given comparatively full and interesting treatment in the Encyclopédie is the study of history. Once again problems arise which derive in large measure from questions of definition and of sub-division. The distinction made between "l'histoire sainte" and "l'histoire profane" constituted a very real and important division. In an appendix to the DISCOURS PRELIMINAIRE, d'Alembert, quoting Diderot's Prospectus, sets out various sub-divisions of history under the significant heading "MEMOIRE, d'où HISTOIRE". "L'HISTOIRE est des faits; et les faits sont ou de Dieu, ou de l'homme, ou de la nature."

Les faits qui sont de Dieu, appartiennent à l'Histoire Sacrée. Les faits qui sont de l'homme, appartiennent à l'Histoire Civile; et les faits qui sont de la nature, se rapportent à l'Histoire Naturelle." (I xlviij a-b). The terminology used here by d'Alembert is not exactly the same as that used elsewhere.

The distinction between sacred and secular history attracts the ironies of certain Encyclopédistes. (See, for example, the article CRITIQUE (Belles-lettres) by Marmontel, IV 490 b.).

Voltaire, in his article HISTOIRE, deals with the usefulness of studying the subject, (De l'utilité de l'Histoire, VIII 223 a) especially for potentates, "les princes". A similar idea is treated by Faiguet in EPARGNE. (See V 750 a.) Marmontel in CRITIQUE (Belles-lettres) discusses possible approaches to the study of history, both sacred and secular. (See IV 490 b.)

Confusion amongst Encyclopédistes between the subjects of history and religion has been repeatedly noted already. The association of the teaching of history with that of ethics is a common-place in eighteenth-century writings on the subject. It is found frequently in the Encyclopédie. In HISTOIRE Voltaire draws attention to the value of studying the doings of rulers of the past because they provide effective examples which should influence the moral conduct of the student. (See VIII 223 a.) The popular idea that one should study the lives of selected great men in history chiefly in order to learn about virtue and other forms of morality is strongly expressed by Jaucourt in the article VERS (Poésie): "Le but de l'histoire est de conserver à la postérité le petit nombre de grands hommes qui doivent lui servir d'exemple." (XVII 159 a). The value of studying history for the moral development of the young man is also strongly stressed by Lefebvre in a single, but protracted, sentence in

the article GOUVERNEUR D'UN JEUNE HOMME:

L'étude de l'Histoire lui aura montré en grand le tableau des passions humaines; il y aura parcouru les diverses révolutions qu'elles ont produit (sic) sur la terre; on lui aura fait remarquer cet amas de contradictions qui forme le caractère de l'homme; ce mélange de grandeur et de petitesse, de courage et de faiblesse, de lumières et d'ignorance, de sagesse et de folie dont il est capable: il y aura vu d'un côté le vice presque toujours triomphant, mais intérieurement rongé d'inquiétudes et de remords, éblouir les yeux du vulgaire par des succès passagers, puis être plongé pour jamais dans l'opprobre et dans l'ignominie: d'un autre côté, la vertu souvent persécutée, quelquefois obscurcie, mais toujours contente d'elle-même, reprendre avec le temps son ascendant sur les hommes, et durant toute la suite des siècles, recevoir l'hommage de l'univers, assise sur les débris des empires.

(VII 796 b)

The sentence just quoted exemplifies the moralising pomposity which is characteristic of much of the writing of the era on the subject of education.

The young student of history was encouraged to pass moral judgments on the figures of the past and their actions, judgments based on those same universal and absolute values discussed in an earlier chapter. Less attention was paid to understanding the reasons for particular happenings or the circumstances in which specific events took place. Behind much of the writing about history lie assumptions based on religious teachings concerning man's fall from grace, his birth in sin and consequent propensity for evil, his natural weakness and his invariable need of the fatherly guidance and protection of God. Such, probably subconscious, assumptions prompt Lefebvre to further pronouncements concerning the teaching of history. He suggests that the picture of human beings presented by the teacher to the young man should not be too black, that man should be shown as weak rather than wicked.¹⁸ The young man should base his judgment of

18. The relevant passage is quoted in Ch.III, p.92.

others on concepts of his own moral superiority. "Il faut qu'il ne soit pas la dupe des hommes, mais il ne faut pas qu'il les haïsse, ni qu'il les méprise. Qu'il voye leurs miseres avec assez de supériorité pour n'en être ni surpris ni blessé." (VII 796 b). The need felt by Lefebvre to commend a comparatively optimistic view of human nature is interesting and to some extent innovatory. The philosophes amongst his fellow Encyclopédistes would approve of this as their reforming instincts would applaud Lefebvre's next idea for the young student; "Qu'il connoisse sur-tout l'homme de sa nation et de son siecle." (VII 796 b). Lefebvre's article then strays away from the subject of history.

Although the student's attention was concentrated primarily on the personalities of history, the idea of looking more closely at background and setting was not totally absent from the writings of the period. The theme is developed in a number of articles in the Encyclopédie. Marmontel in CRITIQUE (Belles-lettres) expansively proposes:

Les moeurs, le naturel des peuples, leurs intérêts respectifs, leurs richesses et leurs forces domestiques, leurs ressources étrangères, leur éducation, leurs lois, leurs préjugés et leurs principes: ... les talens, les passions, les vices, les vertus de ceux qui ont présidé aux affaires publiques; ... la connoissance des hommes, des lieux et des tems; enfin tout ce qui en morale et en physique peut concourir à former, à entretenir, à changer, à détruire et à rétablir l'ordre des choses humaines, doit entrer dans le plan d'après lequel un sçavant discute l'histoire.

(IV 491 a)

The verbiage of Marmontel tends to smother several worthy ideas concerned with the development of historical studies. It may be claimed that his approach is more scientific than that of some fellow-writers. Indeed, later in the article there is an indirect attack on the apparent gullibility of some contemporaries: "La crédulité est le partage des ignorans; l'incrédulité décidée, celui des demi-sçavans; le doute méthodique, celui

des sages. Dans les connoissances humaines, un philosophe démontre ce qu'il peut; croit ce qui lui est démontré; rejette ce qui y répugne, et suspend son jugement sur tout le reste." (IV 491 a). There are political implications for eighteenth-century France in much of what is written in the Encyclopédie about the study of history. This is true of Marmontel's article CRITIQUE (Belles-lettres). He says judgments passed on historical figures should be tempered by awareness of the conditions of their times, (IV 494 a), and then proceeds to summarize the task of the critical historian; "en un mot de réduire l'homme, quel qu'il fût, à la condition de citoyen; condition qui est la base des lois, la regle des moeurs, et dont aucun homme en société n'eut jamais le droit de s'affranchir." (IV 494 a)

The next section of Marmontel's article strays into the realms of political and social theory while retaining a strong connection with ideas on the pursuit of historical studies. (See IV 494 a.)

Marmontel's division of history into "histoire sacrée" and "histoire profane" is extended by d'Alembert in his article ERUDITION. "La connoissance de l'Histoire se subdivise en plusieurs branches; l'Histoire ancienne et moderne; histoire sacrée, profane, ecclésiastique; histoire de notre propre pays et des pays étrangers; histoire des Sciences et des Arts; Chronologie; Géographie; Antiquités et Médailles, etc." (V 914 a). It is worth noting that geography is here listed as a sub-division of history. D'Alembert's idea of what constitutes history is not very helpful to those seeking a definition of the subject for the purposes of the school curriculum or as a precise subject of scholarship.

Several other Encyclopédistes deal in their articles with aspects of history. Some write in general terms while others become specific and indicate the parts to be concentrated on by those whose education is voca-

tional in emphasis. The latter topic is discussed later in this chapter.

The importance attached by d'Alembert to the study of history in terms of general education may be deduced from a sentence in ERUDITION. He describes as "la premiere branche de l'érudition" a knowledge of historical facts, especially "des faits historiques anciens, et de l'histoire de plusieurs peuples." D'Alembert continues; "car un homme de lettres qui se seroit borné, par exemple, à l'histoire de France, ou même à l'histoire romaine, ne mériteroit pas proprement le nom d'érudit; on pourroit dire seulement de lui qu'il auroit beaucoup d'érudition dans l'histoire de France, dans l'histoire romaine, etc." (V 914 a).

D'Alembert's words here suggest an attitude to history which makes it a serious and reasonably difficult subject of study. This is in marked contrast to the attitude found in several writings of the period. The difference between the history considered suitable for the school-room and that for the more scholarly is not always made clear. In the article ELEMENS DES SCIENCES (Phil.) there is further exposition by d'Alembert of differing approaches to history. He writes about the history of ideas as being very worthy of the attention of a "philosophe" especially "celles [pensées des hommes] qui ont été vraiment lumineuses et utiles." (V 495 b). He proceeds to discuss more conventional history as taught in some schools. "A l'égard de l'histoire des rois, des conquérans, et des peuples, en un mot des événemens qui ont changé ou troublé la terre, elle ne peut être l'objet du philosophe qu' autant qu'elle ne se borne pas aux faits seuls." (V 495 b). In phrases echoed elsewhere in the Encyclopédie, d'Alembert attacks traditional school history as "cette connoissance stérile, ouvrage des yeux et de la mémoire." (V 495 b). Later d'Alembert describes the attitude to history of "le sage". "Le sage étudie l'univers moral comme le physique ..., il observe, il rapproche, il compare ..., il n'envisage

l'Histoire que comme un recueil d'expériences morales faites sur le genre humain." (V 495 b).

In school, history was constantly regarded as an "easy" subject in the curriculum and often spoken of as an "amusement" suitable for diverting children on holidays and Saints' days. The attitude revealed by Jaucourt in his article SCIENCES, jeux instructifs pour apprendre les, (Litter.) is typical: "C'est ainsi qu'on a nommé divers jeux de cartes, et même de dez, imaginés pour apprendre aux enfans et aux jeunes gens, non-seulement les sciences qui ne demandent que des yeux et de la mémoire, telles que l'histoire, la géographie, la chronologie, le blason, la fable; mais ce qu'il y a de plus singulier, les sciences mêmes qui demandent le plus de raisonnement et d'application, telles que la logique et le droit." (XIV 791 b). As a result no doubt of the prevalence of this attitude, history as a subject was often neglected in the schools of the period, or so it was claimed by some leading writers. In the Encyclopédie the idea is expressed by Paris de Meyzieu. "L'Histoire est en même tems une des plus agréables et des plus utiles connoissances que puisse acquérir un homme du monde", he writes in the article ECOLE MILITAIRE. He then launches into battle: "Nous ignorons par quelle bisarrerie singuliere on ne l'enseigne dans aucune de nos écoles. Les étrangers pensent sur cela bien différemment de nous; ils n'ont aucune université, aucune académie où l'on n'enseigne publiquement l'Histoire." (V 311 a). A later sentence starts with a significant qualification; "S'il est dangereux d'entreprendre l'étude de l'Histoire sans guides, comme cela n'est pas douteux, il doit paroître étonnant qu'on néglige si fort d'en procurer à la jeunesse françoise. Sans nous arrêter à chercher la source du mal, tâchons d'y apporter le remede." (V 311 a). The claim that history is not taught in any French schools, "dans aucune de nos écoles", should be read alongside

the statement earlier in the same article; "La Grammaire, ... la Géographie, l'Histoire, ... beaucoup de Morale ... sont les objets des études de l'école royale militaire." (V 309 a).

A more important feature in de Meyzieu's article is his reiteration of ideas already expressed by d'Alembert in COLLEGE. After saying that foreign languages should feature in the "collège" curriculum, d'Alembert continues: "J'en dis autant de l'Histoire et de toutes les sciences qui s'y rapportent. ... l'Histoire assez inutile au commun des hommes, est fort utile aux enfans, par les exemples qu'elle leur présente et les leçons vivantes de vertu qu'elle peut leur donner, dans un âge où ils n'ont point encore de principes fixes, ni bons ni mauvais." (III 637 a). The same idea is treated in the article SYLLABAIRE.¹⁹

When d'Alembert writes about history in his article DICTIONNAIRE, he gives an indication of what should be taught and how it should be presented. He lists various components. "L'histoire des peuples renferme celle de leur première origine, des pays qu'ils ont habités avant celui qu'ils possèdent actuellement, de leur gouvernement passé et présent, de leurs mœurs, de leurs progrès dans les Sciences et dans les Arts, de leur commerce, de leur industrie, de leurs guerres." (IV 966 b). It is clear that, while he believes in concentrating attention on outstanding people in history, his selection of personalities would not be determined solely by the rank to which they were born. They would be chosen for their achievements and contribution to the development of the nation.

L'histoire des hommes comprend les princes, les grands, les hommes célèbres par leurs talens et par leurs actions. L'histoire des princes doit être plus ou moins détaillée, à proportion de ce qu'ils ont fait de mémorable; il en est plusieurs dont il faut se contenter de marquer la naissance

19. The relevant passage is quoted on p.101 above.

et la mort, et renvoyer pour ce qui s'est fait
sous leur regne, aux articles de leurs généraux
et de leurs ministres.

(IV 966 b)

D'Alembert points out the usefulness of such an approach to teach princes that they need to earn public esteem if they are to gain a worthwhile place in history. This point had already been made clearly in the DISCOURS PRELIMINAIRE where the study of history is seen as "nous unissant aux siècles passés par le spectacle de leurs vices et de leurs vertus, de leurs connaissances et de leurs erreurs." (I xj). D'Alembert continues: "C'est là qu'on apprend à n'estimer les hommes que par le bien qu'ils font, et non par l'appareil imposant qui les entoure: les Souverains, ces hommes assez malheureux pour que tout conspire à leur cacher la vérité, peuvent eux-mêmes se juger d'avance à ce tribunal intègre et terrible." (I xj). The idea that men who merit esteem should be the subject of study is set out by d'Alembert in DICTIONNAIRE. He calls for recognition by historians of the contribution to social progress made by men from different walks of life. "Enfin un dictionnaire historique doit faire mention des hommes illustres dans les Sciences, dans les Arts libéraux, et, autant qu'il est possible, dans les Arts mécaniques même. Pourquoi en effet un célèbre horloger ne mériterait-il pas ... une place que tant de mauvais écrivains y usurpent?" (IV 967 a).

The veterinary specialist, Bourgelat, also has much to say about the teaching of history in his article EXERCICES (Manège). Like other Encyclopédistes, he stresses the moral purpose underlying the study of history and believes that young men should be encouraged to pronounce judgment on leading characters of the past. "L'étude de l'Histoire seconderoit nos vûes ... d'autant plus que les gentilhommes (sic) confiés à nos soins sont dans un âge où non-seulement il leur convient de l'apprendre, mais où il leur appartient d'en juger." (VI 251 b). Bourgelat develops the idea that the

study of history will assist the young to make their way in the contemporary world by introducing them to "un monde qui n'est plus." "Observons encore que le jugement humain est éclairé par la fréquentation du monde; or de jeunes gens trouvent dans ces archives, où les actions des hommes sont consacrées, un monde qui n'est plus, mais qui semble exister et revivre encore pour eux." (VI 251 b). Bourgelat quotes with approval the description of history given by "un des plus beaux génies de notre siècle", who is not identified in the article. History is "une vaste scène de foiblesses, de fautes, de crimes, d'infortunes, parmi lesquelles on voit quelques vertus et quelques succès, comme on voit des vallées fertiles dans une longue chaîne de rochers et de précipices." (VI 251 b). Bourgelat's style is grandiose and he becomes quite lyrical in his evaluation of the way he believes history can extend the mind, stimulate the emotions and sharpen judgment: "par elle nos connoissances et nos affections s'étendent encore, nos vûes bien loin d'être bornées et concentrées sur les objets qui frappent nos yeux, embrassent tout l'univers; et ce livre énorme qui constate la variation perpétuelle et surprenante de tant d'humeurs, de sectes, d'opinions, de lois et de coûtures, ne peut enfin que nous apprendre à juger sainement des nôtres." (VI 251 b).

What has been quoted so far from Bourgelat's article echoes in style and content much of what may be found elsewhere in the Encyclopédie about the study of history. In one respect however Bourgelat's thinking appears to be out of line with that of many of his contemporaries, namely in his attitude towards memorization. He mentions it in the context of history and, although it could be regarded as a separate topic in a discussion of education, it is convenient, and seems appropriate, to intercalate a few observations at this point.

In the eighteenth century much stress was placed in the majority of schools, and especially in the Jesuit-run "collèges", on the training and development of the memory and on the accumulation of factual knowledge. Several Jesuit teachers of the time were renowned for their prodigious memories, as were some of their pupils. In the passage that follows, a veiled criticism by Bourgelat may be detected of some current teaching methods and educational priorities. He warns against over-valuing the faculty of simple re-call and of overburdening the memory of the young. Referring to history as "cette science", Bourgelat says:

Il en est de cette science comme de toutes les autres, elles ne sont profitables qu'autant qu'elles nous deviennent propres. Non vitoe, pourroient dire les enfans dans les collèges, sed scholae discimus. (Sen. ep. 106 in fine): ne nous occupons donc point à surcharger vainement leur mémoire; ce que l'on dépose uniquement entre les mains de cette gardienne infidèle n'est d'aucune valeur, parce que savoir par coeur n'est pas savoir; ce qu'on sait véritablement, on en dispose, et d'ailleurs la date de la ruine de Carthage doit moins attacher un jeune homme que les moeurs d'Annibal et de Scipion.

(VI 251 b)

By the time the Encyclopédie was being written it had become clear to most people that no individual could aspire to that encyclopaedic knowledge of the known world which had been claimed for some scholars in previous ages. Selective study of history was therefore recommended by several writers, amongst them de Meyzieu, the contributor of the article ECOLE MILITAIRE. "La vie d'un homme", he says, "ne suffit pas pour étudier l'Histoire en détail; on doit donc se borner à ce qui peut être relatif à l'état qu'on a embrassé." (V 311 a). Many young men knew at an early age what their position was to be in later life. Some were destined for careers in law, others in the Church, others for a military life. So de Meyzieu is able to specify:

Un magistrat s'attachera à y découvrir l'esprit et l'origine des lois, dont il est le dispensateur: un ecclésiastique n'y cherchera que ce qui a rapport à la religion et à la discipline: un savant s'occupera de discussions chronologiques, dans lesquelles un militaire doit le laisser s'égarer ou s'instruire, et se contenter d'y trouver des exemples de vertu, de courage, de prudence, de grandeur d'ame, d'attachement au souverain, indépendamment des détails militaires dont il peut tirer de grands secours.

(V 311 a)

Once again the concern of an Encyclopédiste with the usefulness of a particular field or subject of study in terms of the student's vocation or profession is evident. De Meyzieu proceeds to give further details of the usefulness of the study of history for a future soldier.

Il remarquera dans l'histoire ancienne cette discipline admirable, cette subordination sans bornes, qui rendirent une poignée d'hommes les maîtres de la terre. L'histoire de son pays, si nécessaire et si communément ignorée, lui fera connoître l'état présent des affaires et leur origine, les droits du prince qu'il sert, et les intérêts des autres souverains; ce qui seroit d'autant plus avantageux, qu'il est assez ordinaire aujourd'hui de voir choisir les négociateurs dans le corps militaire.

(V 311 a)

De Meyzieu then strays away from history into another area of study:

"Ces connoissances approcheroient plus de la perfection, si l'on donnoit au moins à ceux en qui on trouveroit plus de capacité, des principes un peu étendus de droit public." (V 311 a-b).

The variety of approaches to history and its study, evident in the Encyclopédie and indicated in the preceding pages, makes it inappropriate to attempt a brief summary of the position of the Encyclopédistes as a group.

Attention has already been directed to the classification of geography as a sub-division of history. (See pp. 133 above.) Less space is devoted in the Encyclopédie to discussion of geography in the context of

education than might be expected. De Meyzieu does however acknowledge the increasing importance of the subject in ECOLE MILITAIRE.

La Géographie est utile à tout le monde; mais la profession qu'on embrasse doit décider de la manière plus ou moins étendue dont il faut l'étudier. En la considérant comme une introduction nécessaire à l'Histoire, il seroit difficile de lui assigner des bornes, autres que celles qu'on donneroit à l'Histoire même. On a tant écrit sur cette matière, qu'on ne s'attend pas sans doute à quelque chose de nouveau de notre part. Nous nous contenterons d'observer que des militaires ne sauroient avoir une connoissance trop exacte des pays qui sont communément le théâtre de la guerre. La Topographie la plus détaillée leur est nécessaire.

(V 311 a)

The subordination of geography to history is indicated above. De Meyzieu then adds an observation of some significance in that it reveals the low status assigned to the subject by many of those concerned with the education of the young. "Au reste la Géographie s'apprend aisément, et s'oublie de même. On employe utilement la méthode de rapporter aux différens lieux les traits d'histoire qui peuvent les rendre remarquables." (V 311 a). The utilitarian approach of de Meyzieu becomes apparent with a further reference to military matters. "On juge bien que les faits militaires sont toujours préférés aux autres, à moins que ceux-ce ne soient d'une importance considérable. Par ce moyen on fixe davantage les idées; et la mémoire, quoique plus chargée, en devient plus ferme." (V 311 a)

The debate about education being an end in itself, and a useful one, as against education for a particular job goes on. Both sides of the debate are reflected in the Encyclopédie. D'Alembert in DICTIONNAIRE seems to take a broader view of Geography.

A l'égard de la Géographie elle renferme deux branches; l'ancienne Géographie, et la moderne; par conséquent les articles de Géographie doivent faire mention, 1^o des différens noms qu'on a donnés au pays ou à la ville dont on parle: 2^o

des différens peuples qui l'ont habitée: (sic)
 3^o des différens maîtres qu'elle a eus: 4^o de
 sa situation, de son terroir, de son commerce
 ancien et moderne: 5^o de la latitude et de la
 longitude, (sic) ... 6^o des mesures itinéraires
 anciennes et modernes.

(IV 968 a)

The article continues with an elaborate compliment to an individual and a plea for governmental support for a worthwhile educational project.

"Un bon dictionnaire géographique seroit un ouvrage bien digne des soins et des connoissances de M. d'Anville, de l'académie des Belles-Lettres, l'homme de l'Europe peut-être le plus versé aujourd'hui dans cette partie de l'histoire; un pareil travail demanderoit à être encouragé par le gouvernement." (IV 968 a).

Closely connected with the study of history and geography in the eighteenth century was the question of educational travel. Although it is not claimed that travel was part of the school curriculum, it did feature prominently in the educational programme of many young men. There are several interesting points made by Jaucourt in his article VOYAGE (Education). He acknowledges that older people will often benefit from foreign travel while at the same time claiming it is "une partie des plus importantes de l'éducation dans la jeunesse." (XVII 477 a). Foreign travel was expected to promote knowledge and understanding of the countries visited and especially of the history and geography of those countries. It seems appropriate at this point to examine the article VOYAGE (Education).

It has been noted, repeatedly, that the writers on educational matters in the eighteenth century, including the "Encyclopédistes", deal with the subject in general terms, rarely treating detail or considering practicalities. Jaucourt is as much a theorist on education as are the vast majority of his fellow-writers. His grandiloquent sentences on travel for the young tell little of how it should be organised, how it should be fitted in to

the programme of studies, at what age it should be undertaken, whether travellers should be in groups, and so on. Nevertheless what he says is interesting for several reasons. He reflects the priorities given by influential thinkers of his era. He puts forward ideas of those "personnes éclairées" approved of by leading philosophes. His polemical style is typical of the writers of the period and of many leading "Encyclopédistes". His expansive prose and his stylistic embellishments illustrate the difficulty of summarising or paraphrasing the articles of the Encyclopédie without distorting or falsifying the impression they produce in the mind of the reader. In VOYAGE Jaucourt parades his learning and invites approval by reference to the Ancient World of Classical Antiquity;

les grands hommes de l'antiquité ont jugé qu'il n'y avoit de meilleure école de la vie que celle des voyages; école où l'on apprend la diversité de tant d'autres vies, où l'on trouve sans cesse quelque nouvelle leçon dans ce grand livre du monde; et où le changement d'air avec l'exercice sont profitables au corps et à l'esprit. Les beaux génies de la Grece et de Rome en firent leur étude, et y employoient plusieurs années...

(XVII 476 b)

The chevalier proceeds from this to deal with the advantages and aims of travel for his contemporaries.

Aujourd'hui les voyages dans les états policés de l'Europe (car il ne s'agit pas ici des voyages de long cours), sont au jugement des personnes éclairées, une partie des plus importantes de l'éducation dans la jeunesse, et une partie de l'expérience dans les vieillards. Choses égales, toute nation où regne la bonté du gouvernement et dont la noblesse et les gens aisés voyagent, a des (sic) grands avantages sur celle où cette branche de l'éducation n'a pas lieu. Les voyages étendent l'esprit, l'élevent, l'enrichissent de connoissances, et le guérissent des préjugés nationaux. C'est un genre d'étude auquel on ne supplée point par les livres, et par le rapport d'autrui; il faut soi-même juger des hommes, des lieux, et des objets.

(XVII 477a)

Jaucourt goes on to specify the principal objects of study:

Ainsi le principal but qu'on doit se proposer dans ses voyages, est sans contredit d'examiner les moeurs, les coutumes, le génie des autres nations, leur goût dominant, leurs arts, leurs sciences, leurs manufactures et leur commerce.

Ces sortes d'observations faites avec intelligence, et exactement recueillies de pere en fils, fournissent les plus grandes lumieres sur le fort et le foible des peuples, les changemens en bien ou en mal qui sont arrivés dans le même pays au bout d'une génération, par le commerce, par les lois, par la guerre, par la paix, par les richesses, par la pauvreté, ou par de nouveaux gouverneurs.

(XVII 477 a)

Jaucourt goes on to claim that Italy merits the special attention of the traveller: "Il est en particulier un pays au-delà des Alpes, qui mérite la curiosité de tous ceux dont l'éducation a été cultivée par les lettres. Je sais que l'Italie moderne n'offre aux curieux que les débris de cette Italie si fameuse autrefois; mais ces débris sont toujours dignes de nos regards." (XVII 477 a). Jaucourt supports his case for the educational advantages of travel with a quotation from Montaigne; "...l'important est de froter et limer votre cervelle contre celle d'autrui." (XVII 477 a).

The ideas and comments in the article VOYAGE deal with the serious matter of the study of such subjects as history and geography, but mention is also made of other educational activities which may be regarded as bringing more immediate and obvious pleasure to the young. Jaucourt, in the extracts just quoted, talks of "le changement d'air avec l'exercice" as being "profitables au corps et à l'esprit." (XVII 476 b). (See p. 143 above.)

Mention of exercise introduces a new element to further discussion of the educational curriculum. Physical education for the young is not ignored in the pages of the Encyclopédie. Indeed the quotation from Juvenal "Mens sana in corpore sano" (Satires X) is found several times.

Much of the writing on this topic in the Encyclopédie deals more with the general education and development of the growing child than with the place of Physical Education in the school curriculum. As a result, the value of fresh air and exercise seems more a matter of concern to those Encyclopédistes writing about infancy and early childhood. Even though the articles about schooling make comparatively little mention of physical as against intellectual education this should not be taken as meaning that educators were unaware of, or indifferent to, the physical needs of the schoolchild. There is evidence that the Jesuits, amongst others, paid some attention to this aspect of development. Some physical activities, for example dancing and fencing, were not thought of as necessary for all classes of pupil. Indeed the utilitarian approach is evident in this area as in others. Paris de Meyzieu in ECOLE MILITAIRE says: "Dans toutes les éducatons on doit se proposer deux objets, l'esprit et le corps" (V 308 b) and goes on later in the same article to recommend swimming as part of education; "Art de nager. Il est surprenant que les occasions et les dangers n'ayent pas fait de l'art de nager une partie essentielle de l'éducation." (V 312 a).

Stronger criticism of the education given in the eighteenth century is voiced by le Comte de Tressan in his article GUERRE (HOMME DE). His laments for what used to be done and is, according to him, no longer done have some bearing on the attitude to physical exercise in education.

Il faut vaincre aujourd'hui la mollesse et détruire l'habitude et le préjugé. (VII 995 a)
 ... La nature cependant n' a point dégénéré.
 Les hommes sont les mêmes qu'ils étoient;
 mais l'éducation est bien différente. On accoutumoit alors les enfans à porter de certains poids qu'on augmentoit peu-à-peu; on les exerçoit dès que leur force commençoit à se déployer; leurs muscles s'endurcissoient en conservant la souplesse. C'est ainsi qu'on les formoit aux plus durs travaux. L'éducation

et l'habitude font presque tout dans les hommes, et les enfans des plus grands-seigneurs n'étoient point exempts de ces exercices violens; souvent même un pere envoyoit son fils unique pour être élevé à l'exercice des armes et de la vertu chez un autre chevalier, de peur que son éducation ne fût pas suivie avec assez de rigidité dans la maison paternelle. On nommoit cette espece d'éducation nourriture; et l'on disoit d'un brave chevalier qu'il avoit reçu chez tel autre une bonne et loüable nourriture. Rien ne pouvoit dispenser de cette éducation militaire tous ceux qui prétendoient à l'honneur d'être armés chevaliers.

(VII 995 a-b)

Yet it may be sensed from all this that de Tressan is pleading a lost cause and is to that extent out of touch, as he is out of sympathy, with the educators of his day, for he goes on to say that people are less robust than formerly, having dispensed with the use of the shield on the grounds that it is too heavy and too much of an encumbrance.

Further mention of physical activity in the context of child development will be made in a later chapter.

A similar approach to that of de Tressan, praising the practices of former times and other peoples and lamenting that such practices are no longer current, may be found in the article *ENFANS (Hist. anc.). This article mentions physical activities and development but also cultural activities such as music and dance.

Chez les Grecs ... A Athenes ... On resseroit les filles; on les assujettissoit à une diete austere; on leur donnoit des corps très-étroits, pour leur faire une taille mince et legere: on leur apprenoit à filer et à chanter. Les garçons avoient des pédagogues qui leur montroient les Beaux-arts, la Morale, la Musique, les exercices des Armes, la Danse, le Dessein, la Peinture, etc.

(V 656 b)

The article goes on to talk of Ancient Rome and of how the boys were sent "dans les gymnases ... pour s'exercer à la course, à la lutte, etc."

(V 657 a). The author continues by dealing with the upbringing of the

young "Chez les Germains", saying how bodily toughness was valued, and concludes:

On ne peut s'empêcher de trouver dans la comparaison de ces moeurs et des nôtres, la différence de la constitution des hommes de ces tems et des hommes d'aujourd'hui. Les Germains étoient forts, infatigables, vaillans, robustes, chasseurs, guerriers, etc. De toutes ces qualités, il ne nous reste que celles qui se soutiennent par le point d'honneur et l'esprit national. Les autres, auxquelles on exhorteroit inutilement, telles que la force du corps, sont presque entierement perdues: et elles iront toujours en s'affoiblissant, à moins que les moeurs ne changent; ce qui n'est pas à présumer.

(V 657 a)

Another reference to the importance of physical education is found in the article EPHEBEUM (Littérat.) by Jaucourt. He defines his subject as "une piece particuliere du gymnase où les jeunes gens ... s'assembloient ... pour y prendre les exercices." (V 769 b). There follows a reference to the practices of other countries; "Rien ne manquoit parmi les Grecs et les Romains pour procurer tous les secours nécessaires à la jeunesse..." (V 769 b). Jaucourt then alludes to a Classical writer as a source before ending, in typical fashion; "mais nous ne lisons ni Vitruve, ni les auteurs d'antiquités. Nous croyons en voyant nos collèges et nos académies, que nous avons des merveilles inconnues aux siecles passés." (V 769 b).

The article *ENFANS (Hist. Anc.) is one of the few in which music, dance, art, drawing and painting are mentioned in the context of child education. Bourgelat in EXERCICES (Manège) makes a somewhat slighting reference to music teaching; "Quant aux maîtres de Musique et d'Instrumens, le délassement ainsi que le desir et le besoin de plaire les ont rendus nécessaires." (VI 251b-252a).

D'Alembert in DICTIONNAIRE says that what he calls "dictionnaires historiques" have devoted too little space to music and musicians when com-

pared with the fuller treatment accorded to painting, sculpture and architecture: "... j'ignore par quelle raison. Il seroit à souhaiter que cette partie de l'histoire des Arts ne fût pas aussi négligée."

(IV 967 a). These words may be seen as reinforcement of a view expressed by the same author in an earlier article, COLLEGE. In this article he advocates the study both of Art and of Music. After discussing various elements of the curriculum, d'Alembert concludes his observations with the words; "On voudroit enfin qu'on joignît à ces différentes études, celle des beaux Arts, et sur-tout de la Musique, étude si propre pour former le goût, et pour adoucir les moeurs." (III 637 a). D'Alembert's enthusiasm for music is well known.

The same article, COLLEGE, contains what is probably the best known reference in the Encyclopédie to drama and its use in education. Other references to this subject in the Encyclopédie are not readily found. D'Alembert mounts a fierce, and often quoted, attack on the use to which drama was put and the part it played in the curriculum of certain "collèges", especially those run by the Jesuits.

Parmi les différentes inutilités qu'on apprend aux enfans dans les collèges, j'ai négligé de faire mention des tragédies, parce qu'il me semble que l'université de Paris commence à les proscrire presque entièrement: on en a l'obligation à feu M. Rollin, un des hommes qui a travaillé le plus utilement pour l'éducation de la jeunesse: ... On convient aujourd'hui assez généralement que ces tragédies sont une perte de tems pour les écoliers et pour les maîtres: c'est pis encore quand on les multiplie au point d'en représenter plusieurs pendant l'année, et quand on y joint d'autres appendices encore plus ridicules, comme des explications d'énigmes, des ballets, et des comédies tristement ou ridiculement plaisantes. Nous avons sous les yeux un ouvrage de cette dernière espece, intitulé la défaite du Solécisme par Despautere, représentée plusieurs fois dans un collège de Paris; le chevalier Prétérit, le chevalier Supin, le marquis des Conjugaisons, et d'autres personnages la même trempe, sont les

lieutenans généraux de Despautere, auquel deux grands princes, appelés Solécisme et Barbarisme, déclarent une guerre mortelle. Nous faisons grace à nos lecteurs d'un plus grand détail et nous ne doutons point que ceux qui président aujourd'hui à ce collège, ne fissent main-basse, s'ils en étoient les maîtres, sur des puérlités si pédantesques, et de si mauvais goût: ils sont trop éclairés pour ne pas sentir que le précieux tems de la jeunesse ne doit point être employé à de pareilles inepties. Je ne parle pas ici des ballets où la Religion peut être intéressée; je sai (sic) que cet inconvénient est rare, grace à la vigilance des supérieurs; mais je sai (sic) aussi que malgré toute cette vigilance, il ne laisse pas de se faire sentir quelque-fois. Voyez dans le journ. de Trév. nouv. littér. Sept. 1750. la critique d'un de ces ballets très-édifiante à tous égards. Je conclus du moins de tout ce détail, qu'il n'y a rien de bon à gagner dans ces sortes d'exercices, et beaucoup de mal à en craindre.

(III 636 a)

This very long extract, although only seven sentences of d'Alembert's prose, has been given almost verbatim because of its undeniable importance as a comment both on the curriculum and on the teaching methods of the period. The polemical nature of d'Alembert's style cannot be conveyed by summary or clumsy curtailment of his sentences. The result of his article, deriving both from style and content, was that it provoked furious indignation in certain quarters. D'Alembert's scorn is of course directed at the type of plays that were publicly staged and in which boys took part, rather than at the educational value of class-room drama as such. There is no good reason to suppose that he disapproved of all the plays that were staged at various times in different schools, such as, for example, Corneille's "Pompée" which was presented in Orleans in 1754.²⁰ A defence of the use of drama in education is undertaken by M.*** du Collège de *** in his "Observations sur un des articles du Dictionnaire Encyclopédique",

20. See André SCHIMBERG, L'Education Morale dans les collèges de la Compagnie de Jésus en France sous l'Ancien Régime, Paris, 1913, p.376.

which purports to be a refutation of d'Alembert's article COLLEGE.

Examination of scores of articles in the Encyclopédie has failed to reveal much more of any real substance having specific relevance to other subjects normally found in the standard educational curriculum of today. There is, surprisingly, little reference to the teaching of such things as, for example, the sciences, mathematics or, less surprisingly, handicrafts. D'Alembert in his article GEOMETRE (Mathématiq.) expresses the belief that children are capable of learning some geometry. Earlier in the article he had equated geometry with mathematics in general. "Je ne suis pas éloigné de penser, ... que l'on peut apprendre la Géométrie aux enfans, et qu'ils sont capables de s'appliquer à cette science, pourvû qu'on se borne aux seuls élémens, qui étant peu compliqués, ne demandent qu'une conception ordinaire; mais ces qualités médiocres ne suffisent pas dans l'étude des Mathématiques transcendantes." (VII 627 a). Although Jaucourt claims in SCIENCES, jeux instructifs pour apprendre les, that "on a trouvé de bonnes méthodes pour étudier l'histoire, la chronologie, la géographie, la fable et le blason", (XIV 793 a) little is said about recent developments in method with regard to these or most other subjects.

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PART V

Assessment and Testing

Discussion in the Encyclopédie, by the earnest Jaucourt and other contributors, of teaching methods does not include, as might perhaps reasonably have been expected, lengthy consideration of methods used in

the assessment and monitoring of progress. In fact very little is to be found which might be regarded as evaluation of testing and examining and their place in the educational process. This is the more surprising because the emphasis placed by the Jesuits in their schools on competition, on fostering rivalry between pupils, and on regular testing is well known. Rousseau in Emile was to warn of the dangers inherent in this system when taken to extremes. The comparative silence of the Encyclopédistes may be taken as further evidence in support of the claim that they were more concerned with the theoretical aspect of education, with what should be taught, rather than the practical aspect, concerned with how teaching should be carried out.

However Faiguet in his article ETUDES (Littérat.) does tackle the question of assessment. He claims that public debates and the exercise of sustaining theses encourage the pupil to show off and to employ the tricks and devices of the debating chamber to make his points. Faiguet questions the educational value of this activity and prefers a more rigidly formal examination which is limited as to content.

Je ne voudrois donc que peu ou point de thèses: j'aimerois mieux des examens fréquens sur les divers traités qu'on fait apprendre; examens réitérés, par exemple, tous les trois mois, avec l'attention de répéter dans les derniers ce qu'on auroit vû dans les précédens: ce seroit un moyen plus efficace que les thèses, pour tenir les écoliers en haleine, et pour prévenir leur négligence.

(VI 93 b)

Faiguet goes on to say that the sustaining of a thesis, being a less frequent and regular exercise, encourages in the pupil a dilatory and often lazy attitude towards his studies; "il n'est pas rare qu'on s'endorme sur son étude." Regular, oral, testing, and it is clear from what follows that this is what Faiguet has in mind and not public examinations, will

combat this tendency: "Les examens fréquens dont je viens de parler serviroient à réveiller les jeunes gens. Ce seroit là comme le prélude des examens généraux et décisifs que l'on fait subir aux candidats, et qui sont toujours plus redoutables pour eux que l'épreuve des thèses." (VI 93 b). Faiguet next makes it clear that he wishes the pupil's factual knowledge of the content of his school text-book to be tested. "Au surplus, il conviendrait ... de s'en tenir aux traités actuels dont on feroit l'objet de leurs études, de les examiner sur cela seul, et le livre à la main, sans chercher des difficultés éloignées non contenues dans l'ouvrage dont il s'agit." (VI 93 b).

Faiguet's mention of "examens généraux et décisifs" introduces the question of the formal, public examination, of the type, for example, appropriate to professional qualification. The Encyclopédistes venture few opinions on this type of examination, their articles being confined almost without exception to statements of fact. It is true that Faiguet warns in ETUDES against the bigotry of some examiners and says; "Il regne sur cela un abus bien digne de réforme", (VI 93 b) but the theme is not developed to any significant extent. A passing reference in the unsigned article BIBLIOTHEQUE (II 228 b) to China and the need to be highly qualified there for even a minor post may be interpreted by some as an indirect comment on educational standards in France and as a hint of the general desirability of more widespread education.

Il est certain que toutes les Nations cultivent les Sciences les unes plus, les autres moins; mais il n'y en a aucune où le savoir soit plus estimé que chez les Chinois. Chez ce peuple on ne peut parvenir au moindre emploi qu'on ne soit savant, du moins par rapport au commun de la nation. Ainsi ceux qui veulent figurer dans le monde sont indispensablement obligés de s'appliquer à l'étude. Il ne suffit pas chez eux d'avoir la réputation de savant, il faut l'être réellement pour pouvoir parvenir aux dignités et aux honneurs;

chaque candidat étant obligé de subir trois examens très-séveres, qui répondent à nos trois degrés de bachelier, licencié, et docteur.

(II 232 b)

The question of professional qualifications however is a matter for a later chapter of this study which will deal, amongst other questions, with what the Encyclopédistes say about that part of education which the twentieth century designates "post-school" education.

Related Ideas on the Role and Education of the Mother

The course of training recently conceived for those wishing to pursue a career educating the pre-school child usually includes sections commonly labelled "social training", "communication skills", and "forms of learning", (cognitive, intuitive, imitative, etc.). Several Encyclopédistes have observations to make on these, or closely related, subjects. Mention has been made already, during discussion of language acquisition, concept formation and cognitive learning in Chapter IV, of certain aspects of communication skills. Aspects of social training have been mentioned in Chapter III. The subject of parental involvement in child education was briefly discussed in Chapter II. A number of Encyclopédistes believed it necessary to "educate" parents, especially mothers, by enumerating their duties towards their offspring. This belief had some justification in so far as many wealthier parents of the period paid outsiders to look after their infants even when very young. The employment of wet-nurses, for example, was widespread.

The education of women is treated by several Encyclopédistes primarily in terms of their roles as wife and mother. As may be anticipated, this leads to lengthy discussion of the part played by the mother in the early education of her child. However, the discussion is not straightforward, nor is it always coherent. Once again the terminology used may on occasions be misleading to the unwary, modern reader.

An investigation of the varying attitudes to women found in the seventeen volumes of text would provide material for a separate study. Apart from difficulties resulting from the ambivalence of contributors in their attitude to women, ranging from Lefebvre's "Votre épouse ... elle-même est un enfant" (VII 784b-785a) to the anonymous writer of PUISSANCE PATERNELLE

who regards parental authority as a "droit qui appartient également aux meres", (except that it is subordinate to that of fathers) (XII 560 b), there is the additional problem of trying to decide when the writers actually have women in mind. Just as there are very many occasions on which the writers of the period talk of children when they are thinking only of boys, so there are numerous times when they talk of parents and are thinking only of fathers.

It seems appropriate to examine first the role of the woman as mother, as presented in the Encyclopédie. This is no simple task. It involves an investigation of what is said about family life. Inextricably woven into such discussion are elements concerning the raising and education of infants together with the related responsibilities of the mother. At the same time, and often in the same articles, words of instruction or admonition are addressed directly at the mother. Intermingled with these elements are more general remarks concerning the education of women, sometimes linked with the duties of motherhood. Parts of such articles may be addressed to "parents", meaning fathers, or to persons outside the family group such as, for example, the "gouvernante".

Considerable space in the Encyclopédie is devoted to questions of family life. In the context of the education of the very young child such diverse subjects as, for example, wet-nursing, enuresis, punishment and diet are mentioned.

One analogy which recurs constantly and is evidently dear to the hearts of many contributors is that of the child and the plant. Imagery involving the tree is quite common in the period. At the beginning of Volume I of the "Table Analytique" there is a stylised tree of knowledge with branches and fruits. In the article CRITIQUE (Belles-lettres) Marmontel applies the image of the tree to society as a whole. (See IV 494 b.) Comparison of

children with plants, including trees, occurs in several articles. For example, in his article LOCKE, PHILOSOPHIE DE, Diderot writes;

Locke prend l'enfant quand il est né. Il me semble qu'il auroit dû remonter un peu plus haut. Quoi donc? n'y auroit-il point de règles à prescrire pour la production d'un homme? Celui qui veut que l'arbre de son jardin prospere, choisit la saison, prépare le sol, et prend un grand nombre de précautions, dont la plupart me semblent applicables à un être de la nature beaucoup plus important que l'arbre.

(IX 627 a)

The difficulties mentioned on page 155 above are exemplified in a subsequent sentence concerning the production of a human being.

Si l'on remplit d'amertume la journée d'une femme enceinte, croit-on que ce soit sans conséquences pour la plante molle qui germe et s'accroît dans son sein? lorsque vous aurez planté dans vôtre (sic) verger un jeune arbrisseau, allez le secouer avec violence seulement une fois par jour, et vous verrez ce qui en arrivera. Qu'une femme enceinte soit donc un objet sacré pour son époux et pour ses voisins.

(IX 627 a)

The article continues with advice on the nurture and raising of the infant. "Lorsqu' elle aura mis au jour son fruit, ne le couvrez ni trop ni trop peu. Accoutumez-le à marcher tête nue; rendez-le insensible au froid des piés. Nourrissez-le d'alimens simples et communs." (IX 627 a). The rest of the paragraph contains high-sounding but somewhat generalised advice concerning elementary moral education intermingled with the suggestion that "le goût simple et grand" will be fostered by "le spectacle de la nature." A leaning towards "sensibilité" is suggested by the sentence: "Malheur aux enfans qui n'auront jamais vû couler les larmes de leurs parens au récit d'une action généreuse. ... sur la misere des autres." (IX 627 a).

The provision of moral sustenance along with natural food and shelter is widely seen as a responsibility of parents and one which requires their physical presence during the earliest years of the child. That the mother

should feed her own child was considered of vital importance to the healthy physical and moral development of the infant.¹ Such support is likened, by Bourgelat for example, to the sticks used by the gardener to hold up young plants until they are grown strong enough to stand alone. In EXERCICES (Manége) Bourgelat compares a child's readiness for formal schooling undertaken by professionals with the moment that the gardener, having removed the supports from his plants, prepares to prune and shape them in order to render them useful. It is perhaps symptomatic of the reluctance of writers of the period to think of children as children that Bourgelat speaks first of them as coming from under their mother's wing and proceeds to compare them with young plants. The words quoted are purported to have been put into the mouth of Solon by Lucien.

Après que les enfans sont sortis de dessous l'aile de leurs meres, et dès qu'ils commencent à avoir le corps propre au travail et l'esprit capable de raison et de discipline, nous les prenons sous notre conduite, et nous exerçons l'un et l'autre. Nous croyons que la nature ne nous a pas fait (sic) tels que nous devons être, et que nous avons besoin d'instruction et d'exercice pour corriger nos défauts, et pour accroître nos avantages. Semblables à ces jeunes plantes que le jardinier soutient avec des bâtons, et couvre contre les injures de l'air jusqu'à ce qu'elles soient assez fortes pour supporter le chaud et le froid, et résister aux vents et aux orages. Alors on les taille, on les redresse, on coupe les branches superflues ..., on ôte les bâtons et les couvertures pour les endurcir et pour les fortifier.

(VI 248 a)

The argument that the support required by the infant is best supplied by the natural parents is very forcefully put elsewhere in the Encyclopédie. Yvon's article AMOUR PATERNEL is one example. (See I 370 a.) Jaucourt takes up the theme in his article EMMAILLOTTER. "En un mot, il n'y a

1. See Ch.II, p. 55 and Ch.III, pp. 95-96.

que la tendresse maternelle qui soit capable de cette vigilance continuelle, et de ces sortes d'attentions, qui sont ici si nécessaires: peut-on l'espérer dans les villes et dans les campagnes, de nourrices grossières et mercenaires, qui prennent à l'enfant un médiocre intérêt?" (V 569 a).

Jaucourt argues, in the article just mentioned, against the practice of swaddling small children. The practice is also condemned in the article *HOMME (Hist. nat.) as "usage barbare des seuls peuples policés", (VIII 257 b) and in the following part of that article.

The association of punishment with the process of education and the bringing up of children is inevitable. Some writers feel it necessary to state that a child should not be punished for something that is not his fault. A specific instance of this, in the context of the very young, may be found in the article URINE, maladie de l' (Médecine.) by Malouin, a doctor of medicine. It is to Malouin's credit that he speaks out against the custom of beating small children for bed-wetting. His literary style may not conform with the taste of the modern reader but the ideas are interesting. The article contains in florid detail an account of enuresis and its consequences and then suggests the improperly educated mother may well be to blame. In a single, discursive and hortatory sentence, Malouin supplies both information and instruction.

Meres injustes, qui venez la main armée de verges visiter avec une exactitude inquiète le berceau de ces tendre (sic) victimes, et qui vous préparez à leur faire expier sous les coups leur prétendue faute, suspendez pour un moment ces coups, apprenez qu'il ne peut y avoir de faute sans la participation de la volonté, que ce qui vous en paroît une, est une action très-indifférente, que c'est le symptôme d'une maladie que l'enfant ne peut pas plus empêcher, qu'un accès de fièvre ou de colique, et qui loin d'attirer votre courroux et vos châtimens, doit exciter votre tendresse et vos soins; prenez garde d'ailleurs que ce ne soit pas l'avarice ou le déplaisir de voir gâter les meubles qui servent au lit de votre enfant, qui arme votre main, déguisé

sous le prétexte plausible d'une correction nécessaire; mais sur-tout pensez que si quelqu'un est coupable, c'est vous qui nourrissez trop mollement votre enfant, qui le gorgez de boissons aqueuses, qui ne lui laissez pas faire l'exercice convenable, et qui enfin négligez de lui procurer les remèdes appropriés.

(XVII 509 b)

Malouin's words may be seen as part of the care to be taken with parents and their edification as recommended by Diderot, amongst others, in, for example, the article *HOMME (Politique). "Ce sont les enfans qui font des hommes. Il faut donc veiller à la conservation des enfans par une attention spéciale sur les peres, sur les meres et sur les nourrices." (VIII 278 b).

The recurrent call illustrated in preceding pages of this chapter for personal involvement of parents, especially mothers, in the earliest education of their offspring amounts to an enunciation of part of the message many Encyclopédistes seek to spread. They want the concept to form part of the education of young women. The husband, if no other person has previously undertaken the task, should instruct his wife in the duties of motherhood. This is seen as a requirement by a number of writers. In Diderot's article SOCRATIQUE, PHILOSOPHIE, under the sub-heading "Principes de Socrate sur la prudence domestique" the precept is set out: "Il ne faut pas laisser ignorer à sa femme ce qu'il lui importe de savoir, pour votre bonheur et pour le sien." (XV 264 b). Another principle listed is worth mentioning as indicative of the special responsibility of the mother: "Ce n'est pas sans raison que la nature a attaché plus fortement les meres aux enfans, que les peres." (XV 264 b).

The duties of parenthood are summarised again in the article DEVOIR (Droit. nat. Relig. nat. Morale.) by Jaucourt. "Du mariage viennent des enfans; de-là naissent des devoirs réciproques entre les peres et meres et leurs enfans. Un pere et une mere doivent nourrir et entretenir leurs

enfants également et aussi commodément qu'il leur est possible, former le corps et l'esprit des uns et des autres sans aucune préférence." (IV 916 b).

Comparatively little is said about the characteristics of the child qua child. Occasional points are made about the limitations of the infant. Too much should not be expected of the young by those responsible for teaching good conduct. Diderot declares some children to be "mal-nés", and seemingly beyond redemption, in the article INCORRIGIBLE. (VIII 656 a). In discussing the babblings of the infant, Beauzée, in his article INTERJECTION (Gram. Eloq.) quotes de Brosses: "le langage des animaux est vraisemblablement tout interjectif, et semblable en cela à celui des enfants nouveau-nés, qui n'ont encore à exprimer que leurs affections et leurs besoins." (VIII 827 b). Dumarsais' ideas about the young child and how he learns to talk, expressed in the article CONSTRUCTION (terme de Grammaire), have been discussed in Chapter IV (see pp.116-7). Ideas favoured by Jaucourt on development at this stage are found in the article FACULTE (Physique et Médecine):

Les enfans se laissent entraîner par des sensations, qui les déterminent immédiatement dans leurs actions; mais lorsqu'ils sont plus instruits, ils réfléchissent, ils raisonnent, ils choisissent, ils forment des desseins, ils inventent des moyens pour les exécuter, ils acquièrent des connoissances, ils les augmentent par l'exercice; ils apprennent, ils pratiquent, et perfectionnent les Arts et les Sciences. L'avancement de l'âge ne donne point cet avantage aux bêtes.

(V 364 b)

This view of childhood seemingly so firmly rooted in adult perspectives, emphases and priorities, exerted strong influences on contemporary attitudes to the education of the very young. Lefebvre deems it necessary to inform the "gouvernante" and the general reader, in the article GOUVERNANTE D'ENFANS, that "Les enfans sont incapables de discussion." (VII 787 b). Similarly, Dumarsais, in the article EDUCATION, informs his readers: "Quand nous venons au monde, nous vivons, mais nous ne sommes pas d'abord en état de

faire cette réflexion, je suis, je vis, et encore moins celle-ci, je sens, donc j'existe." (V 400 a). While it may seem surprising to the modern reader that such eminent Encyclopédistes as Dumarsais and Lefebvre judge it fitting to put these statements in print, it does reveal more about the general attitude to the infant and to his education in the period. It would seem that, to the eighteenth century, the child appeared as a miniature adult with underdeveloped powers of analysis, the analysis being of an adult type, predominantly verbal, and of an adult world. Education at this stage was confidently expected to lead to an appreciation of adult things in an adult manner. For the most part, recognition that the world of the child may be essentially different from the world of the adult is not apparent, certainly not in an explicit form. The modern educationist would probably contend that children are capable of discussion but on their own terms, in their own way, and of their own world, i.e. the world of childhood. Elsewhere than in the Encyclopédie certain contributors, notably Rousseau,² appear to be aware of this. The articles dealing with the area of child development which includes language acquisition do not bring out significantly the undoubtedly important role of parental involvement in fostering and encouraging communication skills.

Further examples of indirect education which is aimed primarily at women may be found in articles mentioning illness during childhood. The medical doctor d'Aumont does not hesitate to blame mothers in particular cases. In the article ENFANS (MALADIES DES) the accusation is made; "C'est encore plus particulièrement des meres que viennent ces vices héréditaires, à cause des erreurs qu'elles commettent pendant leur grossesse."

2. "La nature veut que les enfants soient enfants avant que d'être hommes", Emile, Livre Second, Garnier-Flammarion, Paris, 1966, p.108.

(V 659 b). Some of the errors are specified; over-eating, intemperance with regard to "boissons spiritueuses", and a "disposition à s'occuper de soins inutiles, de desirs vagues, d'imaginations dérégliées" which, together with inordinate susceptibility to "la crainte, la terreur, les frayeurs, ... la tristesse, ... la colère, ... la vengeance et ... toute passion forte", (V 659 b) affect the health of the unborn child. D'Aumont acknowledges indebtedness to Locke and his "excellent ouvrage sur l'éducation des enfans" which he says is "sans contredit une des meilleures sources dans lesquelles on puisse puiser des préceptes salutaires pour l'éducation des enfans, soit physique, soit morale." (V 660 a). D'Aumont in the article under discussion has done just that.

A different aspect of childhood sickness is mentioned in the article GOUVERNANTE D'ENFANS. There is a danger to be guarded against of over-indulging the young patient. Lefebvre warns; "un mois de maladie nuit plus à son éducation qu'une année de soins n'a pû l'avancer." (VII 785 a).

In this important article Lefebvre deals with several aspects of early education relevant to the present discussion. He begins with the statement that the "gouvernante" is "la première personne à qui les grands et les riches confient l'éducation d'un enfant" and follows with the assertion; "les impressions qu'il reçoit de la gouvernante sont plus importantes qu'on ne croit." (VII 783). The "gouvernante" is responsible for her charge, male of course, until, at the age of seven, "il passe entre les mains des hommes." (VII 783 b).

Lefebvre insists repeatedly that much harm may be done by wrong handling of the young child. He declares that an infant of two years can become a tyrant if he is allowed to use tears to express his wishes rather than his needs. (VII 783 b). He lists the wrong ways of dealing with the small child, especially flattering him on account of his illustrious parent-

age and wealth, indulging his greed, being afraid to deny or to annoy him. (VII 783 b). The result of such treatment is that after the age of seven the infant's faults are virtually ineradicable.

Abandonné au dérèglement de ses goûts et au désordre de ses idées, il s'élèvera lui-même le plus doucement et le plus mal qu'il lui sera possible; ... les habitudes se multiplieront; et de leur assemblage se formera dans l'enfant l'habitude générale de compter pour rien ce qu'on lui dit être la raison, et de n'écouter que son caprice et sa volonté.

(VII 784 a)

The men who take over responsibility for the child's education at the age of seven can achieve little to retrieve the situation. "Avec beaucoup de peine on pourra, jusqu'à un certain point, retrancher la superficie de ses mauvaises habitudes: mais les racines resteront; fortifiées par le temps, elles se sont, pour ainsi dire, identifiées avec l'ame; elles sont devenues ce qu'on appelle la nature." (VII 784 a). Lefebvre then claims; "Cette peinture n'a rien d'exagéré." (VII 784 a). On the other hand, Lefebvre later declares; "il est cependant manifeste que celui qui est élevé dans la soumission est, pour le présent même, mille fois plus heureux que l'enfant le plus gâté." (VII 784 b). This is followed by a homiletic outburst directed at inadequate parents. "Parens aveugles, vous vous trompez grossièrement sur les objets que vous vous proposez; ... ce ne sont pas vos enfans que vous aimez, c'est l'amusement qu'ils vous donnent.

Croyez-vous que le ciel vous les confie pour être l'objet d'une passion folle, ou pour vous servir d'amusement? ignorez-vous que c'est un dépôt dont vous lui rendrez compte?" (VII 784 b). Lefebvre proceeds to paint a grim picture of the future for badly raised infants. They will be scorned and despised by all. Parents will blame everybody but themselves for this state of affairs. Lefebvre, in continuing his homily, reveals his attitude to women; "Parens injustes, vous n'aurez peut-être

à vous plaindre que de vous! ... c'est aux peres que je m'adresse: en leur qualité d'hommes, leur ame doit être moins foible et leurs vûes moins bornées; il ne leur est pas permis de se laisser séduire par l'objet présent, et de ne pas porter leurs yeux dans l'avenir." (VII 784 b). As does Diderot in the article LOCKE, PHILOSOPHIE DE, (see p.156 above), Lefebvre expresses the idea: "Si vous êtes dignes de ce titre de pere, vous devez vous occuper de l'éducation de vos enfans, même avant qu'ils soient nés." (VII 784 b).

Later in the article parents are warned against displaying their emotions towards the child. "Que ses parens lui cachent toute la tendresse qu'ils ont pour lui." (VII 785 b). This contrasts somewhat with the ideas of Diderot mentioned earlier in this chapter. (See p. 156 above.)

Elsewhere in his article Lefebvre warns against allowing the child to associate with vulgar persons, especially "les valets". (VII 786 b). This was mentioned earlier.³ Jaucourt in PRIVILEGE reinforces these strictures. (See XIII 390 a-b.) The young child should also be excluded from social gatherings of the type attended by polite society. Such association while harmless for adults may not be so innocuous for children. (VII 786 b).

Lefebvre, like Malouin, (see pages 158-159 of this chapter), is against the constant use of corporal punishment as a means of educating the child. He regards it as "un châtime^ht d'esclave." (VII 787 b).

The fundamentally sombre view of the father's role expressed by Lefebvre in GOUVERNANTE D'ENFANS may usefully be set against the idealised picture painted by Jaucourt in his article MARIAGE (Droit naturel) (See X 104 b).

3. See Ch.III, p.95.

This chapter has revealed a certain amount of confusion amongst Encyclopédistes dealing with the educational needs of the pre-school child. It has also revealed a variety of attitudes towards women, especially in their role as mothers. Further appraisal of attitudes towards women and their education will be the concern of the next chapter.

An attempt was made in the preceding chapter to isolate what is to be found in the Encyclopédie concerning the education of women for the specific role of motherhood and within the restricted context of the education of the very young child. The confusion demonstrated there is found again in the treatment of more general questions to do with the education of women.

In order to comprehend the basis for views expressed, it seems necessary briefly to examine a few more general attitudes. This in its turn is necessary because Encyclopédistes in their contributions reveal little direct interest in the education, in the sense of academic schooling, of girls.

The place of women in society is discussed in a number of articles and occasionally this leads to observations on the sort of education they should receive. Contributors are patronising at one moment, condemnatory at another, and at times simply sentimental. They tend to be vague about what women should learn beyond the arts and skills of domesticity. In so far as the Encyclopédie mirrors the attitudes of its era, this lack of real interest and concern should cause little surprise.

Les filles ne sont guère plus favorisées que les enfants d'agriculteurs. Le problème de l'enseignement féminin n'est envisagé que par Rolland d'Erceville et en deux ou trois lignes. Il le juge souhaitable, propose que l'on songe à former pour elles des maîtresses d'école, mais il ne va pas plus loin. La Chalotais pense bien, de son côté, que des femmes cultivées sauraient mieux élever leurs enfants. Mais où auraient-elles acquis cette culture, comment? Il ne le précise pas. Visible-ment, le problème intéresse peu nos réformateurs.¹

Desmahis was not alone in his notion, expressed in the article FEMME (Morale), that "les femmes ne different pas moins des hommes par le coeur

1. J. MORANGE et J-F. CHASSAING, Le Mouvement de Réforme de l'Enseignement en France 1760-1798, Paris, 1974, p.26.

et par l'esprit, que par la taille et par la figure; mais l'éducation a modifié leurs dispositions naturelles en tant de manieres ... que plus on fait d'observations, moins on trouve de résultats." (VI 472 a). The precise nature of the "éducation" Desmahis here has in mind is a matter for conjecture. The reader may well be left wondering what sort of education could be suitable for the creatures of such impenetrable mystery that he describes.

For the most part the Encyclopédistes content themselves with a basically negative approach to the question, couched in vague, generalised terms, in which they condemn what they regard as the neglect of women's education, criticise the nature of what is provided, and, occasionally, abuse those who are involved as teachers.

The predominance of the male in social importance is proclaimed throughout the Encyclopédie. Jaucourt's view, expressed in the article FEMME (Droit. nat.), is typical. He describes the man as "celui qui étant doué d'une plus grande force d'esprit et de corps, contribue davantage au bien commun, en matiere de choses humaines et sacrées." (VI 471 a).

The author of the article FEMME (Anthropologie), Barthès, a medical doctor, points to the physical weakness of women. "Hippocrate ... dit positivement qu'une femme ne devient point ambidextre. Galien le confirme, et ajoute que c'est à cause de la foiblesse qui lui est naturelle." (VI 469 a). Barthès later acknowledges that prejudice has contributed to the standard attitude to women: "Les divers préjugés sur le rapport d'excellence de l'homme à la femme, ont été produits par les coutumes des anciens peuples, les systèmes de politique, et les religions." (VI 469 a-b). The indoctrination of succeeding generations resulting from the perpetuation of traditional views and practices may legitimately be reckoned part of the process of indirect education. Barthès goes on to make a curious

claim about the effects of Christianity and Christian teaching. "J'en excepte la religion chrétienne, qui a établi, comme je le dirai plus bas, une supériorité réelle dans l'homme, en conservant néanmoins à la femme les droits d'égalité." (VI 469 b). This statement does not seem to stand up to critical analysis.

While discussing, later in his article, the phenomenon of educated women, Barthès suggests at one point that study may detract from the innocence of women while the next moment he claims that study may weaken the hold of their "penchans vicieux". (VI 469 b).²

The ambivalent attitude revealed by Barthès is paralleled by the opening words of FEMME (Morale) by Desmahis: "ce nom seul touche l'ame, mais il ne l'élève pas toujours." (VI 472 a). It is probably true to say that, as a group, the Encyclopédistes think of women in a good light chiefly when they consider them in the roles of wife and mother. Their stress on the "natural" superiority of the man leaves the woman in a position which is definitely subordinate to her husband, who, as was mentioned earlier, is to take responsibility for the education of his wife with regard to her physical and moral conduct so as to make her fitted for motherhood. Apart from education for the domestic role, the various articles yield little relevant to the schooling of girls. Contemporary practice stressed the teaching of domestic skills. In a discussion of the part played by members of religious orders, Chartier, Compère and Julia declare: "Peu de statuts différencient l'éducation des filles de celle des garçons." A contemporary text is quoted:

les maîtresses apprendront de plus aux filles
à coudre, à filer ou à faire quelque autre
travail qui leur soit propre et convenable.
On retrouve là un des thèmes des plus constants

2. For full quotation see pp. 173-174 of this chapter.

de la pédagogie ... qui voit dans la petite fille une éternelle Pénélope. Coudre et filer sont les activités féminines par excellence qui peuvent s'exercer à l'ombre d'un mari ou d'une manufacture. Nombre de congrégations en feront leur seul enseignement avec l'instruction religieuse.³

The product of such an education, embellished by an over-active imagination, seems to have found a place in Desmahis' article, FEMME (Morale). His words should not surprise, however much they may dismay, the modern reader. After contrasting a virtuous woman, described as having a "coeur qui est pur" and a "raison qui est saine", with the "folles", who indulge in "la coquetterie", Desmahis goes further.

Enfin il est une autre plus solidement heureuse encore; son bonheur est d'ignorer ce que le monde appelle les plaisirs, sa gloire est de vivre ignorée. Renfermée dans les devoirs de femme et de mere, elle consacre ses jours à la pratique des vertus obscures: occupée du gouvernement de sa famille, elle regne sur son mari par la complaisance, sur ses enfans par la douceur, sur ses domestiques par la bonté: sa maison est la demeure des sentimens religieux, de la piété filiale, de l'amour conjugal, de la tendresse maternelle, ...

(VI 475 a)

and so on. Inevitably one is reminded by this of Book V of Emile, Rousseau's treatise on education. In the course of an interesting discussion on the education of women in the Ancien Régime, Ian Cumming, amusingly and with some justification, speaks of Rousseau's Sophie as "the likeable ignoramus whom Rousseau united with Emile."⁴ Once again the Encyclopédie may be seen to mirror the age.

In spite of the way his fellow Encyclopédistes insist on the importance of the woman's role within the household and her contribution to family life, Lefebvre advises against allowing women their say in so

3. L'Education en France du XVI^e au XVIII^e Siècle, Paris, 1976, p.245.

4. Helvétius, His Life and Place in the History of Educational Thought, London, 1955, p.156.

important an educational and domestic matter as the choice of a "gouverneur". In seeking advice the father is warned; "Défiez-vous des gens du monde ... Défiez-vous sur-tout des femmes. Elles sont pressantes; et leur imagination ne saisit rien foiblement."

(GOUVERNEUR D'UN JEUNE HOMME, VII 793 b). This idea does not seem to fit in with the belief expressed elsewhere; the husband has had at least seven years, probably more, to educate his wife. In that time she should have learnt something about appointing household staff.

The part played by physical activity in educational provision for girls is touched on in the article *ENFANS (Hist. Anc.) by Diderot.⁵ In the same article a familiar theme is to be found again, namely that in countries other than France educational practices are often better. Amongst the Germanic peoples, Diderot claims, mothers looked after their own infants. In ancient Rome, "Les bonnes meres élevoient elles-mêmes leurs filles." (V 656 b).

This introduces the topic of the part played by the mother in the education of a girl. Encyclopédistes, Rousseau and Diderot among others, approve of the mother training her daughter to proficiency in domestic matters. The part she plays in educating her daughter for her role in Society is often condemned. Jaucourt writes scathingly in DEVOIR (Droit. nat. Relig. nat. Morale) of the frivolous preoccupations of "les grands" and sarcastically of the "duties" expected of women. Of these duties he says:

Tous ceux qu'on nous impose (écrivait-il (sic) n'y a pas long-tems l'ingénieuse Zilia, dans ses Lett. Péruv.) se réduisent à entrer en un jour dans le plus grand nombre de maisons qu'il est possible, pour y rendre et y recevoir un tribut de loüanges réciproques sur la beauté du visage,

5. For quotation, see Ch.IV, pp.146-147.

de la coëffure, et de la taille, sur l'exécution du goût et du choix des parures.

(IV 917 b)

Desmahis comments in a similar vein when he informs the reader that the girl after her convent education returns to her family; "pour y recevoir une seconde éducation qui renverse toutes les idées de la première, et qui portant plus sur les manières que sur les mœurs, échange continuellement des diamans mal-taillés ou mal-assortis, contre des pierres de composition." (FEMME (Morale) VI 472 b). The girl's education has been so inadequate and irrelevant according to Desmahis that she is at a loss in her new surroundings. "C'est alors", the article continues, "c'est après avoir passé les trois quarts du jour devant un miroir et devant un clavecin, que Chloé entre avec sa mère dans le labyrinthe du monde: là son esprit errant s'égaré dans mille détours ... là ... sans aucune connoissance de ce qui est digne d'estime ou du mépris, elle ne sait que penser." (VI 472 b). The main point made in this passage by Desmahis, and echoed by other Encyclopédistes elsewhere, may be summed up in the comment; "Après avoir formé Chloé pour l'amour, on a soin de lui en défendre l'usage." (VI 472 b).

Jaucourt does not seem to hold with "la galanterie" and its attendant frivolities as forming part of the educational experience of the young woman. In the article LACEDEMONE (Hist. de Grèce) he takes up the theme treated by Diderot in *ENFANS (see p.170 above) and, after more detailed observations, sums up; "En un mot, un Lacédémonien ne demandoit point à sa femme des voluptés, il lui demandoit des enfans." (IX 156 a).

Several other comments made by Desmahis in FEMME (Morale) are relevant to the present discussion. The "seconde éducation" mentioned in the extract above will be dealt with more fully in the next chapter. A certain vagueness about his writing leaves the reader in some doubt

about the precise form of education Desmahis is condemning when he writes, in a further passage dealing with "la coquetterie" and women, of "un caractere primitif, ... né de leur condition naturellement subordonnée, injustement servile, étendu et fortifié par l'éducation", which, he says, "ne peut être affoibli que par un effort de raison, et détruit que par une grande chaleur de sentiment." (VI 473 a). Earlier in his article, Desmahis appears to suggest that women are not given the chance of enlightenment or of developing into more useful beings. "Comment seroient-elles discrettes? elles sont curieuses; et comment ne seroient-elles pas curieuses? on leur fait mystere de tout: elles ne sont appellées (sic) ni au conseil, ni à l'exécution." (VI 472 b).

When, in a later paragraph, Desmahis condemns educational practice affecting girls, he appears to have in mind the convent education provided by nuns. "Pour les femmes, l'éducation est d'autant plus mauvaise qu'elle est plus générale, et d'autant plus négligée qu'elle est plus utile. On doit être surpris que des ames si incultes puissent produire tant de vertus, et qu'il n'y germe pas plus de vices." (VI 472 b). These words are immediately followed by criticism of the suitability of nuns for work in education and censure of the results.

Des femmes qui ont renoncé au monde avant que de le connoître, sont chargées de donner des principes à celles qui doivent y vivre. C'est de-là que souvent une fille est menée devant un autel, pour s'imposer par serment des devoirs qu'elle ne connoît point, et s'unir pour toujours à un homme qu'elle n'a jamais vû.

(VI 472 b)

This view of the activities of members of religious orders coincides with ideas expressed by D'Alembert in FRERES DE LA CHARITE.⁶

6. See Ch.II, p. 51. For a more charitable attitude to nuns see the article RELIGIEUSE by Jaucourt (XIV 77 b).

The inconsistencies in Desmahis' thinking are spotlighted by a remark later in his article, which may be an attempt at wit. "L'éloge du caractere ou de l'esprit d'une femme est presque toujours une preuve de laideur." (VI 472 b).

Although in the Encyclopédie the call is repeatedly heard for women to be educated to a domestic role, the notion that they might be educated to a wider social role is not developed. In places the opposite idea seems to obtain. For example, in the unsigned article MOEURS (Morale) attributed by some to Diderot, the influence exerted by women outside the family circle is not well viewed. "Dans une riche monarchie absolue,⁷ où les femmes donnent le ton, l'honneur, l'ambition, la galanterie, le goût des plaisirs, la vanité, la mollesse, seront le caractere distinctif des sujets; et comme ce gouvernement produit encore l'oisiveté, cette oisiveté, corrompant les moeurs, fera naître à leur place la politesse des manieres." (X 611 b)

There remains the question of the "blue-stocking". A few Encyclopédistes feel that, in view of the way the education of women has been generally neglected, this phenomenon must be explored. Barthès in FEMME (Anthropologie) sets out the puzzle. "On a si fort négligé l'éducation des femmes chez tous les peuples policés, qu'il est surprenant qu'on en compte un aussi grand nombre d'illustres par leur érudition et leurs ouvrages." (VI 469 b). The article continues with a report of a treatise concerning the educational activities of women.

A. Marie de Schurman a proposé (sic) ce problème: l'étude des lettres convient-elle à une femme chrétienne? Elle soutient l'affirmative; elle veut même que les dames chrétiennes n'en exceptent aucune, et qu'elles embrassent la science universelle. Son deuxième argument est fondé sur ce que l'étude des lettres éclaire, et donne une sagesse qu'on

7. Meaning, almost certainly, eighteenth-century France.

n'achetepoint (sic) par les secours dangereux de l'expérience. Mais on pourroit douter si cette prudence précoce ne coûte point un peu d'innocence. Ce qu'on peut dire de plus avantageux, pour porter à l'étude des Sciences et des Lettres, c'est qu'il paroît certain que cette étude cause des distractions qui affoiblissent les penchans vicieux.⁸

(VI 469 b)

The phenomenon of learned women is mentioned again by Boucher d'Argis in FEMME (Jurisp.). "Quelques femmes et filles ont été admises dans les académies littéraires; il y en a même eu plusieurs qui ont reçu le bonnet de docteur dans les universités." (VI 475 b). The examples then given refer, amongst others, to Italian universities, but no French university is mentioned.

It is clear that the Encyclopédistes as a group were not concerned with the possibility of providing women with the opportunity of formal, academic education. The few contributors who mention girls favour instruction in domestic matters and, in some cases, religion. A small number of girls would receive a "seconde éducation" by way of preparation for life in Society. The "seconde éducation", of both sexes, is treated in the next chapter.

8. This passage has been mentioned on p.168 of this chapter.

PART IHigher Education; Professional Training; Apprenticeships

Preceding chapters have been mostly concerned with the education received by children before they left school, if they attended it. The Encyclopédie devotes considerable space to various forms of what the twentieth century has labelled "post-school education". This chapter deals with higher education and vocational training for boys as well as the "seconde éducation" received by a minority of youngpersons of both sexes.

Most of what is found in the Encyclopédie about preparation for earning one's living is simply factual. So articles dealing with university matters, in respect of the higher faculties, tend mainly to catalogue rules, regulations, facts and responsibilities, with very little comment or evaluative judgment. The unsigned article UNIVERSITE (Belles-Lettres) is typical. It yields little more than factual information of the sort: "Dans chaque université on enseigne ordinairement quatre sciences, savoir la théologie, le droit, la médecine et les humanités ou les arts, ce qui comprend aussi la philosophie." (XVII 406 b). Similarly the article BACHELIER (Hist.mod.) by Mallet explains, in a subdivision; "A Paris, pour passer bachelier en Théologie, il faut avoir étudié deux ans en Philosophie, trois en Théologie, et avoir soutenu deux examens, l'un sur la Philosophie, et l'autre sur la première partie de la somme de saint Thomas." (II 7 a). This is followed by an indication of the course taken by a law student in Paris. (See II 7 b.) The entries under CHANCELIER (Hist.anc.mod. et Jur.) by Boucher d'Argis are rich in factual information about the responsibilities of those who hold such office with regard to supervision and ultimate control of "toutes les principalités, chapelles, bourses et régences des collèges" (III 96 a), to

granting permission to teach in Paris and elsewhere, and to giving, in the name and with the authority of the pope, "la bénédiction ... apostolique." (III 94 b).

As mentioned by Boucher d'Argis, the University of Paris was responsible for providing "collège" education, in the "Faculté des Arts", which rivalled that provided by the Jesuits. Several references in the Encyclopédie to the "université de Paris" are therefore concerned, not with higher education, but with a lower level of study. D'Alembert has words of praise for "l'université de Paris" in his article COLLEGE. (See III 635 a.) Similar references to the "université de Paris" are found in UNIGENITUS-CONSTITUTION (Hist. du jansénisme) by Jaucourt, (See XVII 384 a), and in JESUITE by Diderot, (see VIII 516 a).

References, relevant to this study, to the higher faculties of theology, medicine and law are less frequent. In the article BIBLE, attributed to Mallet, there is a statement of the function of a theologian followed by a passing reference to those who have studied at the "faculté de théologie de Paris", (see II 227 b). Diderot, in *ENCYCLOPÉDIE, mentions the Sorbonne as a source of contributions to a work such as the Encyclopédie, but only on "la Théologie, ... l'Histoire sacrée, et ... Superstitions." (V 635 v.b.). This is followed by the suggestion that the University should contribute only "ce qu'on entend par les Humanités, la Philosophie de l'école, la Jurisprudence, la Typographie, etc." (V 635 v.b.).

The article GRADUES (Jurisprud.) by Boucher d'Argis contains factual but sometimes quite interesting information about the awarding and conferment of degrees, dispensations, ("les gradués de grace",) and degrees bestowed by the pope in Italy and other Catholic countries ("les gradués de privilège".) "Les gradués de privilège", it is said, were not recognised in France. (See VII 808 a.) The article also mentions "degrés de grace de

docteurs ou de licentiés", which were bestowed on those persons nominated by the monarch to high ecclesiastical office. (See VII 808 a.)

Direct comparison between university education in France during the eighteenth century and university education as understood and practised today is not a viable exercise. In mid-eighteenth-century France the idea of university education as being beneficial "per se" had not developed. The higher faculties, theology, law, medicine, were specifically vocational.

D'Alembert's article ELEMENS DES SCIENCES (Phil.) deals in part with a more extended field within higher education. He writes about research and teaching. D'Alembert is critical of those who, in his day, devoted so much time to research, scholarship and seeking personal adulation from the public that they neglected to pass on their knowledge and experience to others by teaching. D'Alembert seems here to be declaring that the teaching of others is the moral and social duty of the scholar. While recognising that teaching may be a daunting task, he speaks out against those who "ne pensent qu' à découvrir et à jouir, et préfèrent la gloire d'augmenter l'édifice au soin d'en éclairer l'entrée." (V 496 b).

In the same article d'Alembert is critical of charlatanry in teaching; "car il ne faut pas s'imaginer que pour avoir effleuré les principes d'une science, on soit en état de les enseigner." (V 496 b). His words in ELEMENS DES SCIENCES apply seemingly to those who could be engaged in teaching at higher academic levels and so may be considered relevant to the subject of this chapter.

By contrast with the views of d'Alembert, Jaucourt, in his article MEDECINE (Art et Science) calls for greater recognition of the value of research and scholarship and more esteem for those involved. (See X 274 b.) The chevalier de Jaucourt was himself qualified as a doctor of medicine and therefore had some right to criticize the educational work done in French

institutions in this field. He complains in his article that undue emphasis is given to practical experience at the expense of study and research. He attributes this to a desire to follow fashion, to placate patients and to accumulate wealth. There is praise, in the article, of French achievements in the realm of medical science accompanied by some ponderous name-dropping. (See X 274 b.) There is lamentation that the example of the great men named is not followed and this is attributed to the poor training given to students of medicine.

Je crois entrevoir que la fausse méthode des académies, des écoles médicales, l'exemple, la facilité d'une routine qui se borne à trois remèdes; la mode, le goût des plaisirs, le manque de confiance de la part des malades; l'envie qu'ils ont de guérir promptement; les manières et le beau langage qu'on préfère à l'étude et au savoir; la vanité, le luxe d'imitation: le désir de faire une fortune rapide je ne veux point développer toutes les causes morales et physiques de cette triste décadence.

(X 274 b)

It is evident from Jaucourt's article that medical training and qualifications were obtainable from "académies" and "écoles médicales". Other "académies" provided training in such things as veterinary science, painting and, notably, prepared young noblemen for the military life.

The Encyclopédie has quite a lot to say on the education available by way of preparation for a military career. One of the major articles on education, EXERCICES (Manège) by Bourgelat, deals with this topic. The article ECOLE MILITAIRE by Paris de Meyzieu is also important. Beauzée of the Ecole Royale Militaire, whose articles are much cited in this study, was obviously involved with the education of those destined for the military life. There is praise for his institution, the Ecole Royale Militaire, in the article EDUCATION by Dumarsais (see V 463 a) and mention of its establishment, with thanks to Madame de Pompadour, in ECOLE MILITAIRE by Paris

de Meyzieu. (V 308 a).

In EXERCICES (Manège) Bourgelat explains that the subject applies "particulièrement ou principalement aux choses que la noblesse apprend dans les académies." He then goes on: "Ce mot comprend par conséquent l'exercice du cheval, la danse, l'action de tirer les armes et de voltiger, tous les exercices militaires, les connoissances nécessaires pour tracer et pour construire des fortifications, le dessein, et généralement tout ce que l'on enseigne et tout ce que l'on devrait enseigner dans ces écoles." (VI 247 a).

The comte de Tressan in his article GUERRE (HOMME DE) writes of the education of a young man preparing for a career in the army, undertaken not in an "académie" but in a private household. He is however dealing with the practices of earlier times. (See VII 995 a.)¹

The "Académie Royale de Peinture" is mentioned in the article DESSEIN (terme de l'art de Peinture) by Watelet. He says; "C'est par le dessein qu'on commence à s'initier dans les mysteres de la Peinture." (IV 890 a). Such activity should be undertaken by the young, when the hand is supple. Custom has established the teaching method followed which is "celle que prennent les jeunes élèves lorsque d'habiles maîtres daignent diriger leurs premiers pas, et qu'ils suivent en continuant leurs études à l'académie royale de Peinture, lorsqu'ils ont mérité d'être admis à son école." (IV 890 a).

So far this chapter has dealt chiefly with somewhat specialised forms of vocational education of a comparatively academic nature. The modern term "post-school education", however, also covers areas of educational activity, which, while not being exactly academic, are connected with the specialised training for a job which will enable the trainee to earn a

1. A long extract from this article may be found in Ch.IV, pp. 145-146.

living. Transposed into eighteenth-century terms this means, in effect and almost exclusively, for boys, apprenticeships. From the nature of the work it might have been expected that the Encyclopédie would contain significant and lengthy comment on this aspect of education, in the broad sense. In fact, yet again, there is little to be found beyond factual exposition and definition. The unsigned article OBLIGE (Comm.) informs the reader of the "acte par lequel un jeune homme se met en apprentissage chez un maître pour le nombre d'années portées par les réglemens de chacun des corps et communautés des marchands ou des arts et métiers. Ces actes doivent être passés par-devant deux notaires, et enregistrés par les jurés sur le registre du corps et communauté." (XI 305 b). The writer goes on to enumerate the duties of apprentice and master alike: "L'obligé porte un engagement réciproque des apprentifs envers leurs maîtres, et des maîtres envers leurs apprentifs; aux uns, de servir fidelement et assiduellement tout le tems de leur apprentissage; aux autres, de leur montrer leur progression ou métier, les garder chez eux et les nourrir tant qu'ils sont apprentifs." (XI 305 b). The article by Boucher d'Argis, GREFFE DES APPRENTISSAGES (VII 921 a) deals factually with the laws concerning apprenticeships. The article APPRENTIF ou APPRENTI (Commerce) by Mallet provides a detailed definition in the words:

jeune garçon qu'on met et qu'on oblige chez un marchand ou chez un maître artisan dans quelque art ou métier, pour un certain tems, pour apprendre le commerce, la marchandise et ce qui en dépend, ou tel ou tel art, tel ou tel métier, afin de le mettre en état de devenir un jour marchand lui-même, ou maître dans tel ou tel art, (I 555 b)

and concludes with a mention of the "chef-d'oeuvre." (I 556 a). Apart from entries of this nature, the Encyclopédie has little to say on this topic.

Discussion of apprenticeships concludes examination of the way the Encyclopédie treats the more formal aspects of the post-school education of youngmen of the period. There remains one facet to be considered, namely the "Seconde Education", which consisted of preparation for and initiation into the life of polite society. This is the subject of the second part of this chapter.

* * * * *

PART II

The "Seconde Education"

Some of the material in the Encyclopédie dealing with the "seconde éducation" received by the offspring of "les gens de qualité" has been mentioned in previous chapters because of its undoubted applicability to other aspects of education discussed there. While repetition has been avoided as far as possible, the relevance of such material, as, for example, Lefebvre's view of the importance a "gouverneur" should attach to religious education, in the context of the present chapter, has not been overlooked.

The expression "seconde éducation" is used to describe the instruction given to young people of both sexes on how to behave in polite society. Some Encyclopédistes acknowledge the necessity of such instruction being part of education for some children, while others seize the opportunity to attack the social and moral standards of the leisured rich.

It has been pointed out earlier that most eighteenth-century writers agreed that the education received by a child should fit him for his future role in society. It is therefore generally recognised that only the children of "gens de qualité" required, or indeed received, the "seconde éducation", which was acquired partly by experience, as a direct result of mixing with

other "gens de qualité", and partly by instruction from the family, usually the mother in the case of girls, or, in certain cases, from the "gouverneur" of a young man.

The problem for the "seconde éducation" as presented in several articles in the Encyclopédie is to make good the deficiencies which may have resulted from the years spent by a boy in the isolation of a "collège" class-room under the tutelage of those in religious communities. This is paralleled by Desmahis' criticism of the effect on girls of being educated by nuns in convents. There is clearly a difference in kind between the "première" and "seconde" educations. This obvious fact seems to have been overlooked by a few Encyclopédistes whose primary aim apparently was to disparage and denigrate the education provided by "collèges" and similar institutions under the auspices of certain religious groups.

If the "seconde éducation" is entrusted to a "gouverneur", then, according to Lefebvre in the eponymous article: "Ordinairement, et chez les gens de qualité, le jeune homme lui est remis, lorsqu' ayant fini l'étude du latin, il est sur le point de commencer ses exercices, et de faire les premiers pas dans le monde." (VII 792 a).

The transition from the closed world of the class-room to the freedom of the society "salon" was not easy for the young person to cope with. The advice proffered by Dumarsais in CLASSE (Gram.) includes the suggestion that "l'éducation publique" and "l'éducation domestique" might be combined to counteract the disadvantages of the prevailing system. Addressing the general reader, Dumarsais counsels: "Faites que votre jeune homme ne soit pas éblouï quand il voit le soleil, et que ce qu'il verra un jour dans le monde ne lui paroisse pas nouveau." (III 506 b). The problem Dumarsais is here seeking to avoid is precisely that delineated by other writers. Desmahis, for example, in FEMME (Morale), imagines a young woman, whom he

calls Chlôé, at a loss in polite society: "là toujours droite et silencieuse, ... elle craint de sentir, elle n'ose ni voir ni entendre; ou plutôt observant tout avec autant de curiosité que d'ignorance, voit souvent plus qu'il n'y en a, entend plus qu'on ne dit, rougit indécement, sourit à contre-sens, ..." (VI 472 b) and so on.

An indication of some elements included in a good "seconde éducation" is found in the unsigned article MANIERE (Gramm. Pol. Moral.) by Saint-Lambert. "Le code de la chevalerie les usages des anciens preux, les regles de l'ancienne courtoisie ont eu pour objet les manières. Elles sont encore en France, plus que dans le reste de l'Europe, un des objets de cette seconde éducation qu'on reçoit en entrant dans le monde, et qui, par malheur, s'accorde trop peu avec la premiere." (X 36 a-b).

Saint-Lambert's unfavourable comment on the "première éducation" recalls the article EXERCICES (Manège) by Bourgelat who introduces the idea of similar "agrément". "On ne réussit dans le commerce du monde, que sous la condition d'être utile, ou sous la condition d'y mettre de l'agrément; celle-ci suppose encore une politesse simple, douce, et aisée, sans laquelle les talents, n'ont aucun prix, et que des enfans n'acquerront qu'en renonçant à tous les plis de la premiere éducation, et en apprenant ce qu'ils n'ont jamais appris, c'est-à-dire à penser, à parler et à se taire." (VI 252 a).²

A somewhat different view of these matters is expressed by Jaucourt. In his article DEVOIR (Droit.nat., Relig.nat. Morale) he claims his contemporaries have cheapened the dictates of true duty and replaced true morality.

Mais comme ces obligations ont paru trop gênantes à notre siècle, il a jugé à-propos d'en alléger le poids et d'en changer la nature. Dans cette vûe nous avons insensiblement altéré la signification du mot de devoir pour l'appliquer à des moeurs,

2. This passage is mentioned in Ch.II, p.49.

des manieres, ou des usages frivoles, dont la pratique aisée nous tient lieu de morale.

(IV 917 b)

Jaucourt proceeds to spell out the effect these changes have had on education.

Il est arrivé de-là que les devoirs ainsi nommés chez les grands, et qui font chez eux la partie la plus importante de l'éducation, ne consistent guere que dans des soins futiles, des apparences d'égard et de respect pour les supérieurs, des regles de contenance ou de politesse, des compliments de bouche ou par écrit, des modes vaines, des formalités puérides, et autres sottises de cette espece que l'on inculque tant aux jeunes gens, qu'ils les regardent à la fin comme les seules actions recommandables, à l'observation desquelles ils soient réellement tenus.

(IV 917 b)

An equally jaundiced view of polite society is expressed by Faiguet de Villeneuve in his article EPARGNE (Morale). He draws attention to the place of example in the educative process and condemns the love of luxury and the scorn for thrift which he finds evident in the France of the day. This situation results directly from bad examples and "une mauvaise éducation." (V 745 b).³ Faiguet detects and condemns widespread degeneration compared with the days of his youth. (V 745 b).⁴ He declares that contemporary education "nous apprend à multiplier nos besoins, et par-là elle nous rend plus avides, plus à charge à nous-mêmes, plus durs et plus inutiles aux autres." (V 745 b). The real purpose of education should be to form "des citoyens, utiles, sobres, désintéressés, bienfaisans." (V 745 b).⁵ Much of Faiguet's article strikes a similar tone, suggesting that the education of the period was producing pleasure-seeking fops rather than the desirable "honnête homme et citoyen vertueux, utile à soi et à sa patrie." (V 746 a).

3. The passage is quoted in Ch.III, p.84.

4. The passage is quoted in Ch.II, pp.44-45.

5. The passage is quoted in Ch.II, p.42.

Although Lefebvre's article GOUVERNEUR D'UN JEUNE HOMME, is important as a contribution to what the Encyclopédie has to say on the subject of education, and although, for that very reason, the article has been cited frequently in this study, it is doubtful whether the casual reader would get much more from it than an impression of a series of pious platitudes clothed in high-sounding verbiage. Closer examination however reveals a number of points which deserve attention. Ideas found elsewhere are discovered again in the article. Amongst them are the dutiful father's concern for his child's education. The ideal is the "pere tendre ... qui regarde comme le premier de ses devoirs l'éducation de ses enfans." (VII 792 b). Again, many parents fail in these important duties. "Beaucoup de parens ne sont pas plus attentifs à cette partie de l'éducation qu' à toutes les autres." (VII 792 b). The educator, in this case the "gouverneur", should be something of a paragon with regard to moral rectitude, "une ame ferme, des moeurs douces, une humeur égale" (VII 793 a), "Qu'il ait moins de bel esprit que de bon esprit; ce qu'il lui faut c'est un sens droit, un discernement juste, un esprit sage et sans prétentions." (VII 792 b). The demeanour and manner of the "gouverneur" should be beyond reproach; "Ne soyez point minucieux," (VII 795 a) "n'ayez point de côtés foibles, ou cachez-les bien. ... Soyez le même tous les jours, et dans tous les momens de la journée." (VII 794 b). With unconscious irony Lefebvre declares at one point; "Le gouverneur que je viens de décrire n'est pas un homme ordinaire." (VII 793 b).

Other points of interest made are that the "gouverneur" should be "d'un âge mûr," (VII 792 b) and that preferably he should have previous experience. "Je souhaiterois outre cela qu'il eût fait une éducation; il y auroit acquis des lumieres auxquelles l'esprit ne supplée point." (VII 793 a). The "gouverneur" should have experience of "le monde":

Qu'il ait vécu dans le monde et qu'il le connoisse; car s'il a passé sa vie dans son cabinet ou dans un coin de la société, reculé de la sphere où son élève doit vivre, il sera gauche à beaucoup d'égards; il y aura mille choses qu'il ne verra pas dans le point de vûe où il faut les voir; il donnera à son élève des conseils ridicules, et avec du mérite il s'en fera mépriser.

(VII 792 b)

Lefebvre is also at pains to add "Qu'il ne soit pas non plus trop homme du monde." (VII 792 b). The "gouverneur" should treat his charge as an adult; "Traitez-le en homme fait, si vous voulez qu'il le devienne", (VII 796 a) should be exceedingly polite towards him; "Débutez avec lui par la plus grande politesse", (VII 794 b) and, while watching his moral behaviour, should remember that he is dealing with a member of the upper classes; "Veillez sur ses moeurs, mais songez que c'est un homme du monde que vous élevez." (VII 796 b).

The best type of person for the post of "gouverneur" according to Lefebvre is either "un homme de Lettres" or "un militaire". (VII 793 a). He should not have any physical defect. (VII 792 b). The "gouverneur" should be treated with respect by the rest of the household, including the family; "Qu'il soit annoncé dans la maison de la maniere la plus propre à l'y faire respecter." Addressing the father, Lefebvre advises; "Puisqu'il y vient prendre les fonctions de pere, il est juste que vous fassiez réjaillir sur lui une partie du respect qu'on vous porte." (VII 793 b).

Lefebvre lays particular stress on the importance the "gouverneur" should attach to cultivating the "sensibilité" of his charge. "Cultivez à tous égards la sensibilité de son ame. Avec une ame sensible on peut avoir des foiblesses, on est rarement vicieux." (VII 795 b). He also emphasizes the importance of developing a sense of justice. "Attachez-vous

sur-tout à lui donner des idées de justice." (VII 795 b - 796 a). At another point Lefebvre proclaims that "la raison" should predominate in the mind of the young man; "qu'il évalue tout au poids de la raison." (VII 796 b).

Lefebvre's article does not say much that is new to the educational debates of the era. The words "sensibilité, justice, raison" are three of the key-words in the vocabulary of the times. Lefebvre often catches the tone and the style of the age. At one point he says that "la politesse considérée dans son principe, n'est que l'expression des vertus sociales." (VII 796 a). This is no bad summary of the thinking behind the "seconde éducation" in the form favoured in the Encyclopédie.

CONCLUSION

Examination of what the Encyclopédie has to say on several aspects of education reveals much about the nature of the work and those who wrote for it. It has been demonstrated that there is a great deal of conventional and totally orthodox thinking in many articles studied. It has also been shown that much of the writing is concerned with theoretical considerations, that it is often vague and generalised, and that the ideas are not always founded in practical experience of teaching.

Children are not thought of, as they are in the twentieth century, as individuals with differing characteristics, abilities and rates of development. Furthermore childhood itself is not adequately and properly distinguished from later stages in life.

The criticisms that are found tend to be negative and destructive, with more than a hint of the polemical, as distinct from the calmly reasoned, in the argument. A proportion of this criticism looks backward rather than forward in the search for improvement, (Faiguët in EPARGNE, de Tressan in GUERRE, HOMME DE, etc.). The style of much of the writing is declamatory, didactic and self-assured, (Beauzée, Lefebvre, de Meyzieu). Assertions made often remain unsubstantiated.

On the other hand, several major questions broached continue to occupy the attention of those concerned with education today; the relationship between language and thought, the desirability and nature of some form of religious education, indoctrination of the young in the pursuit of social and political control, etc.

The philosophes, and especially d'Alembert, writing in the Encyclopédie on the subject of education make several points which reveal the undercurrents of thought that were to lead to the beginnings of significant change and reform. But the influence of the Encyclopédie as an instrument of reform should not be exaggerated. Account must be taken of the established fact that much in the work is orthodox and innocuous. Those who claim that the spirit of the Enlightenment springs out from every page of the Encyclopédie are misguided, certainly as far as the treatment of education is concerned.

APPENDIX IThe Encyclopédie. Source material.

All references are to the first edition in Durham University Library
of the

"ENCYCLOPÉDIE, ou DICTIONNAIRE RAISONNÉ DES SCIENCES, DES
ARTS ET DES MÉTIERS, PAR UNE SOCIÉTÉ DE GENS DE LETTRES.
Mis en ordre et publié par M. DIDEROT, de l'Académie Royale
des Sciences et des Belles-Lettres de Prusse; et quant à
la PARTIE MATHÉMATIQUE, par M. D'ALEMBERT, de l'Académie
Royale des Sciences de Paris, de celle de Prusse, et de
la Société Royale de Londres."
17 vols., Paris and Neuchâtel. 1751-1765.

Note:

The text has been copied as printed. No attempt has been
made to correct spelling, punctuation or grammar, except
that the ampersand has been expanded in every case.

APPENDIX I

Articles and other material from the Encyclopédie consulted and used

	Quotations	References	Total	<u>Author</u>
ABSTRACTION	-	-	-	
ACCENT	-	-	-	
AFFECTATION	-	-	-	
ALPHABET	1	-	1	Mallet
*AME	-	1	1	Yvon
AMOUR DES SCIENCES ET DES LETTRES	1	-	1	Yvon
AMOUR PATERNEL	9	3	12	Yvon -
ANALYSE	-	-	-	
ANALYSE, <u>en Logique</u>	2	1	3	Yvon
ANIMAL	-	-	-	
APPRENTIF, APPRENTI, (<u>Commerce.</u>)	1	1	2	Mallet
APPRENTISSAGE	-	-	-	
ARISTOTELISME	2	-	2	Yvon
ATHEES	4	1	5	Yvon -
ATHEISME	4	-	4	Yvon -
ATTENTION	-	-	-	
ATTITUDE, <u>en Ecriture</u>	-	1	1	
AUTORITE	-	-	-	
AUTORITE <u>dans les discours et dans les écrits</u>	-	-	-	
AUTORITE POLITIQUE	2	-	2	Diderot
AVERTISSEMENT, Tome III	-	2	2	d'Alembert
AVERTISSEMENT, Tome VI	-	-	-	
AVERTISSEMENT, Tome VIII	3	1	4	Diderot -
BACHELIER (<u>Hist.mod.</u>)	1	1	2	Mallet
BIBLE	-	1	1	Mallet
BIBLIOTHEQUE	1	-	1	Diderot
BREVET d'APPRENTISSAGE	-	-	-	

	Quotations	References	Total	<u>Author</u>
CALCUL	-	-	-	
CANON, <u>en Théologie</u>	-	-	-	
CAS, (<u>terme de Grammaire</u>)	1	-	1	Dumarsais
*CAS DE CONSCIENCE (<u>Morale</u>)	1	-	1	Diderot
CATECHESE	2	-	2	
CATECHISE, CATECHISTE	-	-	-	
CENSEUR	-	-	-	
CENSURE	-	-	-	
CENSURES ECCLESIASTIQUES	-	-	-	
CHANCELIER (<u>Hist.anc.mod.et Jur.</u>)	2	-	2	Boucher d'Argis
CHARITE	-	-	-	
*CHINOIS (PHILOSOPHIE DES)	-	-	-	
CHRONOLOGIE SACREE	-	-	-	
CITATION	1	1	2	Faiguet
CITATIONS DE DROIT	-	-	-	
CITOYEN	-	-	-	
CLASSE (<u>Gramm.</u>)	2	3	5	Dumarsais -
COLLEGE (<u>terme d'Architecture</u>)	1	-	-	Mallet
COLLEGE	19	16	35	d'Alembert -
CONSIDERATION, EGARD, RESPECT (<u>Gramm.</u>)	1	-	1	d'Alembert
CONSTRUCTION (<u>terme de Grammaire</u>)	1	1	2	Dumarsais
COURS	-	-	-	
CRITIQUE (<u>Belles-lettres</u>)	4	9	13	Marmontel -
CULTE	-	-	-	
DECRETALES	-	-	-	
DEFINITION	-	-	-	
DEGRE	-	-	-	
DEMOCRATIE	1	-	1	Jaucourt
DESSEIN	2	1	3	Watelet
DEVOIR (<u>Droit nat.Relig.nat.Morale.</u>)	10	1	11	Jaucourt -
DICTIONNAIRE	11	2	13	d'Alembert -
DIEU	1	1	2	(Formey)
DISCOURS PRELIMINAIRE	12	2	14	d'Alembert -

	Quotations	References	Total	Author
DISERT	-	-	-	
DOCTEUR	-	-	-	
DOCTEUR (<u>en Théologie</u>)	-	-	-	
DOCTORAT	-	-	-	
DOCTRINE	-	-	-	
DROIT DE COPIE	1	-	1	David
DROIT DE LA NATURE ou DROIT NATUREL	4	1	5	Boucher d'Argis
DRUIDE	-	-	-	
*ELECTISME	4	-	4	Diderot
ECOLE MILITAIRE	17	6	23	de Meyzieu -
ECONOMIE (<u>Morale et Politique</u>)	6	3	9	Rousseau -
ECRIRE	-	-	-	
*ECRITURE	2	1	2	Diderot
ECRITURE-SAINTE	2	1	2	Mallet
EDUCATION	6	4	10	Dumarsais -
EGALITE	-	-	-	
EGLISE	-	-	-	
ELEMENS DES SCIENCES	6	-	6	d'Alembert -
ELOCUTION	-	-	-	
ELOGE DE DUMARSAIS Tome VII	-	2	2	d'Alembert
ELOGE DE MALLET Tome VI	-	1	1	d'Alembert
ELOGE DE MONTESQUIEU Tome V	1	-	1	d'Alembert
EMMAILLOTTER	1	1	2	Jaucourt
*ENCYCLOPEDIE	11	3	14	Diderot -
ENFANCE (<u>Médecine</u>)	1	-	1	d'Aumont
*ENFANS (<u>Hist.Anc.</u>)	4	4	8	Diderot -
ENFANS, MALADIES DES	4	1	5	d'Aumont -
ENFANT (<u>Droit nat. Morale.</u>)	2	-	2	Jaucourt
ENNUI	-	-	-	
ENSEIGNEMENT	-	-	-	
EPARGNE	12	7	19	Faiguet -
EPHEBEUM	3	-	3	Jaucourt

	Quotations	References	Total	<u>Author</u>
ERUDITION	12	4	16	d'Alembert
ESPRIT	-	-	-	
ESPRIT (<u>Philos. et Belles-Lettres</u>)	-	-	-	
ETUDE (<u>Arts et Sciences</u>)	3	-	3	Jaucourt
ETUDES (<u>Littérat.</u>)	13	9	22	Faiguet
EXAMEN	-	-	-	
EXERCICES (<u>Manège</u>)	10	6	16	Bourgelat
EXPERIMENTAL	1	-	1	d'Alembert
FABLE (<u>apologue</u>)	-	-	-	
FABLE (<u>Belles-Lettres</u>)	4	1	5	Marmontel
FABULISTE	4	-	4	Jaucourt
FACULTE (<u>Physique et Médecine</u>)	-	-	-	
FEMME (<u>Anthropologie</u>)	6	2	8	Barthès
FEMME (<u>Droit nat.</u>)	1	-	1	Jaucourt
FEMME (<u>Jurisprud.</u>)	1	1	2	Boucher d'Argis
FEMME (<u>Morale</u>)	14	6	20	Desmahis
FIGURE	-	-	-	
FIGURE	-	-	-	
FONDATION	1	-	1	Turgot
FRANÇOIS ou FRANÇAIS	-	-	-	
FRATERNITE	-	-	-	
FRERES DE LA CHARITE	1	2	3	d'Alembert
GALLICISME	-	-	-	
GENS DE LETTRES	4	3	7	Voltaire
GEOMETRE	1	-	1	d'Alembert
GOUVERNANTE D'ENFANS	25	10	35	Lefebvre
GOUVERNEMENT	-	-	-	
GOUVERNEUR D'UN JEUNE HOMME	33	3	36	Lefebvre
GOUVERNEUR <u>de la personne d'un prince</u>	1	1	2	Lefebvre
GRADUES (<u>Jurisprud.</u>)	2	1	3	Boucher d'Argis
GRAMMAIRE	3	-	3	Beauzée

	Quotations	References	Total	<u>Author</u>
GRAMMAIRIEN	-	-	-	
GREFFE DES APPRENTISSAGES	-	1	1	Boucher d'Argis
GUERRE (HOMME DE)	1	4	5	de Tressan
GUILLEMET	-	-	-	
HISTOIRE	-	3	3	Voltaire
HOMME	-	-	-	
*HOMME (<u>Hist.nat.</u>)	1	1	2	Diderot
*HOMME (<u>Politiq.</u>)	1	-	1	Diderot
HYGIENE	-	-	-	
HYPPALAGE	-	-	-	
IDEE	1	2	3	
IDIOSYNCRASE	-	-	-	
IDIOT	-	-	-	
IDIOTISME	1	-	1	Beauzée
IMAGE	-	-	-	
IMAGINATION, IMAGINER	4	1	5	Voltaire
IMAGINATION <u>des femmes enceintes sur le foetus,</u> <u>pouvoir de l'</u>	1	-	1	Diderot
INCORRIGIBLE	2	1	3	Diderot
INDEX (<u>Jurisp.</u>)	1	-	1	Boucher d'Argis
INSCRIPTION	-	-	-	
INSTITUTEUR	-	1	1	
INSTITUTION	-	-	-	
INSTRUCTION	1	-	1	
INTERET (<u>Morale</u>)	1	1	2	Saint-Lambert
INTERJECTION	1	1	2	Beauzée
INVENTION	-	-	-	
INVERSION	5	3	8	Beauzée

	Quotations	References	Total	<u>Author</u>
JANSENISME	-	-	-	
JESUITE	2	2	4	Diderot
JEUNESSE (<u>oecon.anim.</u>)	1	-	1	
JURANDE	-	-	-	
LACEDEMONE	1	1	2	Jaucourt
LAMIES	2	-	2	Jaucourt
LANGUE (<u>Grammaire</u>)	5	1	6	Beauzée
LANGUE ANGLAISE	-	-	-	
LANGUE FRANÇOISE (<u>Gramm.</u>)	1	-	1	Jaucourt
LANGUEDOC	-	-	-	
LEÇON	4	2	6	Diderot
LEGENDE	-	-	-	
LEGISLATEUR	2	1	3	Saint-Lambert
LETTRES	-	1	1	(Jaucourt)
LIBERTE	-	-	-	
LIBRAIRIE	-	-	-	
LICENCE	1	-	1	Boucher d'Argis
LITTERATURE	3	2	5	Jaucourt
LITURGIE	-	-	-	
LIVRE (<u>Littérat.</u>)	7	1	8	Diderot
LOCKE, PHILOSOPHIE DE	4	1	5	Diderot
LOGIQUE	7	2	9	
LYCEE	-	-	-	
MAGES	1	-	1	
MANIERE (<u>Gramm. Pol. Morale</u>)	1	1	2	Saint-Lambert
MARI	-	-	-	
MARIAGE (<u>Droit naturel</u>)	1	-	1	Jaucourt
MATHEMATIQUE ou MATHEMATIQUES	-	-	-	
MAXIMES	-	-	-	
MEDECINE (<u>Art et Science</u>)	1	3	4	Jaucourt

	Quotations	References	Total	<u>Author</u>
METHODE (<u>Arts et Sciences</u>)	3	-	3	Jaucourt
METHODE (<u>Gramm.</u>)	16	8	24	Beauzée
METHODE (<u>Logique</u>)	-	-	-	
MOEURS (<u>Morale</u>)	1	-	1	Diderot
MORALE	2	2	4	Jaucourt
MORALISTE	1	-	1	Jaucourt
MORALITE	-	-	-	
NATUREL	-	-	-	
NEOGRAPHE	-	-	-	
NOM (<u>Métaph. Gramm.</u>)	1	1	2	Beauzée
NON-NATURELLES CHOSES	-	-	-	
NOTE	-	-	-	
NOURRICE (<u>Médec.</u>)	1	-	1	Diderot
OBLIGE (<u>Comm.</u>)	2	-	2	
OCHLOCRATIE	-	1	1	Jaucourt
ONOMATOPEE	-	-	-	
ORATEURS GRECS	2	-	2	Jaucourt
ORTHOGRAPHE	-	-	-	Beauzée
PARENS	-	-	-	
↳ PARENTHÈSE	-	-	-	
PAROLE ENFANTINE	-	-	-	
PASSIONS	-	-	-	
PATOIS	-	-	-	
PEDAGOGUE	1	-	1	(Jaucourt)
PEDOTROPHIE	-	-	-	
PENSÉE (<u>Métaphys.</u>)	-	-	-	
PENSÉE, SENTIMENT, OPINION	1	-	1	Jaucourt
PERE	-	-	-	
PHILOSOPHE	5	1	6	Dumarsais

	Quotations	References	Total	<u>Author</u>
PHILOSOPHIE	4	1	5	
PLAGIAIRE	-	-	-	
PLATON	-	-	-	
PLATONISME ou PHILOSOPHIE DE PLATON	-	-	-	
POLITESSE	-	-	-	
POLITIQUE (<u>Philosophie</u>)	-	-	-	
POLITIQUE, GRACE	-	-	-	
PONCTUATION	2	3	5	Beauzée
POUVOIR PATERNEL	-	-	-	
PRIMOGENITURE	-	-	-	
PRIVILEGE	-	1	1	Diderot
PROCUREUR	-	-	-	
PROFESSEUR	-	-	-	
PROFESSION	-	-	-	
PROVENCE	-	-	-	
PUISSANCE PATERNELLE	1	-	1	
RAISON (<u>Logique</u>)	-	-	-	
RAISONNEMENT	-	-	-	
RELIGIEUSE	-	-	-	
RELIGIEUX (<u>Jurisp.</u>)	1	-	1	Boucher d'Argis footnote Jaucourt
RELIGION	1	-	1	
REPUBLIQUE	-	-	-	
RHETORIQUE (<u>Belles-Lettres</u>)	-	-	-	
RHETORIQUE (<u>terme d'école</u>)	1	-	1	
SANTE	1	-	1	
SCIENCE (<u>Logique et Métaphysique</u>)	-	-	-	
SCIENCES (<u>Connoissances humaines</u>)	2	-	2	Jaucourt
SCIENCES <u>jeux instructifs pour apprendre les</u>	2	-	2	Jaucourt
SCIENCES EN DIEU	-	-	-	
SECTION	-	-	-	

	Quotations	References	Total	<u>Author</u>
SEMINAIRE	-	-	-	
SENS (<u>Gramm.</u>)	2	-	2	Beauzée
SENS (<u>Métaphys.</u>)	-	-	-	
SENS MORAL	-	1	1	Jaucourt
SENSATIONS	-	-	-	
SEPARATION	-	-	-	
SOCRATIQUE (<u>Phil.</u>)	4	-	4	Diderot
SOEUR	-	-	-	
STUPIDITE, DEMENCE	3	-	3	
STYLE (<u>Gram.Rhétoriq.Eloq.Bel.Let.</u>)	-	-	-	
STYLE (<u>Littérat</u>)	2	-	2	Jaucourt
SUPPLEMENT	-	-	-	
SUSPENSE	-	-	-	
SYLLABAIRE	16	5	21	Beauzée
SYLLABE	1	-	1	Beauzée
SYLLOGISME	3	1	4	
SYNTHESE	-	-	-	
TABLETTE	-	-	-	
TACTIQUE	-	-	-	
TAILLE	-	-	-	
TALAPOINS ou TALEPOIS	-	-	-	
TEMS (<u>Gramm.</u>)	3	-	3	Beauzée
TEMS (<u>Philos. et Morale</u>)	-	-	-	
TEXTE	-	-	-	
TRADITION	-	-	-	
TRADUCTION, VERSION	1	-	1	Beauzée
TROPE	-	-	-	
UNIGENITUS CONSTITUTION	1	1	2	Jaucourt
UNIVERSITE (<u>Belles-Lettres</u>)	1	-	1	
URINE, maladie de l'	1	1	2	Malouin

	Quotations	References	Total	<u>Author</u>
VALET	-	-	-	
VERITE, BONTE, BEAUTE	1	1	2	Séguiran
VERITE ETERNELLE	-	-	-	
VERS	-	-	-	
VERS (<u>Poésie</u>)	1	-	1	Jaucourt
VERTU	4	3	7	Romilly fils
VESPERIE	-	-	-	
VOLUME	-	-	-	
VOYAGE (<u>Education</u>)	7	-	7	Jaucourt
WHISK, WHIST	-	-	-	
WOODSTOCK	1	-	1	Jaucourt
ZONE (<u>Glaciale</u>)	-	1	1	Jaucourt
ZONES TEMPERES	-	-	-	

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