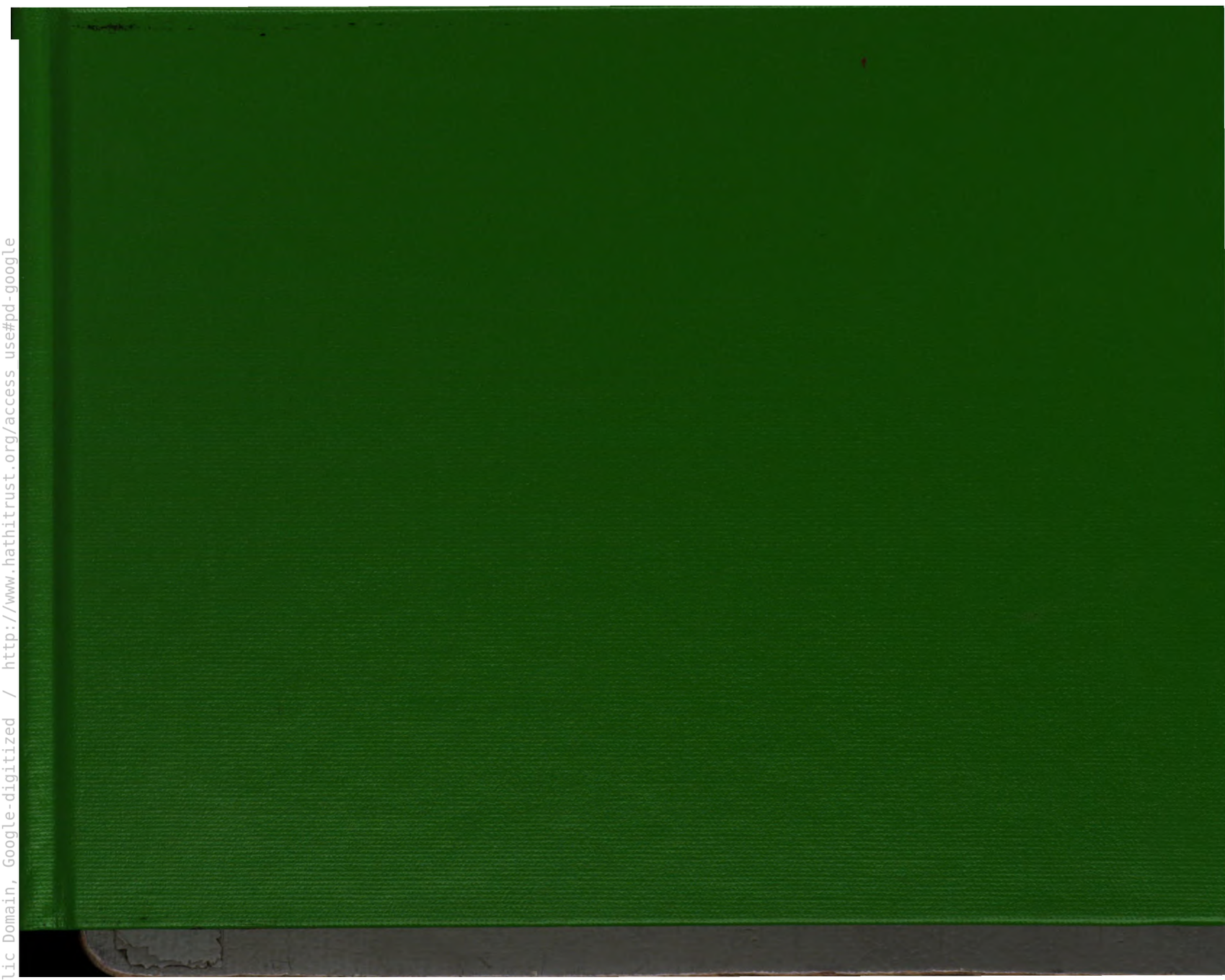

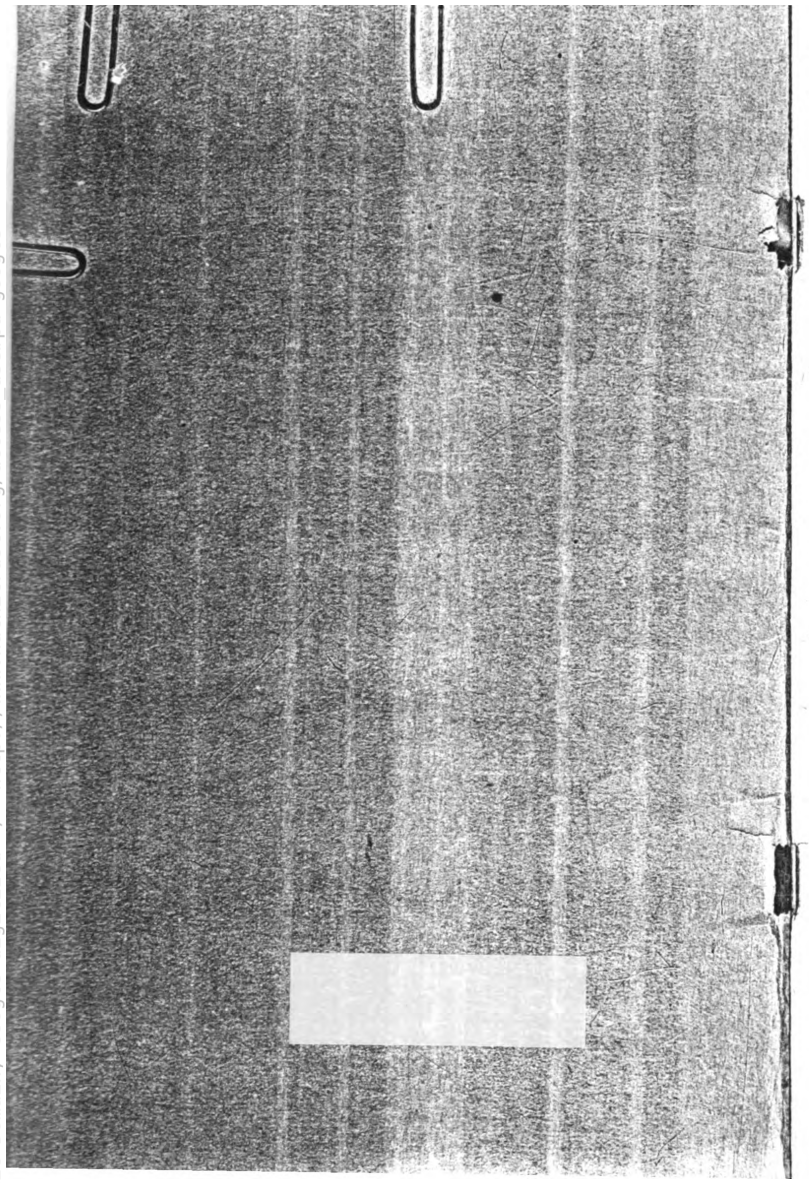

North Central History Teachers' Association

Proceedings

ORGANIZED APRIL 1, 1899

TENTH ANNUAL MEETING

Northwestern University Building
CHICAGO

FRIDAY and SATURDAY, APRIL 3 and 4, 1908

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CHARLES H. RAMMELKAMP, Illinois College, Jacksonville, Ill.

PROGRAM

Friday Afternoon, Three O'clock.

I

"What the High School Teacher may expect Students to gain from their Study of European History."

Miss Dora Wells,
Instructor in the Medill High School, Chicago.

II

"What can the College Teacher expect the Student to gain from the Study of European History?"

Prof. Alfred L. P. Dennis, University of Wisconsin.

III

"Results to be obtained in the College Study of American History."

Prof. Willis M. West, University of Minnesota.

Dinner at Y. M. C. A. Building, 153 La Salle Street, at 5:30 P. M.

Friday Evening, Eight O'clock.

Address: "History And Its Neighbors."

Prof. George L. Burr, Cornell University.

Saturday Morning, Nine Thirty O'clock.

I

Business Meeting: (a) Election of Officers.
(b) Work of the Association, 1908-09.

II

Report of the "Committee on Increased Facilities for History Work in the Schools."

Prof. James A. James, Chairman, Northwestern University.

III

"The Relation of Geography to the Teaching of American History in the Grades."

Mr. William H. Campbell, Principal of the Wentworth School.

IV

"The Geography Side of High School Instruction in American History."

Mr. Henry R. Tucker,
Instructor in the William McKinley High School, St. Louis.

V

"The Geography Side of College Instruction in History."

Miss Ellen C. Semple, Louisville, Kentucky.

"WHAT THE HIGH SCHOOL TEACHER MAY EXPECT STUDENTS TO GAIN FROM THEIR STUDY OF EUROPEAN HISTORY."

Dora Wells,
Instructor in the Medill High School, Chicago.

Although my subject requires me to tell what I think to be the results of high school work in European history, I must begin this paper with the broad reservation that there is no high wall of division between history east of the Atlantic and history west of the Atlantic. Mountain ranges obstruct commerce, rivers bear the traveler, rain falls upon ripening fields in one continent as in the other. Whether the mountains be the Alleghanies or the Alps, whether the river be the Mississippi or the Danube, whether the harvest be corn and cotton, or olive and grape, the general processes of history are the same. There is always the same human nature, moulded and directed by climate, limited by mountain and sea, continually striving to bring its ideals to fruition.

Starting, as I do with this idea, I fear I shall not be able to keep to my subject. In fact, I am not sure that I intend to do so. But I will, at least, try to keep up appearances. I promise not to use a single illustration drawn from American history.

The permanent results from a year of class room work in any subject are hard to define. That there are results of lasting influence upon the pupil we cannot doubt, but they are shown in new tastes, enlarged sympathies, greater power of analysis and sounder judgment rather than in tangible acquisitions of information that can be classified and tabulated.

We teachers, who give our lives to one particular branch of study, lose our sense of perspective. We forget how little the man in the street knows or cares about the things that are to us of supreme importance. How much of the geography we know to-day can be traced to our study of geography in the elementary school? How much do we remember of our high school Latin, we who have not opened our Latin grammar for twenty years? What do we know to-day about the powers and duties of the Roman consul or the Athenian archon, we who have been puzzling our brains over theories of state sovereignty and the problems of the reconstruction period? Much less do people whose occupations have led their interest to business or to handcraft remember the facts so painfully learned from their high school history of twenty years ago. And yet, we teach history as if a knowledge of the chronological sequence of events were a touchstone of culture.

All over this country poor little human pitchers are having facts poured into them by many a so-called "thorough" teacher at a rate that would make Mr. Gradgrind himself beg for mercy. Interest, imagination, logic, sympathy,—all are swept away beneath the stream of facts that the history mill grinds out. Our yesterdays are still lighting "fools the way to dusty death." To teach facts is not to teach history; to know facts is not to know history. The minutest knowledge of facts from Sennacherib to Cæsar and from Cæsar to Edward the Seventh does not necessarily imply or accompany a knowledge of history. Mere knowledge is not education. Too often the teacher's con-

ception of his task is limited to the idea that he is bound to instill a mass of useful information and as long as this continues to be the case, just so long will the stream of knowledge offer bitter waters to the learner.

Please do not infer that I consider an exact and scientific knowledge of all acessible facts unnecessary in the teaching and study of history. The facts are as necessary for this purpose as are measured stones in building the walls of a mansion. Yet, however symmetrical the block may be when brought from the quarry, nobody considers it a finished product, and for the same reason, no one should consider a fact in history as a desirable acquirement in itself. Facts are but the blocks with which we build the mansion of history.

Believing this as I do, I cannot say that I think my students should have at their tongues' ends any particular body of knowledge as a permanent result of their study of history. Knowledge they must have while studying history. Doubtless some knowledge of the material used in their study will remain when their work in the classroom is over, gradually decreasing as the years pass and as other interests absorb their time and attention, but neither you nor I can tell what that knowledge will be. From the boy in my classes who reads Mommsen and Grote to the weakling who draws Jacob Abbot's romances from the city library and tells me they are "just grand," is a far cry. Who am I that I should presume to judge as to the amount or kind of information each pupil, or even the average pupil, should possess at the end of a year's study? How can I possibly know what preparation of such knowledge will be retained as a permanent possession? I am not under contract to supply my classes with a definite body of information.

But I dwell too long upon the negative side of my question. I must hasten to the positive side.

The first result which I would note as desirable and possible for high school students of history to acquire as a permanent possession, is ease and readiness in handling books. They should know how to look for the things they want. They should know how to turn over pages quickly and to select the paragraphs that bear upon the topic they are considering. They should learn to read rapidly.

I emphasize this point because of my personal experience. In the school in which I teach, more perhaps, than in any other high school in Chicago, pupils are hampered by the fact that English is not their native tongue. Many of them hear no English spoken at home. Some of them rarely see an English newspaper. Occasionally I find a pupil who, except for his school text-books, has never read an English book. Our pupils belong to the first generation that has ever familiarly handled books. Naturally, the difficulties we encounter in teaching the use of books are greater than those which are to be overcome among people who have spoken English and used books for many generations. As an illustration, I quote a remark made to me by a pupil only a few days ago. I was trying to show a class how to read rapidly, how to get the gist of a paragraph in a glance, and used the familiar story of Lord Macaulay and his ability to grasp a page as easily as most readers grasp a line of print. With the joy of a new discovery beaming upon his face, a young lad exclaimed, "Why, Miss Wells, I know people who can read without moving their lips." The ability to use books intelligently, to skip judiciously instead of reading the whole when only a part is wanted, makes reading a pleasure instead of a laborious task.

To some degree, this power should be gained by the student of history in the high school.

Intelligent reading of the newspapers ought also to follow from history study in the high school. I regard my own work as pretty nearly a failure if as the year passes by pupils do not begin to bring me newspaper clippings. The clippings received are usually taken from the Sunday papers, those storehouses of misinformation. They touch upon every historical and political topic ever written about by the pen of man. They range from the vocal statues of Memnon to the latest by-elections to the British House of Commons. They tell as facts things that are true, things that are not true, and things that by no possibility ever come true. But in spite of errors and falsehoods and fantastic theories, I believe that this reading is better for young people than the newspaper reading they do before their interest in history and politics is aroused. My observation is that when left to themselves, high school boys read nothing but the sporting page, while the girls, if they read at all, satisfy their souls with the story page and the beauty column. To create an interest in other departments of the newspaper, to lead young people to discriminate between the trivial and the valuable, and above all to convince students that the newspaper is not an infallible guide to truth,—if the history teacher has accomplished these things, he has not lived in vain.

The third result which high school pupils should obtain from their study of literature is a love for good historical fiction. "The spacious days of great Elizabeth" are described in the pages of "Kenilworth" with a vividness and splendor that no mere historian has yet imparted to them. The details of history as Scott gives them may not always be true, but his story is true to the spirit of the age. The pupil who has read the "Talisman" will have more thought to express about the Crusades and more woes with which to express them than the youngster who defined a crusader as "one who crusades." I know of nothing better to make clear the struggle between the ideal of family life and the ideal of monasticism than Charles Reade's novel, "The Cloister and the Hearth," Lytton's "Harold" and "Last of the Barons," Kingsley's "Westward ,Ho!" and "Hereward the Wake," Miss Lilliencranz's "Thrall of Leif the Lucky," "Uarda," "The Egyptian Princess," "The Monastery," "The Tale of Two Cities," "Ekkehard." "Ben Hur," and "The Last Days of Pompeii," will charm young people as no history textbook can ever do. Scholarship is for the few, reading is for the many; and a taste for the better sort of fiction is an invaluable asset in the mental equipment of any young person. If as a result of a year's work in history with my pupils, I had done no more than to create a taste for good historical fiction, I should feel that my labor had not been wasted.

Allied to a taste for a good historical fiction, though possessing much deeper significance and value, is the power of constructive imagination. The student should learn to think actively and vividly, to seize the dramatic point of an episode, to recreate for himself something of the life of the period he studies, to be himself an actor in the scenes. This power can be acquired. It is a power that once gained can be carried through life. What is it that makes the good story teller, the entertaining talker? What is it that makes people always eager to listen when an elect few begin to speak? It is this power of dramatic imagination. It is the power that puts life into dry bones and makes

even dates and statistics glow with human meaning. More than this, it makes the alert and sympathetic listener and the eager learner. When properly guided and trained it leads to ethical conduct.

Another result which is fairly to be expected from the study of history is the obvious one of an increased vocabulary and greater power of expression. Though ease and fluency must come as a result of any oral recitation in which the pupil is given a chance to tell what he knows and to say what he thinks, the history lesson offers unusual opportunity for gaining power of expression in words. We all know of pupils dumb as fish in September, whether from ignorance, or timidity, or lack of words it matters not, who when June comes, talk intelligently and freely.

More than any one other subject in high school curriculum, history gives a chance for analysis, for comparison, and for reflective judgment. Youthful eagerness to get at the truth is often satisfied by superficial investigation or by dogmatic statement. Not long ago a sincere and earnest pupil said to me, "Either one book is right on this question, or it is not. Which is it?" I tried to explain that the truth could not be discovered in this summary way, that many books must be consulted and many opinions weighed before a final decision could be reached. I told the boy that sometimes the best we could do was to state a question as fairly as possible and to leave it for the time being unanswered. In his impatience at this slow method of procedure, the pupil exclaimed, "I think it would be much better to get one good book and stick right to that." I admitted that his way of settling a question was easier than mine. If by the time the year's work is completed, he has learned that mine is the better way, he will have gained from his study of history one of the most valuable gifts it has to offer,—the power to draw his own conclusions, or to withhold his decision until all the facts are in his possession. Mere knowledge of the facts and what someboody else think about them is not a worthy result of a year's study of history.

Another legitimate consequence of studying history in the high school is an interest in politics and an understanding of the machinery of political action. Here no understanding is possible without a somewhat detailed study of constitutional forms and of the processes by which they have taken shape. High school pupils are just passing beyond the age when they are satisfied with narrative history alone. They must learn how it is that men act together, how a community or a nation gives expression to the social will. They must find out how, as in England, "Freedom broadens slowly down from precedent to precedent," until all governmental forms exist for but one purpose, to carry out the will of the sovereign people.

Again I draw upon personal observation. It is my good fortune to work with young people who are intensely individualistic. Each must express himself in his own way, even though by so doing he defeats the wishes of the group to which he belongs. He is so impatient that he often destroys the machinery, the form of action, by which alone he may secure what he himself most desires. He has no conception of yielding part of what he wants in order to gain the rest. He cares nothing for the rights of the majority, but presses to the extreme the wishes of the minority to which he himself belongs. It is impossible for him to work harmoniously with others. To study the processes of history is most helpful to young people of this type. They

learn how much less is accomplished by a mad outbreak against authority than by the slow action that gains but little at a time but keeps what it has gained. Especially profitable is it for them to see how a company of people acting together, get their will through orderly forms of united action, when disagreement among themselves would defeat the common purpose. They learn the great lesson that the individual must subordinate himself to the group. They become less selfish, more truly social.

But pupils must go further than the forms of political action. They must find the reasons why these forms have taken shape as we find them. They must find why men secure political and social rights in one country by the primary assembly, in another by a representaative legislature, while in a third they fall back upon a benevolent despotism as the best means of preserving the privileges they hold dear.

To get the reasons for these different forms of government they must investigate geographical conditions and search the long story of industrial and economic development. They must study the effect of Laconian mountain range, of Roman marsh, and Attic plain. The Rhine and the Danube, the Nile and the Seine, the Euphrates and the Thames, each have their tale to tell. The effect produced upon human affairs by the discoveries and inventions of science,—gunpowder, the compass, the steam engine, the printing press, the telegraph, the power loom,—the influence of these must be sought out and and as far as possible understood. To-day, more than ever before, people realize that political action finds its source in economic conditions. The fundamental causes and sources of political history is not to become a mere line of catchwords held only by the verbal memory. I need not tell how keenly most high school pupils enjoy this part of their study, nor how in later years the habit and power of investigation remains. Knowledge comes,—and goes,—but wisdom, the power to use the tools of thought, lingers long.

European history offers peculiar facilities for the study of social questions of the broader kind. In Europe there has been time for racial qualities and national traits to express themselves in concrete form. There is a definite and tangible "has been" that can be gotten at and investigated. European history shows, as nothing on this side of the water can do, the restless race spirit that does not find peace until it has expressed itself in the national state. It offers on the other hand, an opportunity for the study of great movements and institutions, the Church, Monasticism, the Crusades, Chivalry, the Reformation, the contagious revolutions, that for a time break down and override the bounds of nationality. No pupil can study these without getting a long distance view of human affairs that ought to help him greatly in estimating at their true value the occurrences of to-day. American history presents problems enough, but we view most of them at short range. We cannot as easily place all our factors in their proper relations as we can when we are studying the history of the older European countries.

It goes without saying that a certain disciplinary value is more readily obtained from the study of ancient or general European history, because young people of untrained judgment need first to deal with problems whose terms can be definitely and clearly stated. We recognize this truth in placing our course in Ancient History in the second

year of the high school while we place American History in the fourth year.

But after all, the aim in teaching both branches should be the same. The general results are the same. The student learns from both alike to analyze, to compare, to draw logical conclusions, in a word, to think correctly, and the power to think correctly is the ultimate test of the worth of all historical study.

"WHAT CAN THE COLLEGE TEACHER EXPECT THE STUDENT TO GAIN FROM THE STUDY OF EUROPEAN HISTORY?"

PROF. ALFRED L. P. DENNIS,
University of Wisconsin.

This question may have many answers. But whatever answer you may choose to accept, I think you will agree that the first thing we all want our students to gain from a study of European history or, for that matter, from a study of any history, is a knowledge of the truth. But we can also agree that the truth is a difficult and doubtful thing to find out—even for our own benefit. Often, after the most careful work, we must acknowledge that what we have discovered is probably only a part of the truth, that the whole truth has escaped us, and that certainty as to the absolute truth is probably unattainable. Truly, the way of the investigator is hard. But the way of the teacher is really harder. The teacher must not only win as near as possible to the truth of the matter; he must also establish as surely as possible in the mind of the pupil a clear impression of the truth. Thus there are involved not only the mind and opportunities of the teacher but also the previous training, abilities, and interests of the student. And, according to the present fashion of education, not only one but many students, of all sorts, must be faced at the same time. The teaching of history is, therefore, at best a gambler's trade.

Yet, I fancy that some of you have heard much of the disciplinary value of the study of history. We hear a deal about the relative value of one subject in the curriculum as against another; various so-called methods have their champions. Frankly, I know very little about the theory of education. I have no doubt it is a good subject; but I never studied it. History was considered a proper subject for study long before we ever had a theory of pedagogy, and I am very sure history will always be considered a proper subject for study. But whatever our views on education may be, we can at least also agree that this is not a theoretical question. We must come to the facts.

At the start, we must distinguish between two sorts of classes. The first is a class made up largely of freshmen in an introductory general course. The second has in it older students, who are taking a more advanced and special course. Turning to the general course, we can assume that some of the students may learn to like history; others perhaps already loathe it; but only a small percentage will ever study it intensively or professionally. What then can the teacher ask the students in this introductory course?

In the first place, it is a mighty good thing for a student to learn to do things because he must; to do those things on time and without excuses. Thus may we promote the cause of the "full dinner pail";

and you know how faithfully that shining and rotund mark is dangled before the eye of the American student. In most of the colleges I have known, history, already recognized as a hard subject, is made one of the instruments by which the student may be convinced, in the words of Kipling, that it is

> "best,
> Safest, easiest, and best —
> Expeditious, wise, and best—
> To obey your orders."

This requirement is undoubtedly hard, both on history and on the student. I say nothing of the instructor. For, really, in the long run it is easier to conduct a course in which the tradition of the inexorable is strong than to let matters shift on a more merciful and sliding scale.

The matter of tools comes next. A student ought to be able to distinguish between different sorts of books; he should learn the value of the table of contents, and of the index; and he should be able to find a book by the aid of the card catalog of the library. These are not easy matters for most freshmen. But a brief preliminary explanation, a series of short reports and personal oversight will help greatly. For example, a student can be required to tell the difference between Green's *Short History of the English People* and Robinson's *Readings in European History;* he can learn to state a title in correct bibliographical form, to make a list of books dealing with a given man or period, and to collect from several books a list of references on a given subject. History may thus be clearing away the drudgery for other subjects, but both investigation and accuracy, whether of eventual use to history or not, may be hoped for.

Thirdly, a student ought to learn to take notes and to write one or more short narrative reports, having an outline, a bibliography and references to authorities. And here, though the facts be correct, the grammar also should be. It is a good thing for history that bookkeepers have finally learned to use the "loose sheet" system of keeping their records. It is now a bit easier to persuade an eighteen-year-old future bank president to post his historical notes in a convenient and economic fashion. However, professorial peculiarities, such as grammar and references, will long remain a burden in this vale of tears and history.

But let us quit these external policies. What about the Peloponnesian war, feudalism and the reform bill? Ought we not to ask the student to know when and where Luther was said to have spilt the ink or what happened when the Bohemians showed both their protestantism and their patriotism by the "*defenestration*" of the objectionable Hapsburg representatives? I usually look up dates just before class-time. Of course, what is so hard for me to remember must, I think, be good for the student to try to remember. We must ask then for an appreciation of the value of accuracy; and we ought to help the notion of chronology. After all, a man cannot die before he is born, and he is usually the son of his mother. Here we touch bottom.

Now we come to the more interesting and yet more difficult matter of development. A student ought to be shown the same general idea in more than one century. He ought to be able to recognize the same aspect or phase of history in various surroundings; to learn to observe both likenesses and differences. Words and ideas change and the stu-

dent should see how and why. He can learn to map the increase or decrease in a nation's territory, see, for example, what "France" meant in 1360 and 1810. In politics also he can be required to realize the difference in the Kingship of Henry VII and Edward VII, to recognize in the Standard Oil Trust his old acquaintance the "engrosser" of the middle ages. Why was *Magna Charta* important and why should Shakespere naturally omit all mention of it in "King John"? I don't think this is asking too much.

In much the same fashion, we ought to try to identify a man, to see the varied interests and special characteristics of a period. It is a gain, for example, to see that religion, at least in history, is not wholly religious, that life is a tangled matter in the XIV century, that Canterbury, finally Christian, is about as old as Mohammedan Mecca, that the same man was at the same time governor of the London East India Company and treasurer of the Virginia Company. So I think it is fair and right to ask that the student should really know some facts, should learn to measure across the valley of the centuries and should learn to appreciate the vagaries of the historical climate for a single day. And here I must say that my backbone stiffens at the opinion that the demands and interests of the present make the only touchstone with which to test what can be fairly asked of the student. It is quite possible that our histories are "antiquated"; but some history has an interest and value independent of the test of the hurrying present. I confess that I think a real curiosity about the past, indifferent to temporary demands, is a worthy element and object of an historical training. So much for the general course.

Let us now turn to the advanced course. I have in mind a class which may number twenty or more students; a few are sophomores; more are upper classmen; and some may even be graduate students. We are no longer to scurry through the centuries, but travel at the more leisurely rate of a century or two a year; and it is fair to suppose that a majority of the class have a reasonable definite purpose in choosing this course. I do not wish to inquire too closely, for the difficulties of the time table and schedule, or other even less flattering reasons, may have added a few to the class roll. At all events it is probably possible and wise to relax the disciplinary scrutiny. We can let these advanced students enjoy with us the comradeship of procrastination. They ought to be given a wide range of options and be helped to find out fields of interest in which they still work not so much because we tell them to work, but because they want to. They are now made free of the "wisdom of the world." But it is also high time that they should find out that the work of the world must be done. They are apprentices to our tireless guild, and, let me add, if history has a disciplinary value it is largely because it is hard. But larger liberty means greater responsibility for both teacher and student. And we must hurry too. The student is growing older, and the time for study is thereby the shorter. We have our last chance with most of these students. Can we give them the keys to the Kingdom of History?

As this course deals with a particular period, the vital qualities of that period are prime things to be looked for. And these qualities are chiefly the conditions of life and of belief. But identification requires also knowledge of the relations of this period to the one that has preceded it and also to the period that is to follow it. You judge

a man in part by his parents and his children. So with a century. For example, how does the XIV century differ from the XIII century? Why is England of the Stuarts different from England of the Tudors? Of course, this can not be done quickly. Again, each period is pregnant; and the beginnings of things should be looked for. The teacher who speaks of Marco Polo and does not hint at America is a blind leader of the blind. More particularly, morality is such a quick subject that the test of ethical standards is a good way to ask a student to find out his bearings, to know what port he has left and where he is bound for on this particular voyage. Furthermore, in lively and growing subjects, like religion and economics, you can find out the age of the world. Here you can train discernment and judgment.

Secondly, students ought to gain a familiarity which breeds sympathy with the complexities of life. You can not explain the German Reformation merely by a list of the abuses witain the church. In the Crusades all sorts and conditions of men worked with varying purposes and results. So the Russian government, whatever its faults, and I agree that they are many, stands between the dumb millions and anarchy. A student then ought to see all sides of a question, learn how politics react on religion, and how poetry is related to history. He should be made to feel the complex humanity of history. However, I think these are rather vague generalizations, and I will turn to more concrete, perhaps more technical matters.

I think a teacher ought to show his class how little he knows. True scholarship can lie back of a teacher's "I do not know." The causes of ignorance have a great education and historical value. And if you can make the student your partner and explain the causes and justification of historical doubt and ignorance on some difficult matter, you will do well. There are too many words for omniscience in the dialect of the university, and as students we ought to wipe them from our lips. For example, was Mary Stuart innocent or guilty? I don't know. Did Napoleon seriously intend to invade England in 1804? I doubt it; but many better men than I think he did. I hope you will see some method in this madness, this unabashed agreement as to ignorance and doubt. If you will take the skeleton from the closet, the student may learn anatomy.

I have spoken of the value of ignorance; now let us turn to knowledge. What really counts in education is not what the teacher tells the student, but what the student finds out for himself, and what he thinks about what the teacher may have told him. Every student in an advanced course ought to do some investigative work, and, after he has found out sufficient facts for himself, make use of those facts, testing them and fitting them together to produce a report based on the documents, and written with an effort toward literary form. It is true that too much of this sort of thing is a mistake. Some students may be taking several courses where such work is expected. And here the best students run a chance of becoming stale. A single fixed requirement for all staudents in an advanced course is ordinarily a fundamental mistake, which I have hitherto quite usually made. I am, however, still free to ask the forgiveness of my former students.

And fifthly and greatly to be desired is the habit of good reading. I don't mean merely reading for an examination, but a certain leisurely yet fairly definite use of books, undisturbed by demands for

notes or outlines. It is always a good thing to fix a low required amount of reading in a course. You can in this way appease sufficiently the gods of academic standards, and yet avoid the mistake of stuffing students with more than they can digest. Indeed it is far better to let your course get a reputation as a "snap" than to drive good students away by fixing an unfair requirement as to the quantity of work you ask. By the suggestion of bibliographies, by apt and stimulating quotations, by direct advice you can introduce students to books of all sorts. There is something wrong when a number of the good students in the course do not read considerably more than you require of them. Either they have not been sufficiently interested, or you have asked more of them than is right, or your colleagues, whose courses they are taking, are requiring more than is fair.

Lastly, since this is an audience of teachers, I will not be misunderstood when I say that the student ought to know his teacher. If a teacher is not worth knowing, he has no business to teach. Education by classes is at best a poor affair, and in a comparatively small course the social element is important. I suppose there are men who can talk mathematics or logic. But so far I have been preserved from them. The most charming mathematician I know, the teacher whom I, as an undergraduate, joyously and respectfully greeted as a leader among men and a friend, always wisely refrained from talking mathematics to me. I shudder to think of the consequences had he not. And usually the best thing a teacher of history can do is not to talk history to his students when he is fortunate enough to meet them outside the class. But if forced to the subject, I think the student can gain more by a fireside or while walking down town than in most of the carefully prepared lectures. The great things in history can often be learned indirectly; and, as history is human, so are both teacher and student.

"RESULTS TO BE OBTAINED IN THE COLLEGE STUDY OF AMERICAN HISTORY."

PROF. WILLIS M. WEST,
University of Minnesota.

American history, we all understand, gives results essentially like those from other historical study; and at the cost of traversing ground already covered, I find it inevitable to speak in the main as a teacher of history, and only secondarily as a teacher of American history. I begin accordingly with customary negations. As I conceive our work, we do not aim primarily to convey information, and, not at all, directly to inculcate morals or patriotism. Results in these lines come indirectly from our study; but, I venture the paradox, they come in manner and degree desirable only upon the inflexible condition that they be not sought.

For information possibly I care less than better teachers do. And yet, whatever the allegiance of scientific history to the Fact, we agree, I believe, in the position I here stated. We all reject deliberately those methods of teaching which would best convey information, because such methods are not well adapted to the higher ends we care for. I honor the man who *establishes* any fact in the past life of humanity; but

it does not follow that I need make my mind a storehouse for his facts—still less that I need spend my time packing them away in the minds of other men. There are better means now to preserve information for those who may sometime want to use it. We do not wish to give the student a vivid sense of history as a method of establishing facts, a means of discriminating between truth and falsehood. But this aim is not one with the aim of conveying information: it is inconsistent with that aim. So, threadbare though the theme be, it is well, I suppose, for teachers of history to renew from time to time this trite Declaration of Independence against the tyrant Fact.

Nor is it alone against that miscellaneous information which we apologize for by labeling it "interesting and useful" that I fulminate, (though even this is worth while about one's own country, when it comes without too much cost). *Organized knowledge* of *social development* is upon a different plane—is indeed the *matter in which we work*. And yet not even *for* this do we work, but for certain by-products in powers and qualities of mind that come to the student as he toils in this precious material. Perhaps we should say that knowledge is the first end of our study, but the least end. Knowledge even of creative and casual facts, familiarity with persistent tendencies in human society and American life, acquaintance with some great books, perspective for the wise use of knowledge—even this higher knowledge is not our aim, *except* as by its attainment we attain also to historical mindedness and culture. Or may I liken knowledge to raw material, to the flowers we collect, while historical thinking is the essence we wish to distill from the wide-lying gardens. Many rose leaves remain in our hands; some fine blossoms we trouble to preserve; but it is to help our students secure this costly essence that we readily care to spend our days.

Now to complete the negations. Our direct purpose is not to teach ethics or good citizenship—both proper aims for any teacher at proper times, but not pertaining in any *peculiar way* to the teacher of history, not even to the teacher of American history. Once in a high school physical class, the lesson being on kinetic energy, I saw the instructor spend his hour in exhorting the boys to laudable ambition. (He was an ex-preacher.) In the pulpit he might have gone properly to the laboratory for illustration; but the laboratory was not the best place for the sermon—however much we believe in correlation of subjects. Nor could I be sure the class had learned enough about kinetics to appreciate the parallels. After all each tool has its own good. I *can* drive a nail with a chisel, but the carpenter takes another instrument, for the sake of nail and woodwork. So, if I use history to implant moral aspiration, where the skilled workmen would use the oration or poem, my tool and material are likely to suffer—literally so. The history is apt to be made to order, and the morality to be a trifle chipped about the elges. We artisans in mind must know our tools. Especially must *we* discriminate between history and literature. It is not enough to say, as the man of letters sometimes does, "Literature deals with ideas while history deals with facts." Ideas vital enough to men to embody themselves in great popular movements, to incarnate themselves in institutions, these casual *ideas* are just the *facts* for which the historian cares. Nor will it do merely to say that literature deals with what might be or should be, while history deals with what has been. The distinction goes deeper than tense. Literature

deals with MAN; history, not simply with men, but with men organized in groups. The units differ not so much in mere size as in kind. In subject matter, literature is individual, biographical, psychological; history is sociological. In aim, literature is esthetic and inspirational; history, intellectual and scientific.

In direct purpose and in method, history has no more reference to ethics than biology has. This audience will all remember the striking way York-Powell put this thought. "The naturalist (I use a rough condensation), in explaining the tiger and the hen, does not feel called upon to reprove the ferocity of the one or to approve the maternal solicitude of the other; and the historian, in studying Julius Caesar or Caesar Borgia, has no more call for moral judgments." I believe this is essentially sound. And yet is there not a qualification to add? As we pass in our study from inanimate nature to animate and more animate nature—from star-dust, rock-layers, molecules mollusks, mammals, man—the ethical enters more and more into our subject matter, and therefore necessarily into our results, directly or indirectly, even though our purpose remain as purely intellectual and scientific as in chemistry. Seton-Thompson is not the first to show the evolution of the Ten Commandments among the lower animals. As the great Regius Professor said, the naturalist need not praise or blame the tiger or the hen as individuals; but Natural History does show, does it not, that maternal solicitude and social instincts in animals physically weak are mightier in the long run than the ferocity of the mightiest predatory beast. The tiger eats many a hen, and never the hen a tiger; but in the progress of evolution the tiger tends to vanish, while the social, domestic, peace-loving type of animal more and more demonstrates its beautitude and inherits the earth—by the mere mathematics of cosmic morality. But, let us observe, though Natural History does so reveal incidentally these cosmic roots of morality and prophesy their ultimate supremacy, it does not SET out to demonstrate such laws. If it *had* done so, we should still await a scientific biology, and have to content ourselves instead with a collection of quaint nature-fakes.

So when we come to human history. Ever in the field we seem to see one party contending for the "right," another for the "wrong," only not in the sense these words carry of individual men. Ever one party fights on the side of the future (and perhaps of human welfare), and the other against it. But if the moral qualities of the individual actors bear any fixed relation to the part they choose on the conflict, that relation is hidden too deep for human eyes. Almost never can we say which side was righteous, only at times which made for righteousness. And when we venture upon such assertion, seeing so small an arc of human destiny, it becomes us to speak with diffidence, not with the glib assurance of inside information. To pass judgment upon individual men we are far less able—and have less occasion. By way of preparation for history, we may stop for a moment upon the heroism and gentle chivalry of Robert Lee or the Puritan virtues and steadfast loyalty of Thomas Hutchinson; but not to offer the Rebel or the Tory as a model for youth; not to make boys better, but to help them think better, by clearing away for them that pernicious idol of the cradle, the idea that good men are naturally on the "right" side. Our aim is intellectual. Or, by eminently proper digression, we may cease to be historians, for a time, to become orators or poets, if so gifted

We may turn from our study to offer such laurel as we can gather at the feet of a Washington or a Lincoln. But as historians we are concerned with the moral qualities of even these men only so far as such qualities have been factors in social movements; and then not for praise, but for explanation—in just the same way that we are concerned with the physical endurance of a Napoleon. And—one step further—less yet have we to do with demonstrating philosophies of history. If we hold a faith in the moral government of the Universe, or think we have discovered a law of progress, Hegelian, Comptian, or other, we must forget it all while we work, lest our too accommodating facts twist themselves for us into history fakes.

And yet by sternly intellectual paths our study climbs to the craggy heights of morals. Our method remains scientific; but by refraction in the ethical medium of human society, our results take on an ethical tinge. Indirectly but powerfully, historical study does count for individual morality and for good citizenship, because it helps toward clear thinking and deeper interest in ethical and civic questions,—but only so.

And permit me a digression into the field of secondary schools. Personally I believe that the principle just enunciated holds good there also; that in the high school in the history work we are concerned with scientific values, not with literary values. Probably some of us resent this view. We find it hard to give up the "Westminster Abbey" idea of history. We want to use our tool for both chisel and hammer. But the fact remains that poetry and the essay will take care of the ethical and personal and esthetic phases of life better than historical narrative can (as these same forms take care of the beauty of the sunset better than physics can. We don't interrupt our study of refraction in the laboratory to discourse at length on Italian skies.) And so we teachers of history *have to choose* whether we will teach our subject as an inferior kind of literature (all that it can ever be as literature), to accomplish ends already better attained across the hall in the English room—with twice as much time, too, as is given to history—or whether we will teach history as a noble subject in itself, giving values no other subject can give. If we don't care about the evolution of social institutions and the qualities of mind developed by its study, with as earnest a zeal as the biologist cares for the evolution of tadpoles and cockroaches and the mental qualities developed by that study—if we don't care for the evolution of society, but only for opportunity to instill lofty ideals and to animate to noble action, ought we not to prepare to teach literature, and leave the history to some one who wants to teach that?

To turn from negations to affirmations—our study gives, I think, three kinds of results, all already mentioned, all overlapping and intrapenetrating—knowledge, historical mindedness, culture. And I have the temerity to hold American history especially fitted for good results in each line. Knowledge, I have said, I regard as the least end; but, when rightly attained, so as to give ability to get knowledge, and practice in using it, with the wise use of books, and a broad perspective—knowledge, that is, rising into wisdom and approaching morality in its cultivation of a meliorist attitude toward social problems—such knowledge passes over imperceptibility into these other elements, historical mindedness and culture.

Historical mindedness—I use this shop-worn term to indicate several related habits of thought and qualities of mind.

1. Openmindedness. Not the absence of prejudice, but the acquired expectation that some of our prejudgments must be wrong; consequently a loser holding to them; a readiness to abandon them at the call of evidence; a consciousness that we have a partisanship to uproot. In training to this quality the teacher of American history has a peculiar advantage. Many of our students come to European history with minds a blank. To American history they come with a mass of imperfect ideas, seen through a glass darkly, if not with fantastically distorted ideas seen through colored lenses of misinformation and prejudice. The English colonial system, the Revolution, the struggle preceding the Civil War, with many minor episodes, such as the West Florida matter, afford admirable opportunity to develop candor.

In application to concrete public questions in after life, this intellectual quality is related closely to applied morality, and the cultivation of it in the schools ought to contribute somewhat to the amity of nations. True, the student had better retain his most childish prepossessions rather than exchange them for a hypercritical supercilliousness toward his country's fame. And no doubt the bungling teacher may do harm here—as the bungler may always do harm with a tool sharp enough for a workman. But the teacher who loves his country, yet "loves it so as honor would, nor lightly to dethrone judgment," this teacher need not try directly to teach what passes for patriotism, but may give himself to the more difficult task of teaching what patriotism is—that love of one's country does not consist mainly in ignorant hatred of other lands, nor even in indulging in the complacent superstition that one's own country has always been right, so much as in an ardent desire that it shall be right—and righteous.

2. Second among the elements of historical thinking we may put ability to discern truth amid a variety of printed evidence. In any considerable degree this high training of the judgment can be acquired only by the student who in a measure specializes in history; but the briefest and most elementary college course ought to give each student a sense of the need of this power, and some appreciation of its nature along with some practice in its exercise. The standard here is a simple one. For serious study in college have we any use for a subject which is not so taught as to let the student into the method of the subject? I think not. Elementary courses in biology or chemistry aim to give each student the laboratory habit—the method of those subjects. Shall we not claim equal dignity for elementary college courses in history? Shall we not insist that they give the student the source habit? Or do we prefer to leave history, alone of college subjects, on that low plane where it *may* be "read at home just as well"?

These qualities—openmindedness and ability to sift truth from falsehood—are developed also, it is true, by all scientific study; but historical study should produce them in peculiar degree, and, so far as produced there, they have a peculiar value. In history, more than anywhere else, these qualities of mind are directed toward the discovery of truth from books and other printed evidence, which all intelligent men use so much, and, as a rule, so poorly. And in history they are exercised upon the complex phenomena of human society, where a trained judgment is so supremely important, and so rare.

And may we not claim that in learning to use books and to investigate printed evidence, as in developing openmindedness, American history offers certain advantages which the undergraduate cannot find so fully elsewhere? I suggest four advantages. (1) For a general course, the number of topics suitable for the student to practice upon in sources is larger than in any college unit of European history. (Illustrations.) (2) Suitable source material for such practice work and for the more advanced and intensive courses is cheaper and more easily secured than for corresponding work in European history. (3) For some important periods of European history the sources available for the average undergraduate, with his poverty of languages, are too meager or too little varied to permit the correction of one witness by another; while for nearly all modern periods the material is so voluminous that the student can only sample it. But in American history, for much of the colonial period and for many topics in later periods, the sources are varied enough to afford mutual criticism, but not too voluminous to be exhausted by the student (by the student in a general course who works up a topic in this way each semester, or by the student engaged exclusively in such work in an intensive course). (4) I count it no slight gain for the average student that the medium he works in is English, and the witnesses he interrogates are men allied to himself in time and blood. It is easier to comprehend John Winthrop's fine candor, quaintly mixed with intense aristocratic prejudice, than to appreciate a corresponding truth of a distant and almost impersonal medieval chronicler. And the fact that the medium is his own language enables the student to concentrate attention on things; whereas in dealing with the medieval chronicler he sometimes confounds attention to things with attention to words, and imagines that he is studying history when he is merely translating very poor Latin.

I proceed to enumerate some remaining qualities of historical thinking. Here belongs the historical imagination. The other evening I sat in the balcony of a cafe looking down upon a band of Hungarian Gypsies. Said my companion, pointing out the picturesque leader, "If there are twenty years of life coming to me, I'd give one of them to look for a day out of that fellow's eyes, to see the world as he sees it." Now this, applied not to a contemporary, but to the man of a past day, is what I understand by historical imagination,—the ability to see the seventeenth century through the eyes of the man of that century. It is objected sometimes that American history lacks the necessary perspective to develop this power; and it is certainly true that one function of history is to develop a sense of time, so that students shall not continue to think, as Freeman complained they did, that all the Ancients lived at the same time. But do we not acquire this sense of historical time best by studying transitions in a period near enough to be sympathized with? When the student has felt the change within the seventeenth century from the lofty Puritanism of Milton's *Lycidas* to the sere Puritanism of Wigglesworth's *Day of Doom*, from the strong genial Puritanism of the first generation in America to the gloomy but strong Puritanism of the second generation and so on to the weak fanaticism of the third generation, he is introduced to a lesson more vital even than Freeman had in mind,—to the understanding that all the Moderns have not lived at the same time.

Now to the elements of historical mindedness I add these two, a sense of causation in human affairs and a recognition of evolution as

the method of social progress. The theme of American history, we have been taught by one who is honored by this company, is the development of selected European institutions in a New World environment, with the necessary reaction of environment upon institutions,—and then a repetition of this double process in each new settled area as our people have moved across the continent. In all history what other so admirable opportunity is there to see the adaptation of old institutions to new needs, the occasional preservation of atrophied forms, the differentiation of functions in an old organ with growing complexity of social needs? Where else so well could the student learn to think of institutions as *becoming*, growing by natural process, rather than invented or created? Where else can he so well learn to feel the irrepressible conflict between new and old which is at once the key to history and the tragedy of progress?

A sense of causation, the last element of historical mindedness that I name, is fundamental in importance; and, though American history contributes to it in no peculiar way, it must have a word here. In the realm of inanimate nature and of lower animate nature all intelligent men have long since attained to this sense; but when a human meteor blazes in our sky or the war-god thunders wrathfully, too many men forsake their science to become babbling Calibans again. One function of historical study is to make the scientific attitude instinctive enough to withstand such shocks.

Two elements of difficulty there are:—the complexity of the human phenomena, so that casual relations, however real, cannot always be traced; and a metaphysical confusion of thought on the subject of "causation" and "freewill," as though one denied the other. From this last difficulty Emerson points the escape in his sentence, "If all is fate, (causal relation) then my will is a part of fate." With regard to the first difficulty it helps to see that inexplicable complexity is by no means confined to human affairs. "Had Cleopatra's nose been a trifle longer, the face of the world also would have been changed." True. But does this in any way disprove a science of history? No physiologist can tell why that nose was just so long; still we don't doubt that its length was fixed by physiological causes, not by supernatural interposition or by chance; and the relation between its length and the acts of those world masters, Caesar and Anthony, was distinctly a causal relation. Now, as Mr. Croll taught us years ago, if the nose of South America (I venture to apply that term to the prominent feature upon the eastern face of the continent) had been shorter or had been pushed up a trifle of a few hundred miles toward the receding forehead, then the great Equatorial Current which now hits South America north of that projection and therefore is deflected through the Gulf into the North Atlantic, carrying thither a large percentage of the heat received by the North Temperate zone,—this current would have been deflected instead into the South Atlantic and the face of the Earth would have been changed more than by any change in Cleopatra's nose. The site of Chicago would be a glacier. No geologist can say why the nose of South America is just where it is, rather than a little to the north, any more than the physiologist can explain the precise length of Cleopatra's nose; but the geologist does not therefore despair of his science, nor need the physiologist or the historian of his. Both geology and history leave many phenomena unexplained; but both deal with causation, even when they cannot trace it.

Nor is there danger of making our study irreligious. Like all science it must be *un*religious, must concern itself strictly with "secondary causes." To know that it does so is of the essence of historical mindedness. Irreligion in this connection consists in blurring the distinction between secondary and final causes. We are to see natural causation alike in big and small, in strange and common. If we see God in the one class of phenomena, then in the other also, and in the same way only. We are not, Hottentot fashion, to regard green apples as a sufficient explanation for stomach ache, but call in God to explain the cholera. We may not think that natural factors decide a street row, but that the Supernatural intervenes at Gettysburg or Bull Run or about the walls of lofty Troy. Not in such fashion may we toy with gods and atoms, or degrade Jehovah to the level of a germ. The reverent astronomer gazing through the cloudless night, may exclaim with Festus, "The worlds are but Thy shining footprints upon space"; but when he turns back to his instrument, if he is good for anything as an astronomer, his work is just like that of this other astronomer who sees no God at all. So in history, noting how sometimes lusts and confusions have made for the progress of society, we exclaim with the Psalmist, "He maketh the wrath of men to praise Him"; but we may not introduce God into our history as an explanation of particular phenomena, nor deal with them in any way in which an atheist might not deal with them. We may believe with St. Paul that God hath raised up all the nations of the earth and appointed them their times and places, as the geologist may believe that He has raised the hills and hollowed the valleys; but history itself knows no more of God in one set of phenomena than geology does in the other. You are a geologist. Here is a hill which your science cannot explain. Are you to say,—This hill is not caused in the usual way. God must have planted it here to turn this river in this direction, so as to fertilize this valley and leave that one waste (until man by irrigation change the plan)? What would we say of the geologist who stole the rags of sham religion so to dress his ignorance or his prejudice! Just as contemptible, just as cowardly, no more religious, is such language in history; and until we cease to hear it in the pulpit and on the commencement platform, there is room for historical study to do more in cultivating this element of historical mindedness.

And will you pardon me if I claim that here too American history has one advantage. In the early stages of most other history, causal relation have to do largely with the influence of the material upon the human. American history began only when man had learned in great measure to make material agencies serve him and to modify them to his will. Much that is most vital in American history, indeed, began because of a new social will, a new social consciousness, in groups of men, so that they could deliberately set forth to try new and "holy" social experiments. The human element in our history is larger, and the material is more subordinate in character if not in amount. Thus while the student deals with causation, as in all history, he deals with it here upon the highest plane and from the most profitable view-point.

Historical mindedness! I have touched imperfectly upon the sense of causation, the sense of evolution as the method of social progress, historical imagination, the ability to discern truth from printed evidence, openmindedness; and the whole, we know, is greater than the

sum of these great parts. But I pass now from this theme to my last topic, Culture. In the sense in which I use that word American history counts especially for culture; for here I have in mind the result of focusing the study of the past upon the life of to-day. Eminent authorities among us insist that history has no practical application; that it is pure science, concerned only with finding the truth of the past. But the universe is vast, and interests are multitudinous. What of the past do you and I care for? Some principle of selection there must be. No doubt this other attitude, toward pure science, has had its usefulness in making our study scientific; but may we not now take a hint from the transformation that is going on in the study of natural science? Chemistry had first to become a science by casting away alchemy; but, having become a science, it is now becoming again practical. Even in college, courses in industrial chemistry (as in industrial botany) are crowding out the courses in pure science. This is well. And in some like fashion the historian, having first made history scientific, must next find a way to make it bear upon life without ceasing to be scientific.

Only as history comes so to bear upon life, will it contribute in this high sense to culture. Culture,—master word of shifting content! In the thought of yesterday, culture was predominantly esthetic. It was individualistic and aristocratic, if not selfish and snobbish. It was set over against training for work. But to-day definitions and values change. Along with a new social consciousness and a new social standard of morals which bids fair to transform the spectacular, corsair-like hero of individualism into a stock stage-villain,—along with all this change we have a new standard of culture. To-day by culture we mean first, as a foundation, ability to do useful work, together with such skill and will as shall make the doing a joy. Next we mean all capacity for noble delight in nature and art and society, together with spiritual fellowship with the glorious sons of men in other times and climes. And finally we mean (do we not?) a certain habit of thought and disposition of will,—a democratic consciousness of human solidarity and a purposeful inclination to social usefulness, an eager interest in questions and a glowing sympathy with movements that concern the uplift of men.

This sympathy and interest and inclination ought to be nourished by historical study, especially by the study of recent and contemporary European history and by American history. Here our work finds its consummation and its final justification. For what is it all worth after all, however it store up knowledge and develop power, if it does not also inspire and strengthen this purposeful interest in men about us!

"HISTORY AND ITS NEIGHBORS."

PROF. GEO. L. BURR,
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To have sandwiched between your discussions of to-day on the uses of History and those of to-morrow on the neighbor science of Geography a talk to-night on History and its Neighbors befitted that administrative cleverness for which your President is already known even beyond the Alleghenies. Yet perhaps it was time that some

student of History should be called on to explain our attitude toward the sciences which are its neighbors. When, a half-dozen years ago at Washington, Professor Seligman, as President of the American economists, set forth to a joint meeting of economists and historians what is called the economic interpretation of History, Professor Cheyney in the name of historical science deprecated the proffered help. When, the next year at New Orleans, the sociologists, speaking through Professor Giddings, were ready to relieve us altogether of our cares by substituting for what has hitherto been known as History a study truly scientific, we again objected. And when, last winter at Madison, the geographers, our guests, explained to us, in the eloquent paper of Miss Semple, the helpful uses of Anthropo-Geography, there were among us those so ungracious as still to draw a line. What wonder that one of the most thoughtful of our younger historians should have exclaimed: "But why, then, build a fence between History and its neighbors?"

Why, indeed? Is not all science one? "What can it matter," as old Symmachus asked the Christians fifteen hundred years ago, "in what school one seeks for truth?" Why build a fence? It is to that question, and to what seems to me its answer, that I call your thought to-night.

In the first place, then, to define a boundary need not mean to build a fence. The most generous sharer of his grounds must know with exactness their limits, that his turf may all be trimmed and his grass kept green, if only for his neighbor's sake. But, if his lands invite to tillage, and to some special tillage of their own, he may well find he needs a fence; not to shut out his neighbors or shut in himself, not to forbid their working with his tools or he with theirs, but only, in the common interest, to enrich the common resources and to set due time and measure for the mixture of their cattle and his corn. And now and then the fence may serve, as now, as a perch for a friendly survey of each other's crops.

To an audience of teachers I need not illustrate how prone is the untrained mind to inertia—forever wishing to work out its multiplication by addition, its decimals by common fractions. And whoever has had to do with the history of the sciences knows how at every step their progress has met in children of a larger growth the same inertia, protesting in the name of some old scheme of knowledge, divine or human, against diversity of method or of view. Half our enthusiasm for the unity of truth has always been sheer intellectual laziness.

Yet, more and more, the philosophers, whose business it is to classify and to define the sciences, have found the essence of their difference to lie less in a difference of field than in a difference of viewpoint or of method. If sometimes two neighbor sciences have seemed to differ only in their field, it is because they are really but provinces of some great common science, as Botany and Zoology of the common science of Biology. It by no means follows, then, that because two studies have a common field they ought to have a common method. All nature lies within the domain of Physics and of Chemistry; but there is ample need for all the biologic sciences as well. Man belongs, as a child of earth, to Geography; as an animal, to Zoology; as a social, a political, an economic, a moral being, to Sociology, Politics, Economics, Ethics; it does not follow that History, which also studies him, must be either of these. Yet each of these, and more

than one study besides, at some time or other laid claim to him for itself alone, either discarding History as useless or "raising it to a science" by tolerating it as a handmaid. That from the historians there has come so little protest and so much compromise is, thinks Ernst Bernheim, who a few years ago gave us our first text-book of the method of History, because historians have thought so little upon the nature of their own study and on its relations to others. It is precisely this, he tells us, which stirred him to write his book. Yet I venture to think that it is less from lack of thought as to the nature of History than from lack of study of what others have thought and from lack of patience to think their own thought through, that historians have lagged. In this respect those of English speech seem to me the worst sinners. How often and how cleverly even these have thought about History we have just been reminded by that helpful librarian-historian, Mr. William E. Foster, whose painstaking paper, read last year before the American Antiquarian Society, is the first attempt at a systematic survey of what has been written upon the subject in our tongue; but the survey makes scarcely less clear how little they have built on each other's results and how largely their utterances have been mere *obiter dicta*. And if they have lacked in cooperation with each other, they have, for the most part, been much more oblivious of the notable contributions which during these last years have been made by the philosophers to the vindication of a place and a method for History.

It is to these, indeed—to the philosophers in their function as classifying logicians—that the problem strictly belongs. As an eminent historian, Eduard Meyer, not long ago pointed out, "the historian who seeks to clear up for himself such questions transcends the bounds of his own field of work no less than does the artist who busies himself with questions as to the nature and functions of art." Yet there is one quarter to which the historian might seem to have the right to turn for an answer. He may ask History itself how it came to be and what it has actually been. Thus did Professor Bernheim when he would study the method of History. Thus in these last weeks have done Professor Cheyney and Professor Robinson in the sparkling addresses with which they have just illumined the meaning of History.

The Father of History himself makes answer; for he is the father of the name not less than of the thing. It was the name of his work, or so his contemporaries understood it. It was at any rate its opening word: "Of the *history* of Herodotus of Halicarnassus this is an exposition." But it was as yet no technical term. Its meaning was written on its face. It was but the noun of the familiar verb which meant "to inquire," "to find out by inquiry"; and from Herodotus' own use both of noun and of verb it is clear that to him, as to his fellow Greeks, it meant "research" in general. His choice of it instead of the verb of simple narration which sufficed for other chroniclers was doubtless meant only to emphasize the pains he had taken with his story. Already, indeed, to him, by a sort of confusion easy still to scholars, the word "history" was beginning to mean any or all of three closely related ideas, which are indeed but the three stages or phases of a single process; not only *inquiry*, but the *information* which is its immediate outcome, and the *narrative* in which it must embody itself to be told. But that to him, or to his readers, the word in itself suggested the inquiry's field does not appear. Aristotle with as good

a right could call his zoology "the history about living things," and Theophrastus his botany "the history of plants." But, though clearly by the word "history" Herodotus does not define the field of his research, he by his next words as clearly does; and it was probably the association of this definition of his field with the word which was to remain the familiar title of his familiar book that won eventually for that field its exclusive claim to the name of "history." "Of the history of Herodotus of Halicarnassus this is an exposition, in order that the doings of men may not be dimmed by time, nor their achievements great and wonderful, whether by Greeks or by barbarians wrought, fail of renown." "The doings of men" and "their achievements great and wonderful"; these, then, are the field of his study, the theme of his book. Human affairs, human achievements. The one he will save from oblivion, the other from indifference. His aim is record, his method research and exposition. If his book be history, this is his theory of history.

Nor does the book, however grave its faults, bely the theory. If it take its beginning from the causes of the Persian wars, it is because no earlier than that point can his research begin. He may tell us first the old tales of Io and of Europa, but it is to dismiss them as the unverified pretext of Persian or of Greek, and to "proceed at once to point out the person who first within my own knowledge did a wrong to the Greeks and from that to take up my story." If his world end at the Danube and the Indus, it is because he has been "unable to learn of any one who claims to have seen with his own eyes" what lies beyond. He may know that tin and amber come from the far northwest; but this proves to him nothing of the existence of "Tin Islands" or of an amber-yielding river flowing into a northern sea while he is "not able to hear from any one who has been an eyewitness, though I took pains to discover this, that there is a sea on that side of Europe," and he laughs at the doctrinaire map-makers who in the face of all evidence surround the known Earth with an Ocean stream "as circular as if drawn with a pair of compasses." Dearly he loves a good story, and many is the improbable one he drags in by the ears under plea of suspension of judgment; yet he more than once reminds us that, while he has to tell the tales that are current, he does not have to believe them, and a sly doubt often spices the telling. Credulous of marvels he is, despite his doubts; but, if his standards of the possible are not ours, not even those of the most rational of his own day, he yet has his own, grounded in experience and common sense, and frank is his contempt for the fraud which defies them. And even the marvels, as his careful reader must see, are of interest to him, not as marvels, but as contributions to human experience, to be rationally explained if they can, to be rationally reckoned with if they cannot. An unquestioning believer in the existence of the gods, he as little questions their power to guide men by oracles or dreams or to punish them for crime or presumption; but his history is no drama of a resistless divinity bringing to naught the counsels of men. Rather are the gods but a majestic chorus applauding and echoing the sentiments of the human actors. They intervene only at rare crises, and then with no connected plan; and yet more rarely does aught of importance turn on the intervention. Their oracles, ambiguous and tricky, even to their flatterers, depend for their influence on their interpreters, whose vanity or whose craft may wholly

distort the meaning of the god. The dreams are not only at the mercy of interpreters, but it is hard to be sure that they come from the gods; for, as Herodotus makes Artabanus caution Xerxes, "the visions of dreams for the most part take their form from the thoughts which have busied our waking hours." Even in those divine retributions which he narrates with such relish it is to be noted that the gods by no means spurn human agents or find it necessary to interfere with the order of nature; and at nothing does he oftener scoff than at pretense to knowledge of the gods, and of their plans, "deeming all men," he says, "equally ignorant of these matters."

Nay, interested though he is in all things in earth and heaven, what really concerns the Father of History is only "the doings of men." To narrate these in terms of human experience, to explain them in terms of human motive, to appraise them in terms of human conduct, this to him is the exposition of his "history." And when to his fellow Greeks that word, thus suggested by him, became the technical name for a specific branch of study and of writing, what they understood by History was precisely this. Even that younger contemporary, Thucydides, who so carefully avoids the word and so emphasizes his own divergence from the "story-tellers" who wrote before him, did more rationally, more judicially, and with incomparably more critical insight realize the same ideal. And Polybius, the last of the historians of free Greece, who taught her Roman conquerors both the name of history and how to write it, if he echo Thucydides as to its method, echoes Herodotus as to its meaning. That meaning his Roman pupils never questioned; the very idiom of Latin speech soon made "the doings of men"—*res a mortalibus gestae*—so confessedly the theme of history that *historia* and *res gestae* became almost interchangeable terms.

Yet, in that old Greco-Roman world, it was not alone the study which thus earned the name of History that found its material in the doings of men. From beginning to end the poet and the story-teller still wrought them into stuff for drama and legend, the orator swelled them into eulogies or garbled them into arguments, the rhetorician shaped and decked them to the pattern of his art, the philosopher fitted them to speculations outrunning time and space; and each in turn cast something of his spell upon the writers of History. But while a Eutropius or an Ammianus still chronicled the deeds of Roman Emperors there fell upon the world a mightier enchantment. The new faith of the Christians lifted men into a heaven whence even that Roman world seemed small and strange. Eusebius and Jerome carried its retrospect to the very Creation by knitting to its story that of the Jews, as told in Holy Writ; and in Daniel's unriddling of the vision of Nebuchadnezzar—the image with head of gold and breast of silver and belly of brass and legs of iron—they found the divine conception of history's periods. But to minds thus turned from reason to revelation no earthly retrospect could long suffice. The bolder genius of an Augustine found in the sacred books his warrant for a wider vision. Over against the Roman city, grown a world, he saw the city of God, established too upon the earth, but filling all the heavens. The earthly city, Rome's, born of the fall of the angels and the sin of man, is but the city of the Devil, its great deeds crimes or glittering vices, its destiny ruin and the flames of Hell. Its History has no worth; "for we," he said, "stayed by divine authority in the history of our religion, doubt not the utter falsehood of whatever contravenes it, and know

that whatever else there be in secular writings, true or false, is of no moment to our right and blessed living."

Thus, for a thousand years did History make way for Theology, biography for hagiography. A Gregory of Tours might still, like Herodotus, find interesting all things in Heaven and earth; but it was Heaven alone whose reassuring acts on earth he meant to chronicle "for those who begin to despair of the end of the world." The deeds of men, foreseen and predetermined, had less significance than those special marvels by which ever and again the one real actor better betrayed his presence and revealed his plans.

Stirrings there were, even in the Middle Ages, of a more human interest in the affairs of men; but they were brief, sporadic. Not till the opening of the modern time, with its broadening knowledge and its revived study of the ancients, did a new day open for a purely human history, and then only to be thrown into speedy eclipse by the great religious revival of the Reformation. Of better omen were the quarrels of religion itself, which now set the rival claimants to the one true faith at impugning each the title of his neighbor's group to divinity of origin and sanctity of career. Benedictine and Jesuit, vying with Lutheran and Calvinist, piled up great tomes of such research as should convince even a scoffing antagonist; and ever as they toiled their own insight grew clearer and more critical. But to the growing skepticism of a younger age, intoxicated by the powers of its new logic and by the vistas opening to its new study of nature, all history was suspect; and, repudiating its aid, the rising thought of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries turned rather to the working out by reason alone of a "natural" system in politics, law, education, morals, religion, or, if it dabbled with history, did so rather to wipe out than start afresh. It was only when the collapse of the French revolution had taught men that the past too lives in the present and must be reckoned with, that History, now freed from Theology, came fully into her own again. Then, nourished by that love of human nature which stirred in the eighteenth-century sentimentalists and æstheticists, and by that faith in its powers which rationalism and revolution themselves had kindled and equipped into public keeping, History became once more, at the hands of Ranke and his disciples and of their fellow workers in other lands, frankly and simply the story of the doings of men.

But this new life of History was but a part of a vaster movement. In every other field of human thought—in philosophy, literature, art, not least in the natural sciences—men had likewise come to see that the present can be understood only in the light of the past, that all things must be studied in their becoming as well as in their being. And in the sciences of nature the new point of view fruited in striking hypotheses and discoveries—in the nebular hypothesis, in the theory of evolution, in the revelations of the new science of Geology. "The victory of a historical attitude," said recently an eminent thinker, "is probably the greatest triumph of all modern research." And it is this which has led another to call the nineteenth century the century of the historical method. The "historical" attitude, the "historical" method; for "history," by a figure familiar to rhetoricians, had come to mean in common parlance, not only the study of the past, but the past itself. And now that in that past not alone the doings of men but the phenomena of a universe were to be studied in their process through time, the meaning of the word was again vastly broadened.

"History" became, as a great historian pointed out, one of the two widest conceptions under which the human mind groups phenomena. As "Nature" meant all things in space, so "history" now meant all things in time. Or, to borrow the odd brogue of the German, as "nature" means "the side-by-sideness of all that is," so "history" now meant "the one-after-anotherness of all that has come to be." But this broadening of the word, triumph though it may have been for History's viewpoint, was fraught with grave dangers for the identity of that study itself. On the one hand, thoughtless readers, assuming that History, the study, must deal with the whole of history, the field, looked to it for many things—the origins of the physical universe, of animate nature, of the genus homo—which lay wholly within the territory of neighbor sciences and for whose investigation History proper had neither equipment nor training. For the "historical method" belonged to all sciences alike—to Astronomy, Biology, Anthropology, not less than to History. On the other hand, thoughtful students of other sciences, perceiving that men, whose doings are the theme of history, enter into the themes of other sciences, natural, social, intellectual—and that they must therefore be treated historically by these also in their application of the historical method, failed to perceive any reason for a History which should deal alone with them and their doings; and so, in place of that old-fashioned study, were ready to offer us, as a substitute, some phase or province of a younger and more scientific. Thus the French philosopher Comte, crowning his hierarchy of the sciences with that comprehensive science of human society which he called Sociology, would restrict History, as a part of it, to the comparative study of social phenomena. Thus the Englishman Buckle would raise it to a science by resolving it into Geography and Statistics. Thus his countryman Bagehot would annex it to Biology, the American Draper to Physiology; while the Frenchman Taine, believing that "vice and virtue are products, like vitriol and sugar," would make of it a social Psychology. And thus, even in our day, historians of biologic or sociologic tastes offer us as a "really scientific method" for History some form or application of the method of the natural sciences.

Such attempts have by no means failed of applause. They have, indeed, attracted much more popular notice than the quiet and fruitful persistence of History in her old ways. But the applause has come mainly from the students of other sciences and from the public committed to their point of view. The great body of the readers and the writers of History have found still worth their while the ancient study which interprets in terms of purpose and of effort the doings of men. Nay, even those who have led the new departures have seemed to their critics to forget their theories in practice. Mr. Buckle has repeatedly been charged with forsaking his dogma as soon as it was uttered. "When he writes history," says Lord Acton, "he makes persons his centers, and reduces it to what it must always be, an intricate and interlacing tissue of biographies." It is equally a commonplace that Taine drew more and more away from his theory until in his later writings it scarcely betrays itself; and the conservative readers of our present-day historical reformers are always ready to confess their practice better than their preaching. It has been pointed out, too, by a great thinker, that in the order of these successive theories themselves there is, on the whole, a growing approximation to the older

point of view—from Buckle to Taine, from Taine to the later writers, and none more clearly point out this difference than our present-day reformers themselves. To a History based on human freedom and responsibility, indeed, the theocratic fatalism of Augustine could scarcely be more crushing than the sociologic fatalism of Comte, the racial fatalism of Taine, the psychologic fatalism of Lamprecht; but it is much that the power which coerces is found by each fresh analysis nearer to the sources of personality. What thus far has actually grown out of each attempt at a new History has been, rather, a new and auxiliary science of whose aid the old History had sore need; out of the thought of Comte the great new science of Sociology, out of the movement inspired by Buckle the new science of Anthropo-geography, out of studies such as Taine's the new science of Social Psychology.

It would look, then, as if History might still endure. But why *should* History endure? On its own evidence I have tried to show you what from its rise it has always been. But I have forborne to call it a science. I have not assumed that its existence is justified. I have not asked as to its place or its office in the sum of human thought. On all these questions I have meditated much; but, with Eduard Meyer, I count their answer the affair, not of the historians, but of the philosophers. Perhaps no subject has during the last quarter-century received so large a share of their attention; and their general and growing agreement seems to me as striking as it is reassuring. It is now just twenty-five years since, in 1883, one of their leaders, Professor Wilhelm Dilthey, of the University of Berlin, put forth the first volume of an "Introduction to the Sciences of Mind," which his title-page further explained as "an attempt at a foundation-laying for the study of society and of history." As from Bacon's time on, he said, students of the natural sciences had put forth books on the basis and the method of these, so he would now undertake a like service for history and politics, jurisprudence and economics, theology, literature, and art. The undertaking remains as yet a torso; but this volume became at once a classic. Sketching with learning and insight the history of the sciences from their birth, he pointed out the source and the fallacy of that notion as to their unity which had fruited in the attempt to mutilate the others to the Procustean standards of the natural sciences; and he suggested a new logic of the historical sciences, based on their own aims and materials. "The aim of the sciences of mind," he said, "is to comprehend the singular, the individual, of the historico-social reality." "Natural science builds up matter out of tiny elemental particles, capable of no independent existence and conceivable only as constituents of the molecule. The units which act upon each other in the wonderfully complex whole of history and society are individuals—psycho-physical wholes, each of which differs from every other, each of which is a world." "The portrayal by itself of one of these psycho-physical units of life is Biography." "The place of Biography in the general science of History corresponds to the place of Anthropology in the theoretical sciences of the historico-social reality."

In that same year 1883 the eminent Leipzig professor, Wundt, the organizer of that new science of Physiological Psychology, which for a moment had seemed to put into the hand of the students of nature a key to all the processes of mind, published the second volume of his Logic; and in this he, too, and not less sharply than Dilthey, dis-

criminated from the method of the natural sciences the method of the sciences of mind, drawing also a line between the social and the historical sciences. As the sciences of nature, he said, find their starting-point in physics, so the sciences of mind in psychology. The great day of the natural sciences is passing, that of the mental sciences beginning; and by a careful analysis of the method of History (in this foreshadowing the work of Bernheim) he shows "how misleading are the efforts, born mainly of mistaken points of view borrowed from the method of the natural sciences, to lay down permanent criteria" for History, "overlooking the circumstance, fundamental for historical method, that the individual character of historical events forbids experimentation" and the establishment of laws.

The view thus doubly formulated—in cruder forms it had long been in the air—found among philosophic thinkers everywhere swift and glad acceptance; and during the years which have since elapsed many have joined in working it out in growing cogency and detail. In 1894 Windelband, at Heidelberg, in a rectoral address on "History and Natural Science," analyzed with great clearness the differences between the "sciences of law" and the "sciences of events," making the latter independent even of Psychology, and asked for a new classification of the sciences based expressly on their difference in aim. On such a classification the Genevan scholar Naville had long been engaged; but he had scarcely published it, in 1901, when in 1902 Professor Rickert, of Freiburg, gave to the world in its completed form the book which is usually counted the most important contribution yet made to this discussion, "The Limits of Natural-Science Concept-Forming"—"a logical introduction to the historical sciences." It is a book of which I should wish to say much, had not a scholar who must be a member of your own body—Professor Fling, of the University of Nebraska—made its message accessible to us all by his masterly summary of it in the article on "Historical Synthesis," which he published in the American Historical Review for October, 1903. Suffice it, then, that Rickert not only more fully demonstrates the inadequacy of the method of the natural sciences for the purpose of the historian, but interprets in the terms of Logic the method of History, maintaining that it is not only a science, but the one science of reality, the necessary complement of the sciences of abstraction and generalization.

Let me add only that by "the individual," in all this discussion, is meant not the isolated human being alone. Athens, Persia, the Roman world, the Christian church, the French revolution, the Nineteenth Century, anything with a proper name or that can be treated as a proper noun: all these are as truly individuals as Alexander or Napoleon. Anything may be made an individual if looked at by itself, and not as a type or as a member of a class. The essential difference between the natural sciences and History is not in material, but in aim and method; the one sets out from the particular to understand the general, the other from the general to understand the particular.

To most philosophers, then, as to most historians, the field of History is still the human past, and its function still, not to tabulate that past into statistics or to formulate it into laws, but to learn and to tell its human story. But why, you will ask, not this and all the others too? That brings me to the neighbors of History. For the first reason why History's field and function must stay what they are is because its neighbors have staked out and pre-empted all the adjoining territory. And the second reason is that in a community so interdependent as the republic of learning History owes it to her neighbors to work her own field to the full. Now, I do not mean that the historian may not ply other sciences than History. For reasons which I may not have time to give you I believe that the really great historian must ply many, and I am not sure but he will be the greatest historian who ably plies the most. What I mean is that each, like history, demands its own peculiar training, methods, tools, and that he who merely stumbles in, through ignorance or heedlessness, will but show himself a smatterer and confuse his neighbors' work.

Which, then, are these neighbors, and what their bounds? In the sense of the Good Samaritan, all sciences are History's neighbors, for all can help and be helped. Even Chemistry and Physics answer many a question as to the human past and have many to ask in return; but sciences such as these dwell too remote for intrusion. We learn the chemist's trade before we meddle with his processes.

One may almost as quickly dispatch that group of sciences, for the most part highly specialized, whose aid is so essential to History that we dub them the "auxiliary sciences." First of these—if it be not too proud to tolerate the name "auxiliary"—is that comprehensive and all-important one which calls itself Philology, the science of languages and literatures. To that humbler half sometimes called Linguistics, the science of speech, History's relation is simple. Without it she can scarcely take a step. Without its grammars and lexicons her research cannot cross a frontier or at home push back beyond a few centuries; and even in one's own land and time the dialect of a province, the diction of an author, the luxuriance of slang, the constant change in the meaning of words, throw us ever afresh upon its helpful mercies. Nor is Linguistics much less dependent on History for the illumination of the field in which she works. Yet conflict as to territory is scarcely known between them. At Cornell so essential do we deem languages to our young historians that it is to them, rather than to History, if they must choose, that we urge them to devote their earlier college years. But we never presume to teach them these ourselves. At most, when the linguists have trained them, we may with them apply what they have learned to the common study of a chronicle or a correspondence. Human speech is a part of human life; but we know ourselves, if mere historians, untrained for its special study, and we take without question what Linguistics tells us of it. But with Philology in its larger sense, the matter is not so simple. I do not mean the "Comparative Philology" which proved such a will o' the wisp to History a generation ago. History has now grown content to let Comparative Philology work out her own problems and to wait meanwhile for the answer. I mean that study of literatures which sometimes calls itself "Philology proper." There was a time, a century ago, when its students thought to include in its scope "all the products of the human mind," not excepting History. But none, not even the classicists, are now so grasping, and, even to those of us who would by no means draw a sharp line between History and Literature or repudiate historical art, the development of historical criticism has made clear the point of transition. Yet it is to the critical study of literature that we owe our rules and our models for the criticism, the collation, and the editing of our sources; and the science as well as the art of History might profit by a more generous training in its

methods. So, too, with those handmaids of Philology, Epigraphy, the science of old inscriptions, and Palæography, the science of old handwriting. We train ourselves in their methods or we use the aid of those who have done so. Such a handmaid has History herself in Diplomatics, the science of documents, which studies the official procedure of their creation, strips their kernel of the legal verbiage, tests their genuineness, and groups them by place and time. We must know something of its methods, and, for the exploiting of a narrow field, we may make ourselves masters of them; but it is at the hand of *Diplomatics* herself, and for the most part we must rely on her handbooks and her trained workers. Then there is Sphragistics, or Sigillography, the science of seals, with which for countless ages men signed their names; there is the kindred study of Heraldry, the science of escutcheons; there is that other neighbor, Numismatics, which studies for us what men have stamped on coins and medals and medallions; and, akin to this science of the symbols of value, there is Metrology, the science of weights and measures. All these, from Sphragistics on, ought to be but branches of Archæology, the comprehensive science of ancient things; but that late-born study found these already in possession of the field, and must content herself with what is left. As Classical Archæology, her oldest role, she is interested in the products of the arts alone; as Prehistoric Archæology she is the auxiliary of Anthropology, not of History; as the guide of those who in museums classify and arrange the relics of the past, she exercises a general supervision over the whole. But neither as a whole nor in any of her branches has she serious collision with History. Her interest is in things, not in men, or in men only as their story explains things or is illustrated by them. History gratefully receives her aid with scarce a thought of questioning her prerogatives. Chronology, too, the invaluable science which measures and labels that time which is History's habitat, defining eras, describing calendars, interpreting the temporal landmarks chaotically left by men, is far too specialized, too redolent of mathematics, to tempt History either to intrusion or to fear of it. Far other is it with that other "eye of History," the measurer of place, Geography. For the helpful Geography which draws us plans and maps, which lays down parallels of longitude and latitude, which locates places, boundaries, routes, and in general gives a local habitation to the happenings for which we furnish names, is but a humble branch of the ambitious natural science which so proudly bears that name; and it is as the first of the natural sciences neighbor to History that we must scan its limits.

Yet, before I discuss the boundaries between History and the sciences of nature, I wish to brush away a source of much misunderstanding. It is the ambiguity caused by the differing meanings of "history." On history, the field, when it means not the human past, but the past as a whole, History, the study, has no more claim than any or all of the other sciences. No science but now studies its material in the order of time as well as of space, in its becoming as well as in its being. The "historical method," in so far as that phrase is used to mean merely a study in chronological order, a study of process in time, has no more to do with the branch of study called "History" than with any other branch of study. The history of the earth belongs not to History, but to Astronomy, to Geography, to Geology. To the logician there may be much in common between their treatment

of their theme and the historian's, but the historian proper has no claim upon the theme. Not all of even the human past belongs to History, the study. Man as an animal is the theme of Anthropology, and it is Anthropology, not History, which must apply to this theme the "historical method." The ancients made this clear by a distinction which we have unhappily lost. Man the animal, the genus, was called in Greek *anthropos*, in Latin *homo*. Man the individual, the conscious and responsible agent, was in Greek *aner*, in Latin *vir*. As we have seen, History from the first dealt with the doings and achievements of men; the merely human remained for Anthropology. But now to Geography again.

The science of Geography is, indeed, no creation of the classifying logicians. It is an accident, born of the needs and the interests of travelers,—a little astronomy, a little geology, a little meteorology, a little botany, a little zoology, a little ethnology, a little politics, a little history,—a handy medley of sciences, or, if you please, an eclectic science. It deals not only with the place, the shape, the movements of our globe, its solid surface and its envelopes of water and of air, but also with its tenantry of plants and animals, not excepting man himself,—his races, his migrations, his industries, his trade, his governments, the impalpable lines he calls his boundaries. But even the non-human part of geography owes its place in geography to its relation to man; for the "earth" of geography is, as the physical geographers are now fond of telling us, and as the history of their science proves, precisely so much of the world about us as is of moment to man—it is his physical environment as a whole, and that alone. For science so vast and so heterogeneous it is not easy to discover limits at all, and it seems to have experienced that difficulty itself. Yet it seems growingly clear that those who speak for it in our day count it a natural science, and it must be from this point of view, forgetting that even from this viewpoint man as an animal is also a child of earth and a subject of Geography, that they speak of "the influence of the earth on man" or "of Geography on History." This would in no wise concern the historian, since it is all clearly within the domain of the geographer, were it not that historians, too, and without the geographer's training, fall into the easy habit, and, seizing out of the physical environment any element of constraint, without waiting to prove the constraint compelling or to trace the processes which must intervene before any impulse from without is transmuted into human decision and action, are in danger of hopelessly confusing Geography and History. Only a few months ago, to the history teachers of New England, and again at Christmastide, to the American historians and geographers assembled at Madison, I had opportunity to say my say on this subject, and I will repeat for you but a few of my words. "What, then, is the true relation of geography to history, of earth to man? That man is everywhere dependent upon his environment for the materials out of which himself and his history must be built I do not deny. What he is to be or to do to-morrow must be but the product of himself into this environment. But note,—the outcome is always a *product*. To attempt to divine a product from a single factor is as absurd in history as in mathematics. And note, too, that in this problem it is man who almost invariably is the multiplier, earth but the multiplicand. It is he, more than any or all of the features of his environment, who can change his place, choose his conditions, augment his forces. Whether

man's part be the greater or the less, whether he be nature's master or her helpless victim, the result of their interaction is still a product and can never be foretold without knowing the man as well as the environment. But, even if he be nature's victim,—if she have power to impose on him not only her whims but her habits,—if he is the subject of nature's laws,—it is not history which is thus created, but natural history. The natural history of man is Anthropology. Friedrich Ratzel is right. The Geography which takes account of the natural relations between earth and man—earth's relations with man as an animal—is not Historical Geography, not Andro-Geography, but Anthropo-Geography. The science of man to which it is auxiliary is not History, but Anthropology. Now, Anthropology is a noble science; and the historian can hardly do without the knowledge of it, for it brings him to the very threshold of his own domain. But Anthropology, even in its widest sense, is not History, nor is it inclusive of History; for History, as historians have always known, and as the great logicians in their classification of the sciences are at last explaining to us, is not one of the natural sciences, but the needed complement of these. It is the science, not of man the animal, but of conscious and purposeful man,—the one science which deals with the individual and the concrete, not, as do other sciences, with the abstract and the general. It begins at the point where the individual first emerges into record,—the individual people, the individual state, at last the individual man,—and its theme is the achievements and the experiences of men. With man the genus and with what *must* happen it has naught to do; it concerns itself alone with men and with what *did* happen. It is, as the logicians have just proved to us, the one science of reality."

And what is thus true of Anthropology is true of all those other studies, in strictness its branches, which deal as natural sciences with the nature of man. It is true of Ethnology, the science of races, and of its daughter Statistics, the science of the average man. It is true of Physiology, the science of man's physical organism. It is true even of Psychology, the science of his mind—in so far, at least, as this is a natural science. What interests these is not the individual, but the general—the law, the class, the type. In order to simplify for our grasp their part of the vast and complex whole of nature, they seize out only that which is common to a group. The individual is of use to them only as a specimen. They begin their scientific work by eliminating all that marks him from his fellows.

But let me illustrate. As Professor Adams told us at Madison, a river may turn a mill; but to History it is not the river that grinds the corn, not the mill, but the miller, though he lift not a finger. The trade-winds wafted Columbus to America; but it was not the trade-winds that discovered America, not the ship, but Columbus, though he only paced the quarter-deck. Geography could tell us the reasons of the flowing of the river and the blowing of the trade-winds. It could teach us where to look for them and when to expect their greatest power. It could tell us whence the miller might draw his corn and the sailor his supplies. Anthropology could show us the stages in man's use of the cereals and in the rise of his navigation. Physiology could explain why he needs the miller's powdered corn and why but for the trade-winds' speed he falls victim to the scurvy. Psychology might lay bare the habits of thought which belong to communities which raise

corn and millers who grind it; it might make clear why sailors as a class are impatient and admirals obstinate. But only History asks or learns why and how a definite miller at a definite time on a definite river set up a definite mill; why or how an admiral called Columbus in a year called 1492 hoisted his sails to the winds of an ocean called Atlantic and was blown to a shore known by us as America.

Yet let it not be thought that I underrate the work of these neighbor sciences. Even to History I count it of the utmost importance. Were I asked to name the most notable advance of History in the nineteenth century, I would name the rise of these auxiliary sciences which clear the field for its work—of Anthropo-Geography, of Anthropology, of Physiological and Comparative and Social Psychology. Before the historian can venture upon that interpretation of motive and of character which is the crown of his own work he must first make sure that these sciences of human environment and human nature have left him a problem to solve. He must know how, if need be, himself to apply their tests. But his own task lies beyond. As says Münsterberg, in the book he has just issued from the press, "a natural-scientific answer can never be the answer to a truly historical question."

It is in the higher reaches of Psychology that the natural sciences skirt nearest the work of History; and, as defined by Wundt or eloquently illustrated by Dilthey, the veil between is thin indeed. From the applied psychology of Taine or of Lamprecht the excursions into History seem to me many and brilliant. In the noble works of Mr. Lecky the two go hand in hand. But the psychological betrays itself ever by the interest in the law or the type, the historical by its eye to the individual; and the worth of a discrimination lies in the clear need of a psychologist's training for the safe use of a psychological method.

With Social Psychology we pass into the group of the social sciences; for it is to these, and not to History, that this is the introduction—to Sociology, to Politics, to Jurisprudence, to Economics. These are often deemed less distinct from History because they deal with men social and civilized and with those interests and activities of men which have received most attention also from History. But the distinction in viewpoint and method seems to me only the sharper. These are all comparative sciences. Their interest is in law or type; their method abstraction and generalization. History is their complement, not their counterpart. It is Sociology and Politics which have most questioned this relation. Sociology, whether we understand by it the basal or the comprehensive science of society, is by its traditions and its practice committed to the method of the natural sciences. I do not in the least disagree when from its own point of view it counts History only a descriptive study and denies it the name of a science. I object only when it is made History's function to gather material for Sociology or when its name is claimed for Sociology itself. The materials for Sociology can safely be gathered only by Sociology herself, though History may gladly hold a torch. History may use the same materials, but for another purpose; and she will find her most precious bits in the residuum. Much more serious, especially at the hands of our English cousins, has been the confusion of History with Politics. When Mr. Freeman said that "history is past politics," he spoke, of course, not of Politics, the science, or of History, the study, but only of "politics"

in its current sense of "political events," and meant only what Droysen had more happily phrased in the words "What to-day is politics belongs to-morrow to history." But when he defined History as "the science of man in his political character," he said what no other thoughtful student of History has ever approved. Such a definition can be explained, I think, only by the characteristic preoccupation of an Englishman with political history and by the not less characteristic attitude of English historians toward the study of Politics and Economics. But, if Politics may not thus absorb History, neither may History absorb Politics. Nor is there any danger. How far Mr. Freeman's own histories are from treatises on politics needs no pointing out. Yet historians need to be reminded that to Politics belongs the comparison and appraisal of institutions. It is for the historian to trace the steps by which individual men and nations have framed or changed institutions; but the preaching of political sermons best beseems him who has had a political training. From the economists, on the other hand, it is History which seems to need protection. Nothing in the past half-century has been more fruitful or more promising for History than the application of economic knowledge to historical study; but when the "economic interpretation of history" means the explanation in terms of Economics of the whole complex life of a nation or a period, the economist who undertakes it needs also the training of the historian and great industry in its use. His facts cannot be appropriated at second hand from even the most careful historian, much less from the antiquated compends he remembers from his school days. And such an interpretation becomes History proper only when it turns from the verification and illustration of economic assumptions to the disinterested unravelling of the concrete reality.

On the border land between these sciences which guide human action and that science of human thought, Logic, whose relation and worth to the historian I have already adequately illustrated, stands Ethics, the science of human conduct, with its eye on action and on thought. The latest of all the sciences to free itself from the theological metaphysics of the Middle Ages, and then only to fall into the metaphysics, unconscious but scarcely less dogmatic, of rationalism, it has since, in its search for a concrete basis, whether for argument or for illustration, been prone to fall back upon History; and, alas, has found it easy to find there texts for any creed. I believe, indeed, that History, as the story of human life, is itself profoundly ethical; and its study, however scientific, must tell helpfully upon life. But to make History the exponent of any moral system is to teach Ethics, Philosophy, Religion, not History.

It remains to speak only of that *bête noire* of historians, the Philosophy of History. The Philosophy of History belongs, of course, not to History, but to Philosophy. The "history" in its name means the human past, not the study of it; the philosophy of history is the philosophy of human life. But the kinship in name and in theme tempts the historian's interest, and on a subject so fundamental it is impossible to have no opinions. There is doubtless truth in the saying that he who thinks he has no philosophy of history is usually the slave of one. But it is also true that "the worst introduction to history is some other man's philosophy of it." The later and the more slowly one's philosophy ripens, the sounder and the truer to one's self it is likely to be. If one study the views of others, it may best be to free one's

mind from preconceptions and to gain suspension of judgment. And that, indeed, seems at present the drift of historical philosophy itself.

One reason why History should know her bounds is, I trust, now clear; on every side are neighbors, whose rights must be respected. I told you another reason: to work well her own domain, she must work it to her frontiers. But why that is so, and why the frontiers are not arbitrary or accidental, is another story; and I have already abused your patience too long.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON INCREASED FACILITIES FOR HISTORY WORK IN THE SCHOOLS.

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Definitions (4 units).

1. Ancient history, with special reference to Greek and Roman history, and including also a short introductory study of the more ancient nations and the chief events of the early middle ages, down to the death of Charlemagne (814).

2. Mediæval and modern European history, from the death of Charlemagne to the present time.

3. English history.

4. American history, or American history and civil government.

The periods that are here indicated as constituting the four units were recommended by the Committee of Seven of the American Historical Association in their report to the Association in 1899. The full report is published under the title "The Study of History in Schools." It contains suggestions as to various methods of treating these periods, and gives further information likely to be of service to the teacher. A short course of one year in general history of the world has been in a great measure abandoned by the schools, because it does not give the opportunity for the more concrete study and for the training in historical thinking that can be obtained from the more intensive work. The plan of continuing ancient history to the time of Charlemagne or the establishment of the Holy Roman Empire has much to commend it, and is now adopted in many schools. Excellent books have been prepared which will enable the teachers to cover the field, as a whole, satisfactorily. By continuing the study of ancient history down into the early middle ages, a reasonable adjustment of time between the earlier and later periods is secured; and from the purely historical as well as the pedagogical point of view, there is much to be said in favor of connecting Roman history with the later times; the pupil is not left in the confusion of the fallen or the decadent empire. In connection with a year's work in American history much instruction can be given in civil government; a course dwelling on the development of American

political ideals and the actual workings of institutions necessarily gives information concretely of the present governmental forms and methods.

No definite statement need be made concerning the mode of teaching or the apparatus that should be used. But it may be said that the mere learning of a text will give the preparation that the colleges desire. Happily the time is gone when teachers are inclined to confine their classes to the memorizing of a single text. Some colleges in their entrance examination expect the candidate to present notebooks showing the amount and character of the work done in the schools. It is desirable that notebooks or cards should be kept as a record of the work done. They may contain copious extracts from primary and secondary authorities, references to important material, sketch maps made by the pupils as illustrations of their studies, and informal notes on reading that has been done in connection with the course. Such work is necessary if the historical courses are to give their best educational results. Effort should be made to cultivate the power of handling facts and of drawing proper inductions from data, to develop the faculty of discrimination, to teach the pupils the use of books and how to extract substance from the printed page. The acquisition of information alone can not be the chief aim of any school work; knowledge of how to acquire information and, above all, some skill in putting forth what one knows, must always be of more than secondary importance; history therefore should be taught as a disciplinary and educational subject.

The teacher of history in the secondary school should have completed a four-year college course, or the equivalent. He should have completed courses in history aggregating *at least* twelve hours for one year, including one "intensive" or "research" course. In the selection of these courses, at least three fields of history represented in the secondary school units should be chosen. It is also strongly recommended that the teacher should have pursued elementary courses in economics and political science.

The school library or an accessible public library should be equipped with at least the following numbers for well-selected books on the different units: Ancient History, 25 volumes; Mediæval and Modern History, each 25 volumes; English History, 50 volumes, and United States History, 75 volumes.

In addition to a good text-book, the pupil should have read in connection with each unit of history, as a minimum, the following amounts of carefully selected collateral material, of which at least one-fourth should be source material: Ancient History, 200 pp.; Mediæval and Modern European History, each 150 pp.; English History, 300 pp.; American History, 350 pp. (It is understood that Civics is additional.) Especial care should be exercised by the teacher in testing the reports on outside reading, to see that the best results are obtained. The pupil should show ability also in map analysis and the completion of outline maps.

The history class-room should contain standard maps and the pupils should have access to good historical atlases. Photographs of historic scenes ought also to constitute a part of the school equipment for the use of the teacher of history.

"THE RELATION OF GEOGRAPHY TO THE TEACHING OF AMERICAN HISTORY IN THE GRADES."

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History deals with facts. It consists largely of the relation of facts and the philosophical comparison of those relations. These facts deal essentially with two elements.—time and space. These limitations differentiate history from other subjects in the curriculum of studies. Literature has little to do with either. We may relate, for instance, that once upon a time the chief magistrate in a powerful state went to his capitol where he might sit, as was his custom, to hear cases of law and equity. As he entered he was surrounded by a bevy of those whom he had long supposed to be his friends, when, without warning, they drew their daggers and stabbed him to death. Now this might pass for literature; it might be an interesting story if worked out in plot and play. But it is not history. The essentials of history are absolutely lacking. But if we say that, on the ides of March in the year 44 B. C., Julius Cæsar, who was then the chief magistrate in Rome, entered the Roman forum and was there stabbed by Brutus and a bevy of his associates,—we have made a statement historical in its character and form and which must needs be challenged for its truth or falsity.

It will not do to say that the time element alone is sufficient to transfer a statement from the realm of fiction to history. "Where did it occur?" is as important as, "When did it occur?"

If this be true it is impossible to disassociate geography, the science of the whereness of things from chronology, the science of the whenness of things, in the study of history.

So difficult is it for the human mind to sustain a long continued interest in any recital that does not deal with the place where, that the dreamers, poets and novelists have been obliged to invent exact locations. Thus did Plato for his Republic, and so did Dante for his Inferno, and Milton's geography of heaven and hell became orthodox theology for centuries.

This much has been premised in order to reach the positive dictum that there can be no history concept and therefore no history teaching divorced from geography. There is no place for the question.—shall we teach geography in connection with history? There may be questions as to how much geography we shall teach, and many questions as to the methods of teaching it, but that we must teach it is imperative.

Two questions confront us at once:—How much time shall we give to the geography side of the work? How shall we present it in connection with the history proper?

As to the first question, the previous preparation of the pupil has much to do. Unfortunately we drop the study of geography in the grades at about the time when the pupil begins to see some practical motive in its study. At the middle of the seventh grade the study of geography may be dropped in the Chicago schools. This is just about at the age when the pupil should really begin to study it. Up to this time he has been laboriously laying foundations without exactly knowing why; he has been willing to drudge because he

was young and wanted to do the thing pointed out to him by his teacher. Just when he begins to see some slight waverings of utility fringing his mental horizon he is called off. So much the worse for our history teacher. It simply means that we must cut out more of the time elements. We must give fewer topics.

It seems that many teachers think, and boards of education think that there is some sacred spell cast over the exact topics printed in the text book, and if one or two be added or subtracted all history is destroyed. Who says that a history should be put into just so many pages, no more and no less, and that just these topics shall be history and none others? It is not the number of topics that the child is taken over but the power to grasp historic relations and to vitalize historic statements that constitutes good teaching. The child in some poor way must me made to live history if he is to get power that is to go out of the school with him. How can he live anything with his feet up in the air,—no standing place? Like the old philosopher at Syracuse he must have a spot of earth upon which to rest his fulcrum.

Recently I went into an eighth grade class where I heard a history lesson recited. It was a review lesson upon the civil war and it was very well done. The attack upon Fort Sumter was related, the battle of Bull Run described, and a large part of the Mississippi campaign was described. Then I interposed some questions. "Where is Fort Sumpter?" After a brief pause I got it—"In Chesapeake Bay." "And where is Harper's Ferry that you say was in charge of Patterson?" "It is in North Carolina." "And where is Bowling Green that you spoke of?" "It is close to New Orleans in Arkansas." Several other questions of like import were asked to see how real the history had been made. To me it was a most discouraging outlook. It was bad because the child had thought that he was learning history and could not see why he needed to study geography. Bad because an absolutely vicious habit of study was being fixed upon him which months of persistent worrying can hardily correct.

It should not be understood that an exact and technical accuracy is to be expected or desired in this work. It is a general grasp and comprehension of the subject with its relation of parts and possibilities of movement that is desired and which is essential to a clear understanding of the matter in hand. So much of the geography should be studied as may be necessary to accomplish this result. With some classes this will be much while with others it will be little. The teacher must frequently take invoices of the content of his pupils' minds as the merchant takes invoices of his stock in trade, and like the merchant he must stock up on the things in which there is a shortage. No one can tell in advance how much this will be; each class brings its own problems and seldom can any two classes be treated or taught successfully in the same manner.

The methods of presenting the subject also varies with the classes and the grades in which the work is done. It must also vary as the personality and adaptability of the teacher varies. The personal equation can never be ignored when giving theoretical suggestions as to how a thing may be done in the school room.

In the lower grades the history work should be chiefly in the form of interesting story that does much more than teach history in the technical sense. The child in the primary schools is not a philosopher

and should not be presumed to be interested in the philosophical arrangement and logical sequence of historic events. He is interested in things and in movements. He wants people and he wants them to do something. Time and place are to him of no serious consequence. Jack and the bean stalk twixt heaven and earth is good enough for him. He is not bothered about the possibility of time or place. He must be gradually and unconsciously lead away from his age of dreams and fairy lands to the region of fact and philosophic relations. This should be done slowly, with a conscious purpose in the mind of the teacher but never formulated to the child.

It is the opinion of your speaker that stories having something of historic content, should be begun in the lowest grades and gradually developed in extent of plot and technical accuracy as the pupil grows older until he is unconsciously lead to the formal text-book treatment. Not only matters of history but matters of civics should be interwoven into these stories so that the rounded life of the child may find food and expression laying sure foundations for fuller teaching in the advanced grades.

A series of such topics has been suggested and from the long list recommended for use I have selected two which I shall treat somewhat fully in order to illustrate the method of presentation and the objects sought to be gained. The first is intended to have an ethical lesson as a background, while the second is intended to have a civic lesson to impress. It is not pretended that these stories are a finished product as to diction or arrangement. They can be greatly improved and must be modified by those who use them, but they are typical of the class of stories which your speaker thinks should be presented to fourth and fifth grade pupils.

THE STORY OF ABRAHAM AND LOT.

Some time ago I chanced to be in a home where there were two little children; one of them belonged there and the other was a visitor. One was about five years old, while the other was three or four. There was a great variety of playthings in the rooms, but as fast as the little one would get blocks, or balls, or marbles, or dolls, the older would cry out, "Mine," and snatch them away and hide them. Not a plaything would he divide; not a thing would he let the little fellow have. After a time some cakes were brought in for the children and I noticed the same thing,—the older one tried to get the larger part of everything. What do you call this kind of conduct? Does it make one pleasant to live with? Do we ever see it among school children? If our fathers and mothers acted that way toward us what would become of us?

I want to talk to you about something that happened a great many years ago. That we may understand it better and remember it longer I want you to get out your geographies and turn to the map on page (—). (It may be the teacher will be obliged to make or secure a special map, not a very difficult thing to do.) You see this map takes in the Mediterranean Sea and the countries around it. There, you see, is Italy sticking down into the water like a boot. A little over to the east is Greece, another peninsula that juts down into the sea. To the

south is Egypt with its great river Nile. Egypt has had a wonderful history. Long before America was discovered, long before there were any Germans, or Frenchmen, or Italians in Europe, this country, Egypt, was thickly settled, had great temples and cities and raised large harvests of grain. For hundreds of years when the other countries round about failed to raise grain they sent to Egypt to get food to keep their people from starving. Follow along up the coast from Egypt and we come to the country known as Palestine. It is a narrow strip of country with the Mediterranean on one side of it and the Dead Sea and the Jordan river and Lake Galilee on the other side; just a few miles across, about forty in some places. Between the sea and the river you notice how hilly and mountainous it is. They are not high mountains like our Rockies, but they are more than hills. You see this ridge of mountains comes down from the north and seems to continue right on down through Arabia. If we go northward along the ridges we find one branch running off toward the sea and ending in a high point called Mount Carmel. If we follow the other branch far enough we shall come to the Taurus mountains, and if we go on, and on, traveling along the ridge we may go clear across Asia. But going back to Palestine we notice that between the mountains and the sea there seem to be spots of plain and valley lands, but all of it is broken and uneven. Over to the east, however, is the valley of the Jordan where there seems to be a long stretch of low lands following the river, as there usually is in any river valley.

Now in this country it is very dry during certain seasons of the year. Among the hills it is almost impossible to obtain water. The flocks and herds have to be driven long distances to find springs or small streams where they may get drink. Where there are no springs wells must be dug. You can imagine what a task it must be to water a thousand sheep and a thousand cattle from a well. In the olden times men did not have good tools to dig wells with as we have now. There were no drive wells and no great augurs for boring, and even no good spades or shovels for digging. We can easily understand that a well might be a very valuable possession. And so it was. Some wells that men had dug were named after them and were known by their names for hundreds of years after the diggers were dead. If we could stand upon this ridge of mountain land a little to the northeast of the town of Joppa we could look away to the west and see the blue waters of the Meriterranean sparkling in the sunshine and splashing up against the broken coast of Palestine. Looking to the east we could see the valley of the Jordan, green with its growth of luxuriant grass and dotted with little villages telling of life and prosperity. But north and south, as far as the eye could reach are only the barren mountain ridges covered with verdure making good pasture for herds in the rainy season but burned and brown during all the dry season. It does not seem like a very good country to live in. Yet there was a time when all this country was occupied by an industrious, prosperous people. Even the sides of the hills and mountains were terraced so orchards and grains and vines might be planted and cultivated. Not only were the people able to raise enough to feed themselves, but great armies were sometimes supplied from these hillside farms and ranches.

Now let us think of ourselves as standing upon this mountain ridge a long, long time ago. It is early morning. The sun has scarcely risen;

in the dark shadows of the mountain ridges it is not yet light. Among the trees that cover the hillsides with a stunted growth it is still dark. Voices are coming up from all sides about us, and down the hillsides and all around we may hear the lowing of cattle and the bleating of sheep. The voices are angry and cross, and rough words are spoken, and even blows are given, as men meet together under the trees. Up on a ridge a little apart from all the others stand two men earnestly engaged in conversation,—trying to settle some question. Back from them stand groups of men, clad only in sheepskin garments, carrying the sticks and goads of cattle drivers and herdsmen, some of them with bloody faces and noses and bruised bodies—the effects of a night of quarreling. What is it all about? Who are these men and why are they there?

Years before, a man with little of this world's goods had gone out from his father's home to try to make a fortune in the world. He was an emigrant. He had a young nephew, a lad whom he loved, and he took him along that he might care for him, for there was no one else to whom he might turn, for he was an orphan. Together they went down into Egypt. Here the man found work and gathered property. He finally became very rich. His riches consisted chiefly of sheep and camels and goats. He gave his nephew flocks and herds until he also was rich. With their great possessions they moved out of Egypt and turned their faces toward the north. They came to this land of Palestine, and here they decided to live and make a permanent home. When the dry season came on their flocks wanted water and the herdsmen were obliged to dig wells for the great multitude of cattle and sheep. When they came to water the herds each herdsman wanted to be first to use the wells. Then came quarrels and rough words and brawls and blows. Day after day and night after night these herdsmen quarrelled and carried their complaints up to their masters, each side insisting that it was right and the other wrong. So on this morning it is the same old quarrel, and standing out here in the dim light surrounded by their angry and rough herdsmen these men, the uncle and nephew, are trying to settle the matter.

One of these men is much older than the other. His long gray beard sweeps his breast and he leans heavily upon his cane. The other is in the prime of life, strong, vigorous and erect. Both look troubled. Standing there in the early morning they could see the long reaches of hillside, brown and bare, north and south, way off to their right was the great sea, while to the left, beyond the hills was the rich valley of the Jordan. The old man speaks; he says: "Lot, let there be no strife between us nor between our herdsmen. We must not quarrel for we are brethren. Look abroad over the land, choose what you will. If you go to the right then I will go to the left; or if you choose the left then shall I turn to the right that there may be peace between me and thee." And what did the young man say? Did he say, "Uncle, all these years you have cared for me. All I have I owe to you. You have grown old and feeble while I am still young. You can not dig wells and manage quarrelsome herdsmen as well as I, so I will take the hill country while you may turn into the valley with your flocks and herds"? Not at all. Lot, the young man, Lot the strong, vigorous man, lifted up his eyes and saw the bare hills, he listened to the lowing of the thirsty flocks far down the hillsides, he saw the valley of the Jordan well watered and rich in grass as

the garden of the Lord, and he said, "Uncle, you may take this hill country and I will possess the valley." And so they parted, Abraham to care for his flocks among the hills of Palestine while Lot with his men and herds went their way to the rich valley of the Jordan, and the lesson of this parting has come down through all the centuries to teach us that true manhood and womanhood can only be attained by overcoming self.

It is probable that this story should be told in sections extending over a week or more, then be put together and reproduced orally by the children. The ethical lesson should be brought out no plainer than the story indicates. It is sufficiently prominent.

What we claim is that no class after having this story fairly presented can ever forget the geographical setting. The historic facts and the physiographic conditions and social customs suggested are so interwoven with the geographic location that they form a positive and complete picture and can not be easily disassociated.

For the fifth grade class a series of stories should be told which shall lay a foundation for the history of territorial and national expansion—a series of colony stories. The pupil's concept of a colony is very narrow. When he hears the word or meets it in print he thinks at once of New England and Virginia. Before he is thus hampered he should have a notion much more abstract and general. This can be secured by giving him stories of the formation of Greek, Roman, and Spanish colonies, which are very different from his text-book stories of Massachusetts.

A second class of stories dealing with the growth of human freedom both by individuals and by nations should be presented. The child should be thoroughly indoctrinated with the notion that freedom is a great boon that has been wrought out and maintained only at the price of very great sacrifices and exalted heroism. We have received this heritage from our ancestors and must pass it on ennobled and increased by the sacrifices and heroism which we are ready to contribute to the cause.

To illustrate this lesson such stories may be used as those of the struggles of Greece against Persia, the story of Hannibal, the stories of the Celts and Britons in conflict with Rome, the stories of Britons and Anglo-Saxons on English soil and of the Germans in defence of their land against the Roman invasions. These stories all suggest the highest ideals of patriotism and heroic action and cannot fail to fill the minds of the pupils with the impulses and aspirations that must be aroused in the making of good citizens.

I have chosen to represent this series by the story of the defeat of Varus because it is not so familiar and yet it appeals to a kinship in our own Teutonic blood.

THE STORY OF HERMINIUS.

We will open our books at page (—), the map of Europe. (It is indispensable that large maps, wall maps or drawings on the blackboard be at hand as well as the small maps of the text.)

To-day we begin a story that will test our memories. All through

the history and geography work of the next few years we shall have little touches of the things we shall here learn.

Notice how Europe from all sides seems to rise into a table land or plateau between Germany and Italy. We can tell this by the rivers. In this region the Oder, the Elbe, the Weser, the Rhine, the Rhone, the Danube, all seem to begin and winding their ways through mountain defiles and forests, reach the great ocean at different points of the compass. The Rhine passing through lake Constance winds around towards the north down past Basel and Strassburg and Koblenz and Cologne and Rotterdam, emptying into the North Sea almost opposite the mouth of the Thames.

Now suppose we go back to the lake Constance; just a little east of Bregenz—perhaps twenty-five miles—at Kempton we come to another river, a tributary of the Danube. We can follow t down, and down, and down, past Ulm, and Ingolstadt, and Ratisbon, and Vienna, and Budapest, and Belgrade, and then still on until we come to the Black Sea. This is a long journey for with one exception (the Volga) the Danube is the largest and longest river of Europe. We have followed it over 1,700 miles from Kempton to the sea. A wonderful history has been lived in this Danube valley. With the mountains upon either side of it, shut out from the world both to the north and to the south, an immense and changing population has from time to time lived and died in this great valley covering five times as many square miles as the state of Illinois. Here whole nations have been formed, and after years of growth have been blotted out by war. Ages ago a people migrating from Asia came up this valley. They lived in tents and huts, dressed in skins of animals and counted their wealth in flocks and herds. They moved slowly, perhaps fifty miles in the lifetime of a man, but after thousands of years they came to the Rhine and crossing it they reached the Atlantic Ocean. Here they spread themselves out, covering what is now France and Spain and even the islands of Great Britain.

To the north of these Carpathian mountains, which shut them off from the Danube valley, was another great people also advancing slowly toward the west. In the course of thousands of years they also with their herds and flocks, their cattle and wagons, their skin tents and leather clothing, their rude manners and warlike customs came to the Atlantic, filled the forests and highlands to the south and spread themselves out along the lowlands to the north, reaching up into Denmark, Norway and Sweden. These were the Teutonic peoples, the ancestors of the German, Dutch, Swede, and English nations. These were our ancestors and in their history and manner of life we should be greatly interested. Their country is our real fatherland, and many of our customs and thoughts and laws and institutions had their beginnings in these great forests and plains among the rude and cruel pagans called Teutons.

Notice how the Rhine and Danube together make almost a complete waterway from the North Sea to the Black Sea,—just a few miles of portage between. In the early days when there were no railroads or wagon roads and when people lived almost entirely in the valleys of rivers or along the sea coast this must have been a great highway for the nations.

Let us look to the south of this map. Here we find the Mediterranean sea, and jutting into it are Greece and Italy, washed on

three sides by water. From Asia to Spain by way of the sea is much shorter than by way of the Danube. While our Celtic and Teutonic peoples were slowly moving overland the Greeks and Romans were occupying all the sea shore, carrying on commerce with one another, building great cities, establishing a wonderful civilization and making such advances in the arts and sciences that they are the inspiration of even our times. Such cities as Athens and Sparta and Syracuse and Carthage and Rome tell of the wonderful things done by these people. (Here time should be taken to tell of Greek and Roman works of art and architecture—of palaces and temples and baths and gardens and roadways, and of "all the beauty that was Greece and the glory that was Rome.")

The Romans loved war. It was their ambition to bring all the world into subjection to their rule. They almost did it. Take your pencil and on the map of Eurasia draw a line beginning at Edinburg, to the west, then down through St. George's channel, then past Spain, across the northern part of Africa to the Red Sea then on across the Persian Gulf and north to the Caspian Sea, then westward to the Black Sea and up the Danube and the Rhine until we are back at Edinburg. All this became the Roman world. Their armies had marched across all these countries. With fire and sword and spear they had conquered or slaughtered all the nations that lived in this vast area. Thousands upon thousands of men, women and children had been marched in chains through the forest paths, across the awful mountains, down into beautiful Italy and there had been paraded through the streets of Rome in a brutal triumphal procession and then had been sold at auction on the slave block or thrust into underground dungeons to die of cold and hunger. This was Rome's way of treating all who opposed her, all who resisted her arms.

You notice our pencil mark followed the Danube and the Rhine. How did it happen that Rome did not have the lands north of those rivers, the lands where we have said our ancestors, the Teutons, lived? The story I am to tell you will answer this question.

We will look at our map again and find on it the German province of Westphalia. Rising in this region and flowing northward through forest and rocky valleys is the Weser. The Romans had pushed their way across the Rhine and had established forts with garrisons of soldiers in various parts of the Teutonic territory over as far as this river. The people had been cowed into submission and most of the leaders had been bought by Roman gold. Near the center of this province the Roman general had established his headquarters, and here he entertained the German chiefs and his own officers by banquets and games and speeches. Here he held his court and settled all quarrels and disputes either among the Germans or among his own soldiers. The Roman general was named Varus, and he had about him some 18,000 soldiers. This was long ago—1,900 years ago. When Varus with his soldiers was camped here with our wild pagan ancestors amid the towering forests and rocky defiles of this German land, Jesus Christ, a Galilean lad of twelve or fourteen years of age, was playing in the village streets of Nazareth or helping his father in the carpenter shop, or making pilgrimages to Jerusalem, the golden city of the Jews.

Outside the Roman camps our Teutonic kinsmen were living the lives to which they had been accustomed. The men hunted in the forests or made war upon their neighbors or helped in the building of their little mud huts thatched over with straw in which they lived; or they were engaged in enforcing the laws and customs of the nation or taking council for the future. The older men and women and children cultivated the small farms, grew wheat and barley and oats, cared for the cattle, dressed the skins and made them into clothing, prepared the food and waited upon the warriors in time of battle. Among all the pagan people of the world our German ancestors are noted for the politeness and reverence with which they treated their women. The Romans were surprised to find here in the wild forests a race of people almost naked, rude and cruel, gigantic in size and strength, strangers to pity and remorse, yet so chaste and virtuous and gentle in their treatment of women that by comparison the cultivated Romans were but brutish animals. This characteristic, like many others has followed the German blood, and we glory in this part of our inheritance. The boy who is rude to his mother, unkind to his sister or disrespectful to any lady is unworthy his descent from the half clothed pagan boy who lived in these old German forests. The Romans had little respect for women, especially the women of conquered nations. It was their treatment of the German women more than anything else that aroused the whole German people and brought about the overthrow of Varus.

Among the German chiefs was one named Herman, or Herminius, a son of one of the most noted men among them. The Romans had taken Herminius and his younger brother to Italy when they were boys. They had been loaded with presents, taught the Roman language, trained in the schools and in the arts of war, taken into the army and given office all in order to win them to the side of Rome and against their own countrymen. The brother was easily secured. He was flattered by the attentions shown him and the luxury of Roman life, and he became a Roman. But Herminius could not be bought. The blood of heroes was in his veins and every heart-beat fed his love of freedom, and his hatred of tyrants. As soon as possible he returned to his people and took the lead in organizing them to resist the advance of the Romans.

In the midst of a rainy season when the tributaries of the Ems and the Weser were full to their banks and the forest grounds were so soft as to be almost impassable for cavalry, word was brought to Varus that up to the northeast along the banks of the Weser a serious insurrection had broken out and it needed his whole army to quell it. This was a part of the conspiracy of Herminius; but Varus, confident in his own strength and wisdom, certain that the Germans would not seriously oppose him and urged on by Herminius who was in his camp as an adviser and guide, set his whole army of 18,000 men in motion toward the scene of disturbance. Not only the soldiers, but all the baggage and camp followers and the whole equipment of the garrison was taken along in the march. This was exactly what Herminius had desired and planned. Eastward they moved along the banks of the Lippe to the headwaters of the Ems within the borders of the present little principality of Lippe and near to the present city of Detmold. Here the ground became impassable. It was soft or rocky and broken into defiles down which rushed torrents of water. The engineers made bridges; they cut down trees and built them into roads, but in the midst of it all the cry was raised that the Germans were attacking the

army. The forests rang with the wild whoops and war crys of the German tribes. Herminius had placed himself at the head of his countrymen and the showers of spears, javelins and arrows rained upon the Roman hosts, cut them down like grain before the sickle. All day they struggled in vain. At night they formed their camp with true military discipline and with the coming of day attempted to retrace their steps. But it was a pitiless day of slaughter; none could escape. At night, a little band, the remnant of that great Roman army, formed a ring on top of a little mound and there throwing up a slight defense, rested for the night. It was their last rest on earth. With the coming of light they were attacked and slaughtered to a man or carried off as prisoners to be offered upon the altars of the Germans' god of battles. Varus wounded in battle committed suicide to keep from falling into the hands of his infuriated enemies. Out of all that host of 18,000 men only a few escaped to carry the work back along the Roman roads through Gaul and over the Alps, across the plains of Italy and into the startled streets of Rome where the aged Emperor Augustus beating his head against the wall in an agony of terror cried out, "Oh, Varus, give me back my legions. Give me back my legions." But scattered under the forest trees, to bleach in the rays of the German sun, the bones of the Roman legions were forever at rest. The Teuton could again go upon the hunt sure that he would find upon his return his mud hut undisturbed, his wife and daughter free from outrage, his little ones safe in their games and gambols beneath the trees. His fields could again be cultivated with the assurance that they would not be plundered to feed an invading army of Roman robbers. From the Rhine to the Tiber, in every Roman camp or palace at the name of Herminius there was dread and fear. And thus it came about that the Rhine became the dividing line between the German and Roman civilization, and that down to us through the Anglo-Saxon race have come the civilization, customs and manners which we have instead of those that have come to Spain and France and South America. Thus it is that in naming the heroes of our race we should not stop until we have placed among them all,—at the very beginning of the list,—the name of Herminius who rescued us from the grip of the Roman tyrant in the Teutonberg forest 1,900 years ago.

Again mindful of the fact that the story may be criticised as to its diction and attacked in places as to its historical accuracy, your speaker insists that this is typical of a series of stories that should be worked out for pupils of the grades, which, if reasonably well done can not fail to make geography and history inseparable, interesting, and inspiring.

There is no limit to the choice of subjects. The history of every country is full of desirable subjects—men who have done things, who have stood for great principles, who have counted their lives not dear to them for the sake of their country. It is upon such pabulum that we must nourish the children of our generation if we would have the people of the next generation manly, womanly, and patriotic.

With an added word or two we close this much too long paper.

Our teaching is not well done because the teachers do not know how to do it. There is no lack of desire nor will nor theoretical knowledge. We have no patience with the insinuation that our teachers are

an incompetent class. No class is more devoted or better prepared for its work. Did they work upon dead material as wood or clay or steel, with the same devotion the products evolved would be the wonder of men. But we work upon living material; material that if put into shape to-day will have twisted itself into some other form by to-morrow. Like the mythical Clytie, no matter how placed it will turn itself toward the thing that immediately attracts. Our work is difficult and can not be compared with that of any other profession or trade.

Nevertheless our teachers do not know how to do many things well. Why should they? They have never been taught. We have had extension classes and lecture classes and examination classes, but they have accomplished little except to emphasize the fact that discussing a book or listening to a lecture as passing an examination is no certain test of a teacher's ability to teach. Every teacher is "a Missourian,"—she must be shown how,—not *told* how, but *shown* how. Instead of going away to listen to lectures about teaching she needs to have some one come to her, take her children and show her how to do the work. If there are experts in the teaching of history or greography or arithmetic or language, instead of bringing teachers by the score into their class rooms to be lectured, they should go to the classrooms of the teachers and show them how to do this expert work; show them how and where they may gather the material and how it may be adapted to its purpose. This would be extension work worth while, and until something of this sort is done it is not reasonable to expect radical improvement in present methods of teaching.

"THE GEOGRAPHY SIDE OF HIGH SCHOOL INSTRUCTION IN AMERICAN HISTORY."

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Some one has said that "History is nothing more than an echo of the operation of geographical laws." This may be expressing too strongly the dependence of historical events upon geographical environment. It does, however, call our attention to a factor in historical development too often neglected.

Geography, the "two-eyes of history," "acquaints us with the theater of action and the natural causes of events." What a mighty factor the particular field of action has proved to be throughout the history of the world, from the significance of the Nile valley in the development of the early Egyptians to the rise of a foreign people, mighty in their potentiality, amidst the rich resources of the Mississippi valley! What a primal element nature has been and is ever to be in the "evolution of man in his activities as a social being"! History is the resultant of the two great forces, nature and man, each acting and reacting upon the other; and in the broadest sense, it would seem, then, that geography or geographical environment is nature itself. Without a knowledge of this environment, history to the average pupil

becomes a meaningless recital of events; with it, the subject is clothed with freshness and vitality that contact with nature brings. "Without an adequate knowledge of the physical and historical geography of the United States, of the natural lay of the land, and of the process of subdivision by artificial lines, the historical student is all at sea" (Channing and Hart, Guide, p. 109).

The geographical environment of a people is a large part of that greater environment—viz., "physical, psychical, social"—which must be considered in order that the pupil may correctly interpret historical events. "The question that interests the student of history is, 'What influence did the geography of the country have upon the history of its people?' That question cannot be answered by a simple description of the natural features of the country; it cannot be answered, once for all by an introductory chapter. The study of the relation of man to his geographical environment must go hand in hand with the description of the acts that were conditioned by that environment" (F. M. Fling, Hist. Method, p. 101). With some limitations, "it is certain that geographical environment plays a vastly important role in human history. It affects both the conditions and the acts of men. It affects their bodies through climate and their minds through startling natural phenomena. It impels men of the North to the warm lands of the South and controls the direction of the movement by river valleys (natural highways) or checks it by high mountains. It makes impossible the development of a high civilization upon islands of the ocean (lack of space); it enriches and develops science by the struggle with nature, dictates man's clothing and even his social organization (social and political divisions of the inhabitants of a desert). All of these things are not history, but they make history intelligible. For, however great the psychical development of man may be in the future, it will always rest upon a physical foundation, and this physical side must inevitably link him to his geographical environment" (Fling, id., p. 103).

With this preliminary statement of the general relation of geography and history, we will consider, with little detail, the course of American history and its geographical factors, citing some of the most striking illustrations familiar to most teachers of American history, in the form in which they may be taught in the high school.

One of the most important geographical facts in Columbus' attempt to find a western route to India is his miscalculation in distance, viz., in estimating his destination but 3,000 miles away, when, in reality it was 10,000 miles. And he died firmly convinced of the accomplishment of his purpose—to a large extent, at least—and ignorant of his blunder. This misconception of distance, the position of the Atlantic islands as determining where he landed, and the trade-winds are geographical factors affecting the outcome of his efforts. Here is a good illustration of the necessity in history instruction, to teach geography in the light of contemporary historical interpretation. The name which Columbus gave the inhabitants is evidence of this error. This suggests the fact that many historical names have a geographical importance, other than that of mere location, such as Indians, America, Antilles, Cape Charles, New York, Boston, Florida, Mohawk, Louisiana, Pike's Peak, Fremont, and countless others. Suffice it to say here, in regard to the use of geographical names, that the pupil should be cautioned from considering the name a mark necessarily of the prominence of the person. But

the historical reference of the geographical name should always be noted. The name may be a mark of a geographical blunder, of a daring frontiersman, of an old home left across the sea, of a far-sighted sovereign, of a tribe of Indians, of the culture from study of classical literature, etc.

The successive use of the name America, as applied to various parts of the New World, is a most important fact in the period of exploration. It would be better to emphasize some of these essential facts in the early period of American history and minimize the labyrinth of the detailed story of exploration. The usual position of the American history in our secondary schools—the fourth year—permits of less narrative and more emphasis of fundamentals of development. And yet we feel free to recognize a limit to the pupil's study of the philosophy of the historical movement of American history.

On first study the pupil is at a loss to understand entirely the cause of the failure of the early colonists or the source of their hardships at first. But when he learns that corresponding latitudes on the eastern and western shores of the Atlantic are quite different, the winters being much colder on the American side, and the summers somewhat warmer, he then sees that this difference accounts for the failure of the Weymouth colony of 1605, and in part explains the hardships of the Pilgrims at Plymouth.

The configuration of the Atlantic shore line of North America invited exploration. At the time of colonization most sea-going vessels could navigate in inland waters, where few of them comparatively could do so to-day. The chief Atlantic streams of North America are found between 25 degrees and 50 degrees north latitude, in the most desirable part of the temperate zone. So sea navigation passed readily into river navigation, the waterways leading into the heart of the continent. "Through all the colonial period and for the first four decades of the Republic, the United States was dominated by the ocean. Geographical location and a variety of geographical conditions determined this" (Semple, American History and its Geographical Conditions, p. 115). Numerous and excellent harbors further contributed to ease of exploration and colonization.

The part which New England soon came to play in the commerce of the New World is due to physical conditions. The three factors which contributed the most to make the early colonists a sea-faring people—length of coast line, abundance of harbors, and location—were especially existing in New England. She was on the circle of trade determined by the ocean current. But why did not New England turn to agricultural pursuits and develop them more extensively? Her narrow lowland belt presented little open level country; and the glaciated soil could not be called fertile. New England came to possess maritime supremacy for the same reason as did the Phoenicians, Carthaginians, Greeks, Latins, English, the burghers of the Hanse towns, and the Norwegians. The same causes of New England's maritime supremacy accounts largely for her activity in the fisheries,—nearness to cod, herring, and mackerel banks, the Labrador current, the natural habitat of the fish, existence of timber for masts, and coast with fiords and outlying islands. And these factors account largely for her directing her energies, with increase of population, to industrial pursuits, such that she became the first great industrial center of the United States, still holding that position in some manufactures.

The significance of the Mohawk and Hudson valleys in the colonial and Revolutionary Wars arises from their geographical position. In forming the key to the Northwest—as they do yet to-day—they were recognized by the British to be of strategic importance; and so their campaign plans were concerned largely with these rivers.

The location of the colonies was conducive to their separation from the mother country. Should England to-day treat Australia as she did America from 1700 to 1775, the same factor—distance—would work to its separation. Semple (pp. 47-48) quotes Ratzel's "Anthropogeographie" to explain the fact that "time and space fought on the side of the Americans." "In revolting against England the American colonies followed a recognized law of political geography. They constituted the remote western frontier of Europe; and a tendency toward defection manifests itself in all peripheral holdings. History is full of examples. The causes are deep-seated. Differences of geographical conditions, of climate, soil, economic methods, and therefore of political and social ideas, rapidly differentiate colonists from the parent nation. Moreover, mere distance increases greatly the difficulty of governmental control, even in this day of rapid communication, as England has experienced recently in Cape Colony. A hundred years ago Burke stated this politico-geographical law in terms that cannot be improved upon. . . . This is the statement of the law from the standpoint of the governing power; those on the far away periphery also were affected by their remoteness from the center of authority. The colonists found it difficult to get a hearing in England; distance dulled the edge and weakened the force of their protests,—this by a psychological law. They found it irksome, often detrimental to their interests, to wait months for the ratification in England of colonial laws. Compelled often by sudden crises to act without authority in consequence of their remoteness, the colonists developed a spirit of initiative and independence. When the outbreak came, England for the first time learned the expense and difficulty of an "arm's length war."

The Appalachian mountain-system which yet operated to prevent the colonists from scattering, had a powerful influence in forming the solid front with which they resisted the attacks of the English. Being restricted within a long, narrow stretch of territory they presented an extensive sea frontier open to the constant attack of the British, and the Revolutionary War was brought to a successful close only when the land forces could be reinforced by a foreign fleet that could command Cornwallis' lines by sea as well as by land.

"Westward the course of empire takes its way" may be a trite phrase; certainly, though it epitomizes most clearly the result of the geographic factors in American frontier development. What is a frontier? Ratzel says, "A frontier is never a line but always a shifting zone of assimilation, where an amalgamation of races, manners and institutions, and morals, more or less complete takes place" (Semple, p. 81). Thus Boone and his followers were typical inhabitants of a frontier, for with them the customs and manners of the white man of the Atlantic border comingled with the characteristic mode of living and warfare of the Indian. There has always been a frontier, viz., a constant succession of frontiers.

The geographic conditions for the beginning of this frontier were most favorable. The narrow Atlantic seaboard strip became the front door of America. What different results if the Europeans had not been

an advanced race and the Chinese had been the expansionists of the sixteenth and later centuries! With such races as the Europeans and with such ease of accessibility as the new continent offered, American history came to be the story of the overflow of these races into the New World, stage by stage. So this first frontier bore the same essential relation to the civilized Europe as did Greece in that she faced the civilized East of her time. The United States is most singularly situated, being the only continental country in the temperate zone washed on opposite sides by oceans of commercial importance. "The most important geographical fact in the past history of the United States has been their location on the Atlantic opposite Europe; and the most important geographical fact in lending a distinctive character to their future history will probably be their location on the Pacific opposite Asia" (Semple, p. 1).

It would appear on first consideration that the existence of the Appalachian barrier was a hindrance to the development of this first frontier of the new-comers. But, no; for it hemmed them in, preventing them from dissipating their energies on first impulse. They were to remain for a time more compactly settled together, so that new institutions and customs could develop and strengthen before extension into wider geographical areas. It forced them to look to the sea, their ancestral tutor, for pursuits. It protected them largely from the Indians. Soon, however, it was to be surmounted and a new frontier formed.

"The struggle for existence is a struggle for space" (Ratzel, quoted in Semple, p. 244). "For a hundred and fifty years the American people were dammed up against the mountain barrier. But the energies aroused by the prosecution of a successful war, and the snapping of the cords which held the colonies in leash to England, enabled the mass of American life to rush through the breaches in the mountains, down to the Mississippi and beyond; till in half the time it had taken the people to reach the crest of the Alleghenies, they were planting their towns on the genial coast of the Pacific" (Semple, p. 51). It was not the height of these Appalachian mountains which made it a barrier; rather the long, unbroken extent of the system and its great width of 300 miles. A less sturdy race might not have penetrated the wilderness beyond with such energy; but with the Anglo-Saxon geographic factors, otherwise hindrances, became educative. Ever increasing competition and the existence of free land, a powerful factor in the economic development of the United States, aided by the characteristic human instinct to "move on," combined with favorable geographical conditions,—these have been the chief factors in the westward expansion of the American people. What lured these early expansionists on? There were Indians and other dangers to be encountered. "But in spite of dangers and hardships, the trail through the wilderness had its joys,—the charm of the woundrous Appalachian forests, the flicker of sunlight through the high reaching trees, the plunge into a tunnel of green through the tender spring underbrush, the sense of strong pulsing life with the upward climb, finally the deep-drawn breath on the summit before the outstretched billows of land, and the hope of opportunity beyond" (Semple, p. 70).

The gaps in the Appalachian system were conducive to the westward march. These gaps were scattered throughout the system, and hence the barrier, effective, though, in its usefulness for a period, was

overcome at the right time. "The location and distribution of these natural passways (see Semple, between pp. 54 and 55 for clear map of passes used in southern part of system) determined which colonies should furnish the largest quota of the pioneers, and also what should be the destination of those early winners of the West" (Semple, p. 54). Every high school pupil is familiar with the many-sided effect of the most prominent gaps, Cumberland gap and the Mohawk and Hudson River valleys. The geographical proximity of many passes of travel to Virginia accounts in large part for her taking the initiative in the protest against the posts which France planted on the frontier. We might think that the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi Rivers would have been more widely used in the westward expansion. But, on considering geographic factors, the former, through its northern location, was largely frozen to the Lachine Rapids, and the latter's swift current and unnavigability above New Orleans precluded their extensive use as outlets to the new frontier. However, it is along the rivers of the Appalachian system that the movement into the new frontier was greatest. "In the early eighteenth century these protrusions followed the Mohawk and Potomac, and later extended over the adjacent watershed, halting along the ultra mountain river sources when these occupied fertile valleys, as in the case of the Youghiogeny, Monongahela, and Holston, or passing over a more rugged plateau area to the smiling plains of the middle courses, as in the case of the Kentucky and Cumberland settlements" (Semple, p. 151). These rivers, as always, presented the "lines of least resistance to the incoming colonist, and afterwards" lent "themselves to his economic needs." Inland waterways of the United States have prevented an abrupt break from ocean to inland development, for it was "at the meeting points of sea and inland navigation that there grew up the large towns, those with the best harbors and the easiest, most extensive lines of communication with the back country gradually gaining pre-eminence" (Semple, p. 339) (examples—New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Norfolk, Chicago, Detroit, Duluth, St. Paul, St. Louis, Minneapolis, Portland, Seattle, etc.). The tide of westward emigration along the western river lines soon furnished the reflex movement of trade eastward. They have proved competitors to the railroad and the agitation for their development to-day is but tardy recognition of their commercial importance.

We need not expand fully upon the very self-evident fact that the city which controls the commerce of the Hudson is necessarily the greatest commercial center of the Atlantic seacoast. The Mohawk valley presents an easy grade from the West to this great avenue and determined the location of the Erie canal. So, when railroad building began, this was the natural line of communication and to-day the great bulk of freightage passes either by rail or by canal to this gateway of the continent (cf. Brigham, p. 26). "The passing up and down, day and night, of men, of thoughts, of commodities, is like the ebb and flow of tidal waves, whose course is only stayed as traffic rests on the docks of Europe and of more distant continents" (Brigham, Geographical Influences in American History, p. 24). Brigham (chapter I) has pointed out the elements that give New York this commanding position: combination of harborage and internal lines of communication, position on Atlantic shore in north temperate zone, large water front, proximity to unlimited clay and other building materials, and to coal and iron deposits, and position on tidal river.

The fur trade of the colonists was closely connected with the expansion movement, for the receding fur trade frontier drew the colonists ever inward up the water courses. With the French this trade led to scattered settlements and weakened political communities. The French fur trade lay along the very rivers which the English did not use so much, the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi. The English trusted largely to purchase of the peltries from the Indians, and they did not venture far away from the seaboard. The Hudson and the Mohawk tapped the center of the early trade without forcing them to break away from the early colonial settlements. The English did not need to rely to such an extent as the French upon the fur trade; the very supremacy of the French in this pursuit was a large factor in the loss of their hold upon the American continent,—a geographic factor too little emphasized in the high school instruction. The French frontier was extensive rather than intensive and secured too large a territory for France to hold; the advance of the English towards the interior was "a slow heel-and-toe process, and never lost its connection with the tide swept shore" (Semple, p. 31).

The frontier west of the Appalachian system was gradually pushed westward. Soon the Great Lakes exercised a geographical influence in this movement. No other body of inland waters compares with the Great Lakes, stretching their arms in every direction and thus commanding the varied resources of a rich agricultural and commercial region. What nature does not lend to their commercial use, the ingenuity of man will soon supply, and navigation canals will open the lakes by various routes to greater accessibility to the great highway of the world, the Atlantic Ocean. No wonder that the region directly east of the Mississippi River, and bordering these lakes should attract the first and larger share of the colonists. No other land of the size of the Mississippi valley (about 1,000,000 sq. miles) is so admirably suited to the purposes of man. In this lies the geographic explanation of the fact that three-fourths of the 160 cities of the United States, of 25,000 population and over, are east of the 97th meridian, which passes just west of the mouth of the Missouri River (see Semple, map opposite p. 340).

After the early settlement of this region, the Mississippi River came to play an important part in the commercial life of the trans-Allegheny colonists,—such an important part that these westerners threatened to secede if the New Englanders could not feel the loss to the westerners, of transist at New Orleans. Thus geographic factors are at the bottom of the early political relations of Spain and the United States, and of the political differences between the New Englanders and the westerners.

The appeal recently to Congress of Ezra Meeker, who claims to be the first one to have gone over the Oregon trail with an ox-cart, recalls to mind the location of that memorable route to the far west. As in the case of the earlier expansion, this trail, like the other Rocky Mountain trails, lies almost entirely along river courses (see map, Semple, between pp. 180 and 181, from Frye's Geographies). Yet the routes west of the Mississippi River did not have rivers that aided navigation as did those of the trans-Allegheny region. Though the ascent was gradual, except at the crest, the stretches of travel without water and shade were many, and the journey led far from the store of provisions. The same conditions that make the western plains large-

ly a pastoral region to-day made the expedition of the gold-seeker of '49 a severe one. It is in such a region that man is called upon to create an artificial favorable environment; and through man's inventiveness and energy, applied to irrigation, what you and I learned as the Great American desert is, in large part (one-tenth) being made fertile. This region presents an excellent example of what the history teacher should feel called upon to emphasize,—past geographic and historical conditions and the needs of the present and the future. If history fails to instruct the youth of our land in the needs of the hour as illumed by the events of the past, then our instruction availeth nothing. "We must adjust ourselves to mountain, plateau, and plain, to river and sea; and future generations better than ourselves will be able to see how geographic influences gave permanent molding to the national life" (Brigham, p. 285).

"In the expansion of the United States from a narrow seaboard strip in 1783 to a broad continental territory, three factors have been operating,—an abundant supply of free land due to continued acquisition of territory, a large foreign immigration, and the building of railroads. These factors have been mutually interactive. The free land has attracted immigration, and such additions to the population have increased the pressure upon our political boundaries, causing them to give way and then to be reconstructed far beyond the original line. The railroads have opened up the land we had and made it accessible to the throng of settlers. But the most potent and persistent factor has been always the presence of farm, field, and forest to be had for the taking. This has stimulated natural increase of population, lured foreign settlers, and encouraged the construction of far-reaching railroad lines, while it has educated native and alien alike to the large ideas of land-holding which have kept the people spreading, till the expansion of the settled area from decade to decade has almost kept pace with the growth of population" (Semple, p. 310). Ever onward, then, was the frontier projected. The very largeness of the task developed the characteristic large-mindedness of the Westerner. "Even when uncultured and crude from lack of opportunity, he never takes a contracted view of things. He measures things with a big yardstick. The nomadic instinct is still in him, handed down by his emigrant forbears. Wherever he is found, he has always come there from somewhere else. Hence he is never provincial, and he is intensely, broadly American. Distance never appalls him. If he is a Californian he 'steps over the mountains into Nevada,' literally on foot if the fancy takes him, with as little ado as if he were walking around the corner; or he crosses half the continent by rail for a two days' visit at Chicago. His point of view is therefore bred of his geographically wide experiences and his intercourse with the other highly mingled populations of the western states. The areas of provincialism in the United States are few, and none of them are to be found west of the Mississippi River. The danger in the American point of view lies in the tendency to confuse bigness and greatness" (Semple, p. 244). (For a very expressive characterization of the western spirit see Brigham, pp. 234-266).

Why does not the last continental frontier—the Pacific coast—present the same commercial importance as the Atlantic shore? In the first place the former was far removed from the colonizing centers of Europe and the people on the opposite shore did not possess any

desire to search for new lands. The drainage basin of the Atlantic Ocean is more than twice the size of the Pacific, for the primary highlands of Asia, North and South America are situated on the Pacific coasts of those continents. "A narrow ocean, near-lying continents, remote water-sheds, long navigable river systems, accessible inland regions, a large back country to draw upon—that is the Atlantic field. A vast ocean, remote continents, a few, fall-broken rivers, mountain walls hugging the coast, an inaccessible interior, limited back country —that is the Pacific field" (Semple, p. 421). Puget Sound may be the finest harbor on the American continent; but not all of the requisites of another New York are existing there, nor at San Francisco. Yet the Pacific coast is so situated as to be in time commercially independent of the East, and her cities have not yet seen their richest development.

The Pacific coast was not to be the last frontier. Circumstances over which we had little control willed otherwise. "The westward expansion of the American people has been marked by a slow advance from tidewater to 'fall line,' and from 'fall line' across the Alleghanies; a rapid progress downstream to the Mississippi and upstream along its western tributaries to the margin of the arid belt; a leap across the Great Plains and the Rockies to the Pacific, long accepted as the outer edge of American dominion, till a faltering step was planted on the Hawaiian Islands, and a bold stride took the flag across the 'world-ocean' to the Philippines" (Semple, p. 150). The same circumstances which extended our sphere across the Pacific increased our sphere of influence in the Caribbean Sea, the importance of which position will be further increased by the completion of the Panama canal. Thus the story of our successive frontiers brings us to the realization of the fact that "we are ceasing to be a country with a frontier. The isolation, the absence of laws and settled usage, the tense struggle with Nature,—these belong largely to the past, and every region is come to more settled conditions. We must now assimilate, and use our resources intensively" (Brigham, p. 325).

In this meagre account of our territorial development from the viewpoint of geographic conditions, we have so far ignored two vital results,—viz., the development of democracy and of a distinct Americanism. The most democratic, the most American has always been the frontiersman. Professor H. W. Caldwell has clearly stated the elements in the growth of this pure, genuine democracy (Fling and Caldwell, Studies in History, Part II, by Professor Caldwell, pp. 228-231). With the first frontiersman beyond the Appalachian barrier, tradition, custom had little weight; on the seaboard, old world custom tended to fixed action. He became the most powerful in the new country who could with the greatest celerity adapt himself to the new environment, uninfluenced by old-world laws and customs. Equal opportunity, the mother of democracy, was open to all in the new frontier, whether that frontier be at the door of Virginia or on the threshold of the Pacific. The strongest impediment to equality in state and society, class distinction, blue blood, prevailed to little extent in the new world; much less on the frontier. All were commoners. Andrew Jackson was a product of such an environment, and ushered in a new distinct democracy at Washington.

"As the successive waves of population have moved westward, each has had a lesser amount of European traditions and customs inherent

in its being; each has been more impregnated with the qualities of a frontier life; each has, in fine, become more American, and more democratic" (Fling and Caldwell, Studies, p. 229). Opportunity—of free land and of freedom (not license) of action—has been accessible to all; this condition has developed a character rich in political initiative, versatile and swift in agricultural and commercial achievement, and withal, a character distinctly American. And it is a significant characterization which James Bryce makes when he says that "The West is the most American part of America" (quoted in Brigham, p. 169).

"The geographic conditions for American growth seem to have been perfect. At a critical time in the history of European thought and life, a sturdy people needed a new field. That field was opened to them by the voyagers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It was entered from the Atlantic side, and opened so freely on those waters as to insure swift occupancy and a single dominion from ocean to ocean. It had the widest variety of surface, soil, and climate, and was fitted, or can be fitted, to produce nearly all that human comfort and intelligence can crave. The land is large enough to support an enormous population, and still produce a surplus for the markets of the world. The very largeness of American problems has helped to make a people able to solve them, and that people now finds itself fronting the two great oceans, where, more easily than any other nation, it can reach out and touch every part of the world. These conditions in their entirety, are unique in history. They are largely geographic in their character, and they only need the perennial support of the basal moral qualities to insure to our country unfailing leadership among the nations" (Brigham, pp. 330-331).

The geographic factors of the War of 1812 are seldom left out in the teaching of this period, for the war was of such a character as to lend to geographic treatment. It was a war in which the frontiers, land and marine, were most generally affected; and the most effective fighting was done by those trained on these frontiers. It would be well if less time in the instruction were placed on a chronological recital of the naval engagements and more on the location of the battles as reflecting geographic circumstances.

The relation of slavery to the industries of the South should be explained clearly from the standpoint of climatic conditions. Considerable rain-fall, warm climate, and fertile coast-plain made the growth of cotton and tobacco on plantations most profitable, and hence presented the only system conducive to employment of slave labor. Thus agricultural conditions molded the stand taken on the most momentous political question this country has ever seen. The absence of these conditions favorable to the slave system explains the opposition of the highlanders of the mountains, as of Virginia (viz., West Virginia), Kentucky and Tennessee, to the institution. The extension system of agriculture which the South was forced to employ accounts for their depending upon the Senate as the bulwark of their national political strength. When they felt their equality with the North in this branch slipping away from them they believed their very existence in danger of annihilation. Geography is the primal element in slavery.

The Civil War is an excellent period in which to show the bearing of geographic conditions upon historical events. The conclusions drawn from this period of war are quite applicable to the affairs of peace. The interest of the pupil is always tense in the study of pivotal

campaigns of wars. The chronological narrative of campaigns is sufficiently emphasized in the eighth grade, leaving the general geographic conditions governing the results of battles and campaigns to be studied in the high school course. Why Virginia was the chief battle ground of the war; the place of rivers and the Shenandoah Valley in the Virginia campaigns; the capture of the strategic points, Vicksburg, New Orleans, Chattanooga, Richmond, etc., and why strategic; the determining geographic factors in securing the border States for the Union, especially relation of agricultural conditions and of the Cumberland and Tennessee Rivers thereto; the Battle of Gettysburg and its importance; and the geographic significance of the federal victory, in that it meant the preservation of the large political territory,—these are some of the geographic factors which the high school study of the Civil War should emphasize.

Geographic conditions have been most direct in the development of the two basal elements of our federal principle of government,—States' rights and nationality. The separation of the early colonists by generally parallel rivers and deep indentations of the sea, with poor means of communication, led to the development of many separate political centers. There was by no means similarity of soil and climate; industries differed accordingly, which led to varied interests. Hence one community or colony came to look upon another as having no part in its own life, in fact, as being unfriendly to its welfare. Professor Caldwell has shown (Fling and Caldwell, Studies, p. 231) how this growth of allegiance to locality (which later found expression in States' rights) has determined that America should form a federal and not a unitary state like France.

This feeling of States' rights, of sectionalism, which was the early colonial love of locality on a larger scale, arose chiefly from geographic causes,—the physical adaptation of the South to slavery and the lack of intercourse between North and South in that the first means of communication on any large scale were from East to West. Such impediments to a solid national feeling do not exist to-day, and history,—whether grade, secondary school, or college,—should ever teach us the possibilities of progress. "Intercommunication, common business interests, common national ideals" to-day show the power of man over his physical or geographical environment not attained fifty years ago.

It is a striking fact in our political development that the geographic conditions which prompted union came to dominate those of disunion, but not to destroy them. The means of communication through roads and bridges and better sea-going vessels brought colonists together. We have shown elsewhere how the Appalachian barrier bound the colonists together into one fellowship; when the barrier was overcome the bond of unity was too strong to be broken. Mountain barriers ceased to be such as increasing populations pushed themselves out. Neither force—nationality and localism—was crushed. Each prevailed to become an integral part of the political system of the United States; and even though the one triumphed over the other in the Civil War, it was because the one defeated had over-stepped its bounds. Both are still necessary arcs in the circle of federal unity. Let us have the pupils recognize their geographic origin.

There is another political tendency arising from geographic conditions, which should be emphasized in both civics and American history. The geographic and other conditions which gave rise to the town

in New England,—contracted area for cultivation and habitation, forces pulling seaward, protection from Indians, and democracy of religious organization; and those which induced county form of local government in the South,—plantation life and geographic causes thereof, large areas, separation of localities by bays and rivers, absence of industrial class,—these are factors which should receive clear emphasis in our high school instruction in civics and American history.

So far we have been endeavoring to show some of the essential geographic principles which should form a part of the instruction in the high school course in American history. What are some of the mechanical aids to the teaching of the geographic conditions? The chief one is maps, both wall and desk maps for the pupil. The use of maps adds reality to the work, showing the relation of geographical centers and of strips of territory to historical events, viz., political geography. They help to maintain the interest of the pupil, through localizing events. They enforce attention to the geographic conditions of historical scenes. The question arises, what kinds of maps should be used and how? The Committee of Ten says (Report, 1894, Resolution 25) "that the study of history should be constantly associated with the study of topography and political geography, and should be supplemented by the study of historical and commercial geography, and the drawing of historical maps." A physical wall map and a map of political divisions should be available for every American history class. Whenever such maps can be used in the class recitation the pupil should follow the movement on the wall map, such as exploring expeditions, army movements, boundary lines, etc. By all means, not a place should escape location on the wall map during the recitation. Such location should consider the geographic conditions determining it. Other maps, such as MacCoun's series of charts, would be useful. However, MacCoun's (Silver, Burdett & Co.) are somewhat defective and do not include the result of recent researches. Atkinson and Mentzer (Chicago) have prepared a very good series of American history charts, sixteen in number. Other companies which publish wall maps for reference are Longmans, Green & Co.; Rand, McNally & Co.; Heath, Johnson & Co. A complete list of available maps, largely physical, might profitably be secured from the United States Geological Survey, and from the United States Land Office. Davis, King, and Collins' (Holt, N. Y., 1894) "Report on Governmental Maps for Use in Schools," gives some desirable information. The McKinley Publishing Company (Philadelphia) print a large *outline* wall map, upon heavy manila paper, at twenty-five cents each, cheaper in quantities. One of the best crayons is "Crayola" (Binney, and Smith, N. Y., in different size boxes from ten cents up), for it is water-proof and will not "rub." Water colors or colored inks (India, such as Higgins) can be used. There should be an atlas accessible for reference to general historical events, such as Putzger's "Historical Atlas" (American edition). Lantern slides and stereoscopic views are helpful aids. A new attachment to the stereopticon—the opaque projector—enables maps and pictures to be thrown directly from the book upon the screen. Objection is often made to such expenditures as the above on the ground that they are a waste of funds. Why, though, should not the history teacher be allowed legitimate equipment for his work as well as the science or manual training department? Many a history teacher finds it more difficult to secure fifty dollars for necessities in instruction than other depart-

ments do to secure five hundred dollars. No doubt the nature of different branches demands inequality in expenditures, but the differences are still much too great in many high schools.

The use of desk outline maps should be a part of every history course. High school pupils should not be called upon to draw the outlines for maps, for their map work is not to teach them the configuration of continents,—that has been the purpose of the map instruction in the grades in connection with geography. The high school map work is to acquaint the pupil with changes in political territories, boundary lines, etc. It should hardly be necessary to make this plea for map work in the high school history courses, yet history instruction, with many an educator of high standing or with the so-called practical business man, has not yet got out of the one-text book method. To them history is nothing but a pretty story with no educative process. Yet we who advocate more equipment would not destroy the informational purpose of history; we would simply reinforce this by an appeal to the pupil to create something tangible whereby he may make the perceptive process an apperceptive one. It is entirely possible for pupils in a one-year course to make about twenty-five maps, varying the number according to the size of the class and the funds at hand. A teacher might well be satisfied with five rather than with none. Outline maps for desk use may be secured generally from the firms mentioned above, and in addition from Professor Frank Hodder of Kansas University. White's "Outline Studies" (American Book Company) is a combination atlas and note book, more suited, though, to grade instruction. For all around purposes the McKinley Publishing Company, of Philadelphia, prepare the most extensive list of maps, bound in atlas form, and unbound; of various sizes from seven and five-eighths by five and three-eighths to ten by fifteen inches, with sizes between. The atlas bound form has useful directions and references to the usual text-books,—aids for the busy teacher. The advantage of the loose sheet is that it permits selection of maps according to the purposes desired by the teacher. The maps may be filled in to represent voyages and explorations, colonial settlements and land claims, growth of free and slave territory and effect of various congressional acts thereon, electoral vote as illustrating growth of political parties, treaty stipulations, territorial expansion and boundary questions (Hart's epoch series very useful here), important military campaigns, distribution of industries in so far as they affect historical development, physical configuration as affecting historical events, etc. The resourceful teacher will make wise selection of the subjects the maps should illustrate. In much of this work, emphasis should be placed upon one's own state or particular part of the United States. For instance, for a pupil in Missouri map drawing illustrating periodic development of slavery, would represent the addition of the northwest corner of Missouri as the first violation of the Missouri Compromise. The pupils of the Gulf States would be particularly called to show in map work the relation of the Louisiana boundary claims and of the Florida purchase to the determination of the southern boundary of their States. The map should contain no more than the title calls for. A mass of details confuses the pupil and defeats the purpose—clearness. Excellence of mechanical execution and trueness to historical data should be the basis of the teacher's judgment of the pupil's work. A danger is that excellence of mechanical execution as to neatness, harmony of colors,

following of directions, etc., will blind the teacher to trueness of historical fact thereon depicted. Outline maps may be used as a part or whole of an examination, and will often be found to test much more effectively than narrative description the pupil's knowledge and interpretation of events; and such a map can be easily and rapidly inspected by the examiner. We must look upon the map work never as an end in itself; it is but a means to a better understanding of the historical movement. It may then be expressed crudely that the agencies to this knowledge rest no more entirely with the eye and the ear; the hand is to have a part. Have not, then, the history teachers, for several decades, been agitating a sort of manual training, as it were?

The pupil's study of maps and diagrams of the text-book and of reference books needs to be directed by the teacher and to be tested in the recitation. Pupils are quite prone in their earlier history instruction, at least, to pass over all these side lights to the text. They need constant practice in order to "see" all there is to a map. Fortunately, the position of American history in the high school courses of most schools—the last year—enables the pupil to be fairly well trained in this respect before he takes up American history. It has been referred elsewhere that maps and charts of the particular period should be studied, to show contemporary thought. Probably Winsor's "Narrative and Critical History" is the most accessible work for this purpose. It is hardly necessary to mention to such an assemblage of teachers the usefulness of Channing and Hart's Guide in its rather exhaustive list of maps, geographical helps, etc., though it does not include recent works.

It may be possible to emphasize the geographical basis of historical development to such an extent as to minimize other factors, such as racial tendencies, character of a people, accumulative energy of past generations, etc. We need, in history, to balance proportionately the factors influencing development, just as in all other phases of instruction. "The principles of organic evolution, interpreting all the facts of ethnology, history, and geography, can alone in the end give us truth" (Brigham, p. 313).

This paper could not lay any claim to completeness without reference to two recent books. Professor Shaler, in his three volume "United States of America" has written several chapters on geographical factors in American history. But the two works to be especially recommended to every teacher of American history—in fact, to every teacher of whatever period of history—are Ellen Churchill Semple's "American History and Its Geographic Conditions," Houghton, Mifflin and Company, Boston and New York, 1903, price three dollars net, and Albert Perry Brigham's "Geographic Influences in American History," Ginn and Company, Boston, price about one dollar and a half. Time will not permit a detailed review of either work; whatever of merit there is in this paper is due to the scholarly and interesting interpretation which these two authors have shown, but the many defects can hardly be laid to them. If there has been aroused in any of you, whose crowded class work has heretofore prevented, a desire to read these books and illume your pupils' pathway in their study, the paper shall not have been in vain. Professor Brigham's book emphasizes more the geological and physical features of the country. The book is profusely illustrated, and although the illustrations do not always bear upon the text, they will appeal to the high school pupil. The style of writing is quite attractive and readable. Miss Semple's work is the more scholarly of the two. She discusses environmental influences in the broadest sense. Historical and geographic conditions of European countries are considered in so far as they affect America. The historical viewpoint is strongly emphasized throughout the entire work. There are abundant references to every chapter, indicating a thorough mastery of the valuable auxiliary science to history, authropo-geography. Useful and abundant maps are included. History from the standpoint of future possibilities in the light of present geographic conditions is considered. The book withal shows masterful philosophical discernment and judgment.

Carl Ritter has said "So much is certain: history lies not near but in nature." It has been the attempt of this paper—only partially realized, we fear—to show how true this is in American history, and what agencies the teacher must employ to help the high school pupil to realize this, even though if only to a slight degree. We should aim to put ourselves and our pupils in that state of mind whereby we may realize with Emerson that "we cannot look on the freedom of this country in connection with its youth, without a presentment that here shall laws and institutions exist on some scale of proportion to the majesty of nature."

The paper given by Miss Semple was not available for printing.

At the business meeting Saturday morning it was decided to have a committee of three members appointed by the President to prepare an Annual Bibliography for the year 1908-09. The object of the work is to prepare a list of books and other materials that are issued during the year that will probably be of interest to students and teachers of history. A brief description and an estimate of the probable value of the specific material will accompany the title in each case. A committee is to undertake this work each year. The committee for 1908-09 consists of the following: Prof. W. J. Chase, University of Wisconsin, Chairman; Prof. Norman M. Trenholme, University of Missouri, and Prof. Karl F. Geiser, Normal School, Cedar Falls, Iowa.

A Nominating Committee, consisting of Prof. Charles W. Mann, Chairman; Mr. William Radebaugh, and Miss Dora Wells, made the following report:

President, Thomas F. Moran, Purdue University; Vice-President, Norman M. Trenholme, University of Missouri; Secretary-Treasurer, George H. Gaston, Wendell Phillips High School, Chicago. Members of the Executive Committee to succeed James W. Fertig, Miss Sara J. Riggs, Norman M. Trenholme and Charles H. Rammelkamp, were Lawrence M. Larson, University of Illinois; Wayland J. Chase, University of Wisconsin; Karl F. Geiser, Normal School, Cedar Falls, Iowa; Miss Victoria A. Adams, Calumet High School, Chicago. This report was adopted.

CONSTITUTION.

Adopted April 1, 1899, and amended Oct. 20, 1900, and March 26, 1904.

ARTICLE I.

Name and Purpose.

This Association shall be known as the North Central History Teachers' Association. Its purpose is the advancement of the study of history, civics, and economics and the improvement of the methods of teaching them, the development of the spirit of co-operation among the teachers of these subjects, and the promotion of their personal acquaintance with each other.

ARTICLE II.

Membership.

Any teacher of history, or economics, in any public or private school or in any institution of higher education within the States of Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Ohio, Wisconsin, Iowa and Minnesota or the executive head of any such school or institution or of any system of schools within the states named, is eligible to active membership.

Persons not eligible to active membership may be admitted to associate membership on recommendation of the executive committee by a two-thirds vote of the members present at any regular meeting. Associate members are entitled to all the privileges of active members except the right of voting and of holding office. They are not subject to the payment of dues or to assessment.

Applications for membership shall be made to the Secretary, and shall be passed upon by the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE III.

Officers.

The officers of this Association shall be a president, a vice president and a secretary-treasurer, to be elected at the annual meeting; an executive committee, consisting of the above named officers, together with eight other members, two of whom shall be elected annually, a quorum for the transaction of business to consist of five members; and if any local organization of teachers or students of history shall express to the executive committee a desire to co-operate under such agreement as may be formulated by said committee, its president, or such other officer as may be designated by said local organization, may, ex-officio, become a member of the executive committee.

ARTICLE IV.

Meetings.

The executive committee shall have the general direction of the work of the Association, and the determination of the time and place of meeting—the annual meeting being held in the spring.

ARTICLE V.

Dues.

The annual membership fee shall be one dollar. Additional assessments to meet expenses may be levied by the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE VI.

Amendments.

This Constitution may be amended at any regular meeting by a two-thirds vote of the members present, provided notice of the proposed amendment has been given in the call for the meeting.

NORTH CENTRAL HISTORY TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION.

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