John D. Pierce

A STUDY OF EDUCATION IN THE NORTHWEST

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JOHN D. PIERCE

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JOHN D. PIERCE

JOHN D. PIERCE

FOUNDER OF THE

MICHIGAN SCHOOL SYSTEM

A STUDY OF EDUCATION IN THE NORTHWEST

BY

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YPSILANTI, MICH.

YPSILANTI, MICHIGAN

THE SCHARF TAG, LABEL & BOX CO.

1905

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CHARLES O. HOYT AND R. CLYDE FORD.

"It is my pride to have been one to help lay the foundations of our present school system, and I want no better monument to my name than this."

—John D. Pierce

TO

MRS. HARRIET REED-PIERCE

THE VENERABLE WIDOW OF

JOHN D. PIERCE

AND TO

MRS. MARY A. EMERSON

HIS DAUGHTER

THIS BOOK IS GRATEFULLY

DEDICATED

PREFACE

The chief idea underlying the preparation of this volume has been to present to the people of Michigan a true account of the life and work of John D. Pierce, our first Superintendent of Public Instruction. Almost seventy years have gone since he entered upon his educational work, and more than twenty years since his death, and as yet no adequate study of his career has appeared. His memory is deserving of better treatment from the generation of to-day, and if this book shall contribute in any way to bring about even a tardy recognition of his services, its purpose will have been accomplished.

It is only proper to say that this study is based almost altogether upon original material which the writers have made use of for the first time, and whatever value it may have depends in no little measure on this fact. The task of collecting, sifting, and editing the data has been a difficult one, yet one which has fully compensated for the trouble, for in many of the papers and documents yellowed by age there have been discernible the motive forces in the life of a great man.

Falling as Mr. Pierce's labors in education did in the period coincident with the beginnings of our statehood, it has been thought desirable as an introduction to his life and work, to offer some preliminary observations concerning our national and local educational inheritances, as well as to sketch briefly the course of Michigan history up to the close of the Territorial days. What Mr. Pierce did to establish our school system marks an

epoch in the civilization and culture of the Northwest, and it has seemed only proper to call attention to those forces which culminated in his achievements, and the conditions in which they were wrought. The discussion has, therefore, been divided into two parts,—Part One, devoted to origins, and Part Two, given up to Mr. Pierce and his labors.

In this connection the authors wish to acknowledge their obligations to many people who have contributed facts and material: First, to Mrs. M. A. Emerson, and Mrs. Harriet Reed Pierce, of Waltham, Mass., without whose assistance the writing of the volume would have been impossible; to Miss Jane Hosmer, of Concord, Mass., Miss Florence B. Graham, of Greenville, Mich., Mrs. Frink, widow of the late Isaac E. Crary, of Marshall, Mich., Rev. John P. Sanderson, Lansing, Mich., and to Dr. Daniel Putnam, of the State Normal College. We also wish to express our indebtedness to the Hon. Delos Fall, of Albion College, who has kindly written the introduction which follows, and who did so much himself while superintendent of public instruction to revive interest in the career of Mr. Pierce.

C. O. Hoyt.
R. C. Ford.

Ypsilanti, Mich., June 1, 1905.

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INTRODUCTION

One Easter Sunday the writer made a pilgrimage to the City of Marshall, Mich., and visited the graves of two men, who by their services to the state were more than ordinarily distinguished. One grave was that of the first Superintendent of Public Instruction of Michigan, the one man to whom more than to any other, the state is under lasting obligations. To him must be given the credit of laying the foundations of a system of education which, from the time of the adoption of the state constitution to the present, has challenged the admiration of all intelligent students of education. The grave of John D. Pierce is marked with a simple monument, upon which is inscribed the date of birth and death, and the fact that the shaft was erected by the pupils and teachers of the schools of Michigan. Here, then, are the mortal remains of the man who in the early days of our preparation for statehood, when plans for the future were to be outlined, standards erected and a general educational policy adopted, declared that he would have as the great object of the common schools "to furnish good instruction in all the elementary and common branches of knowledge for all classes of the community, as good indeed for the poorest boy in the state as the rich man can furnish his children with all his wealth."

The second grave visited was that of General Isaac E. Crary, a member of the first constitutional convention, and chairman of the committee on education, who did more than any other member of that body to give form to the educational system of the state. He was the leader in a movement which depended for its success more or less upon political methods, and he was able to command the attention of the convention. It may

safely and consistently be said that without the timely assistance of Mr. Crary, many wise provisions for education would not have been adopted.

There are three names which every teacher in Michigan should learn to pronounce in logical order, and with a due appreciation of their worth and the great part which they played in the formation of the state,—Victor Cousin, Isaac E. Crary, and John D. Pierce.

The first one, a Frenchman, was born in Paris and educated at the Ecole Normale. Later he became a teacher. During a visit to Germany in 1824-5 he was suspected of revolutionary tendencies, and sent to Berlin, where he was detained for six months. On his return to France, Cousin was elected to various important offices, and after the revolution of 1830 was made a member of the Council of Public Instruction. In 1832 he became a peer of France, then director of the Ecole Normale and virtual head of the University of France. In 1840 he was appointed Minister of Public Instruction in the cabinet of Thiers. He exerted great influence upon education, not only in his own country but throughout the world. His efforts were directed particularly toward the organization of primary instruction along the lines of the report which he had made concerning the conditions of public education in Prussia and Holland. This report which, as Dr. Hinsdale says, "was one of the most quickening educational documents ever written," appeared first in England, and later in this country only a year before Mr. Pierce took charge of educational matters in Michigan.

The history of any state is the cumulative history of the successive generations of men who have made that state. In each epoch of that history some man is providentially raised up who has been fitted by previous preparation to meet the emergency of the hour, and provide those factors which are needed for the advance of civilization. So it has been with the commonwealth of Michigan. At the time when this territory was knocking for admission into the family of the states, when a constitution was to be framed and adopted so that the future empire between the Great Lakes might be inducted into a life of continual

progress, men appeared who were the providential instruments in accomplishing this work. John Davis Pierce was the man for the hour, and in his previous training, in the breadth of his vision, in his ardent patriotism, were found factors which were of the greatest importance to the future of the state. And it was neccssary that these qualities should find expression in the state constitution, for without them the cause of education would have been hampered throughout all succeeding years.

One or two facts will clearly show the close relationship which, through a sequence of cause and effect, connects the three names already mentioned into a chain, the forging of which has most forcefully aided in the upbuilding of the commonwealth. M. Cousin's report was translated and circulated in this country. A copy of it fell into the hands of Mr. Pierce and Mr. Crary. Its salient features were incorporated in the constitution, and provisions were made for a State Superintendent of Public Instruction, a complete system of elementary schools, township libraries, and a state university. The present volume deals with the life of a man, whose labors were destined to put into successful operation the provisions of the constitution. How well he wrought, and how grandly he fulfilled the mission which Providence entrusted to him, will be known by those who read the pages which follow.

The results of Mr. Pierce's labors, when viewed in the perspective which nearly seventy years give, are the glorious fulfillment of a prophetic statement made in his first annual report:—"To enter upon a high career as a State is undoubtedly an object of paramount importance. It is so because it involves the reputation of the State, and also the highest good of present and coming generations. If we would preserve inviolate the sacred principles of liberty,—of liberty, civil and religious, if we would hand down to those who are to come after us a constitution, government and laws, based upon the essential and unperishable rights of man; if we would rear a superstructure of elements more durable than crowns or pyramids, we must dig deep and lay broad and permanent the foundation of knowledge and virtue."

If now the question is raised as to whether we, as the direct

beneficiaries of his labors, appreciate as we ought the great service rendered by this man, we must answer that toward him, as toward many another man of great and beneficent deeds, we have shown that ingratitude for which states and nations are proverbial. A small and inconspicuous monument has been raised over his grave, his portrait hangs in the executive office of the State University, and with that the record of recognition is ended. It may be said here, however, that a Commission consisting of the present Superintendent of Public Instruction, two ex-Superintendents, and two City Superintendents, has been appointed to inaugurate a movement which shall result in some fitting and worthy monument to his memory.

DELOS FALL,
Albion College,

MRS. HARRIET REED PIERCE
AT THE AGE OF NINETY-SIX

PART I. ORIGINS

CHAPTER I.

AMERICA'S EDUCATIONAL INHERITANCE

In order to understand and appreciate the significance of the educational work of John D. Pierce, it will be necessary for us to know, in addition to our knowledge of the political and social conditions of early Michigan, something of the ideals and conceptions of education prevalent in Europe and in the New England states. We must see how these world ideas became American ideals, and how they were adopted and appropriated, with certain modifications, by Mr. Pierce, and used by him as the fundamentals of the Michigan Public School System. We shall, therefore, proceed to a somewhat cursory examination of the facts and principles, as well as the methods that seem to make up our educational inheritance.

A nation forms ideals which are expressed in institutions. Institutions become realized ideals as soon as the people grow conscious of their necessity, and see in them a means for the satisfaction of desires. The world has come to see that great national events or achievements are not the result of chance or of some unseen and unknown force, but that they are builded upon and grow out of the past. Every nation inherits the ideals of its predecessors, together with some elements of institutional life, and with this endowment, under new conditions in a new environment, it will evolve a new ideal by forming new associations and organizations. This will, in turn, be transmitted to posterity, and succeeding generations will repeat the process. A dominant life ideal may enter into the consciousness of a group of individuals with such intensity that freedom and independence will be expressed in the peculiar character of the organized State, or a religion, expressed by a particular creed will be realized in the established Church, but in order to perpetuate this ideal and transmit it to succeeding generations, it is necessary that a

system of education, expressed in a school, be well organized.

Less than three hundred years ago, certain peoples left the parent country in Europe and sought an abiding place in the unbroken wilderness of America, where they hoped to erect a new home for themselves and their posterity. Each group was actuated by its own controlling motive, and was more or less influenced by the home ideal. Some came to these unknown shores in search of gold, or were prompted by the love of adventure. Some hoped to found landed estates, in imitation of the home model, and some were in search of a place where they might be free to think and act as their consciences dictated. There were governments that sent their emissaries to the new land, for the express purpose of conquest for both church and state, but in no instance have these European countries ever contributed anything to American civilization. Our forefathers, however, remembered the past, and being controlled by the old associations and acting under the influence of the old institutional life, they formed new institutions and looked with hope into the future.

It will be necessary, therefore, in order to understand the principles governing the foundation and organization of the educational system in America, first to direct our attention to the fatherland and ascertain, if possible, what influences surrounded these people. What were the problems, and what ideals of education prevailed in Europe during the three centuries of our American life? How had the people endeavored to realize them, and with what result? If they had failed, can the cause of this failure be construed into a motive for migration?

The controlling tendency in Europe was a movement away from authority and toward individual freedom,—the development of the individual by means of voluntary acts originating in man himself, rather than by the performance of acts or duties imposed upon him by an outer authority. This tendency found a definite expression in four ways, and resulted in the perception, by the individual, of certain fixed principles of life, which came, at last, to control his actions, in spite of the traditional authority of church, state, or school.

a) A new philosophical method was discovered. This method, when fully comprehended, was employed in the solution of all classes of life problems, and was applied to every phase of human activity. Descartes (1596-1650), starting with doubt, established the certainty of self, and demonstrated the difference between the results, upon the individual, of an act that was self active, and one imposed by outer authority.

b) The development of science and a new scientific spirit and and method. While this was, at first, bitterly opposed by theology, it gradually wrought out a revision of church creeds, and succeeded finally, either in working reforms in the old church, or in establishing new ones.

c) Absolute and unlimited monarchies had been built up, but, with the growth of new ideas and the consequent development of man's reason, revolutions became frequent, and absolutism was replaced by constitutional governments. Thus the chasm between church and state was widened, and a greater development of individuality was made possible.

d) It now became possible for the common people to come into the possession of a great ideal. Each individual saw the possibility of seizing upon it, and making it his own by realizing it in his acts. Everywhere there was a growing demand for universal and public education. School systems with new and better courses were organized, and new books and better school appliances came into ready use. Great teachers were produced, and new and improved educational theories and methods were evolved and practically applied.

The Discovery of America, the Copernican System of Astronomy, the translation of Aristotle into the vernacular, and the invention of printing made the free public school necessary and possible, and marked the beginning of modern education. In Prussia, the people took the initiative and founded schools which were afterwards organized into a system and administered by the sovereign government. Under Louis XIV., in France, the state originated and formulated a system which was imposed upon the people. In America

the people soon grew to know no king, and refused to recognize any right other than that of the individual conscience, as it was expressed by the will of the people. Their government was organized on this basis, and universal education was the only form compatible with this great principle. John D. Pierce expressed this ideal when he said: "Let free schools be established and maintained in perpetuity and there can be no such thing as a permanent aristocracy in our land, for the monopoly of wealth is powerless when mind is allowed freely to come in contact with mind. Children of every name and age must be taught the qualifications and duties of American citizens and learn in early life the art of self control. Therefore education must be free and public, and ultimately compulsory, and it matters not whether the school maintenance be by public tax, private means, or both." [1]

American education has felt the direct influence of three European countries, England, France, and Germany. In the seventeenth century in the New England colonies, English schools and systems were the models. The force of French thought and realism was beginning to be felt in the eighteenth century, while the dominating influence that inspired the revival of education in the nineteenth century, and did much to shape its policy was of a distinctly German character.

The prevailing thought of Europe in the seventeenth century regarding education was the development of a new philosophy on a non-scholastic basis, and the organization of a school system that should be realistic rather than humanistic. The first prepared the way for the second, and the second applied the principles which grew out of the first movement. Descartes in France, and Comenius, in Germany, were representatives of each of these movements respectively, while John Locke, in England, in attempting to harmonize the two tendencies, exerted an indirect influence on early education in this country. His theory of the development of the human mind, if accepted, would tend to change humanistic into realistic methods, but his was a sys-

(1) *First Annual Report*, 1836, page 31.

tem suited only to royalty, and adapted to the education of a gentleman; it, therefore, found little favor in America, and made no lasting impression upon men who claimed to be free and equal. Comenius' system, on the contrary, when understood, was appreciated and adopted. He was obliged to evolve his doctrine and to apply the same in the midst of the Thirty Years War. He was forgotten but afterward discovered and appreciated by the Germans. They incorporated his ideas into their state system, and in this way his influence came to America.

John Amos Comenius was a member of the Moravian Brotherhood, a sect following the religious teachings of John Hus. He was born in Moravia, in 1592, and died at Amsterdam in 1671. He was educated at Herborn College, and came under the influence of Ratke through the teachings of John Alsted. He was a teacher, a pastor, and afterward a Bishop in the Moravian Church. He suffered exile, afterwards visited England, where he mingled with the great scholars of that country, and then repaired to Sweden and prepared a series of text-books. Tradition tells us that he was at one time called to the Presidency of Harvard College. Finally, his people having received no consideration in the Treaty of Westphalia, he, like many others, found a refuge in Holland, and here he spent his declining years in peace.

His educational system has a distinct religious basis—education being regarded as a preparation for eternity. He began by attempting to reform the poor methods of teaching Latin, in vogue at that time, and by going to nature for suggestions, he finally evolved a plan for a system of universal education. He embodied his entire system in the Great Didactic. In the series of illustrated text-books which he prepared, he showed how the child could be led from the study of meaningless words to the study of real things. He graded the schools under his charge and bequeathed to posterity a plan for a system in which it was possible for a child to advance step by step, from the most elementary school, to the university.

He wrote and thought in advance of his age. It was more than a century afterward before Europe was ready to incorporate

his ideas into an educational system, and still another century before American educators were ready or willing to adapt and apply any of his principles under the new conditions. A complete English translation of the Great Didactic was not made until 1896, although it was originally written in the Czech in 1631, shortly afterward translated into Latin by Comenius himself, and subsequently translated into the German. [1]

The revolutions of the eighteenth century in Church and State were necessary before the idea of the development of the individual, anticipated by Comenius, could find a reception in the minds of the people, or become realized in the institutions of church, state, or school.

The seventeenth century, like those previous, was an age of extreme institutionalism, but gradually there had developed a growing tendency toward a realization of the worth of the individual as such. This led naturally to the consideration of great and complex social questions. France seemed to be the best suited for an attempt at a solution of these problems and the establishment of certain empirical principles. The conditions of its society were best adapted for the propagation of the principles of liberty and equality, and the human paradox, Rousseau, was the best exponent of the old tendency in a new form.

Jean Jacques Rousseau's life (1712-1778) affords an example never worthy of imitation, yet at the same time, one the good influence of which has been far reaching. His purely subjective individualism reflected the social life of his time, and furnished the world a striking illustration of the extreme reaction of an individual against authority—the triumph of the supremacy of the feelings over reason and blind submission.

The first half of his life was a passive or dependent one. He lived a life of absolute freedom, and performed only such acts as his feelings prompted. He associated with the common people, learned to feel as they felt, and with them rebelled against the restrictions of a corrupt society, and chafed under the bonds of convention and propriety. When he rebelled and lived accord-

[1] Monroe—John Amos Comenius.

ing to Nature, he gave the world a great object lesson in individualism.

The second half of his life was productive, or creative. He associated with people of high estate and came in contact with some of the brightest intellects of the French court. He responded to the impulse to write, and gave expression to his feelings rather than to his reason. Accordingly, in the Social Contract and the Emile, although expressed in paradox, he showed how he would reform society by educating a child according to nature, out of society, and the application he would make of this principle to the state and to the school.

A comparison of the Social Contract and the Declaration of Independence will reveal more than one point in common, while a study of the Emile will show that he anticipated much that is accepted today, regarding the individual development of the child, according to nature.

Rousseau laid bare the defects and abuses of the society and education of his time, and demanded reforms in the direction of truth and simplicity. It has truly been said of him:—"It has been given to few men to exert with their thought an influence so deep and persuasive as that of Rousseau. This influence, due to the fact that he took the 'motives' which were 'toiling in the gloom' of the popular mind of his time, and made them flash, with the lurid lightning of his own passion, before the eyes of an astonished world, extended to all departments of human activity —philosophy, science, religion, art, politics, ethics, economics, and pedagogy." [1]

The central figure of the educational influence of the eighteenth century was Henry Pestolozzi, who was born in Zurich, Switzerland, in 1746. With him, as with many another, the right man found himself in the proper environment. A force was thus generated from which radiated an external influence. For contemporaries he had Kant and Hegel, Goethe and Schiller, Herbart and Froebel, Franklin, Adams, Jefferson, and Mann. He was among the first to study educational problems on a psychologic

[1] Thomas Davidson—*Rousseau and Education According to Nature*, p. 234.

basis, and by so doing he anticipated the science of education, which was later perfected by Herbart and his followers. His first activity was in his little school for poor children at Neŭhof. It was here, after the failure of this school, that for twenty years "he lived like a beggar, that he might teach beggars to live like men;" it was here that he wrote Leonard and Gertrude. This book made the whole of Europe conscious of the need of a social reform, and of the great truth that education is the only means for the accomplishment of this end. We next see him as the educator of the orphans at Stanz, where he learned the value and place of industrial education. After establishing the common school at Burgdorf, and exerting an influence upon Fellenberg in the founding of his school at Hofwyl, we find him for the last twenty years of his life as the educator of humanity at Yverdun. It was from this school that influences radiated to every country of the civilized world and acted as potent forces in reforming educational method, and in influencing teachers everywhere to do better things for the children.

Pestalozzianism offers suggestions along two lines:—practice and theory,—practice in the organization and supervision of schools, and theory in the methods of teaching and in the training of teachers.

Fichte, in his celebrated Addresses to the German People, in calling attention to the work of Pestalozzi, shows that education for all of the people is the only means by which a nation may become free. Queen Louise reinforced this suggestion, and by her influence made this organization possible. From henceforward we see a perfected Prussian Educational System, and Comenius is reinforced by Pestalozzi.

German, French, and English tutors, together with their pupils, had been in attendance at the famous school at Yverdun, and upon their return to their homes had done something to inaugurate educational reforms. Americans began to visit Europe for the purpose of study and observation, and we next see these various influences spreading across the sea, where they are to operate under new and decidedly different conditions. It

now remains to be seen how the schools of the United States were influenced by these European forces.

The educational system of America rests, fundamentally, upon our peculiar form of government. How did the young republic in the western hemisphere, in its endeavors to establish a new and hitherto untried form of government, transform and adapt the ideas of education of the old world to the peculiar conditions found in the new? One may well wonder how the national ideal was evolved. At first, it was undetermined and was imperfectly understood; but with time it grew so strong and became so prominent in the consciousness of the people that we can look about us today and see its full and perfect realization.

The line of march was from Europe to the eastern colonies, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, and, with increased facilities for transportation, thence westward to the Northwest Territory. The people of the new state of Michigan, being themselves "Easteners," held pretty definite notions as to schools and the value of education. Their ideas, it is true, were the European thought modified by the conditions of early colonial life and doubtless, until the time of Mr. Pierce, they were not directly influenced by Europe. These people had, however, a controlling motive in founding a school system by modifying other systems to fit the needs and conditions peculiar to this new environment.

In order to understand how the American people came into possession of its educational inheritance, it is necessary first to know how much direct influence was exerted upon the American school, and the sources through which it came; and, in the second place, it is equally as necessary to know how much, that is regarded as American, is original. We shall then be prepared to understand the origins of our system. If the nature of the past experience of the pioneer is known and his motive can be understood, it will not be a difficult matter to explain his acts or trace the steps in the development of local institutions.

It has already been shown that education in the United States

had felt the stimulating inspiration of three principal European educational influences; (1) That in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, through the entire colonial period and to the War for Independence, England and Holland furnished the ideal and suggested the means which dominated the inception of the school system; (2) During, and immediately subsequent to, the period of the Revolution, French thought and institutions modified the then existing schools very materially, exerting some influence in the formation of new systems; and (3) in the nineteenth century German schools and teachers became known and different plans of organization and improved methods of teaching were introduced into this country. In this way, what may be called the American Renaissance in Education began. The date of this revival may be placed at 1837, the year in which Horace Mann became Secretary of the Board of Education in Massachusetts, and one year after John D. Pierce had entered actively upon the duties of Superintendent of Public Instruction in Michigan.

In the original colonies, the forces that acted in the founding of schools were decidedly different as to motive, and exceedingly diverse in character. In New York, schools were first established by the Dutch and for many years, in fact until the time when New Englanders began to move westward, they were conducted strictly according to Dutch models. The Swedes founded schools in Delaware, the Germans in Pennsylvania and, after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the Huguenots in South Carolina. Even the Moravians founded numerous settlements and established schools according to some of Comenius' ideas. Such a settlement was founded near Detroit. All these schools, however, had been established in accordance with the ideals of these various nationalities, and they exerted little or no influence upon communities of English descent. Our schools were founded and developed along the lines of English tradition and afterward were modified by the other European systems. The English people continued to migrate to North America and not infrequently sent their sons and daughters to Europe to be educated.

Without doubt the New England Puritans represented, in a

large way, the ideas and ideals that prevailed in England in the seventeenth century. Tyler says regarding them that "The proportion of learned men among their numbers was extraordinary. It is probable that among them in those early days, between 1630 and 1690, there were in New England as many graduates of Cambridge and Oxford as could be found in any population of similar size in the mother country."[1]

These men had been trained in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, mathematics, rhetoric, and physical, mental, and moral science, having been prepared for the university in the English grammar school. How natural then that, in the founding of Harvard College, they should attempt to reproduce one of the colleges of Cambridge University, that Eaton or Winchester should be the model for the grammar school, and that the minister, the educated man of the community, should act in the capacity of a tutor in preparing a boy for college.

As to elementary schools, it can be said that there was no considerable number until it was ordered that in every township, where the number of householders had increased to fifty, there should be appointed some one to teach the children to read and write.[2] No such ideal as this was to be found in the mother country. This may have been a realization of the conception of elementary education with which Protestantism had made men familiar. Comenius, as the champion and advocate of modern elementary education, it will be remembered, was well known in England and why not in America? The New England Puritans were educated, original, and inventive, and impelled by a tremendous life motive, they exercised this genius by putting into operation common elementary schools. Fundamentally, these schools were Michigan's model. In many ways the early conditions of Michigan were similar to those of New England, and, as a large majority[3] of the early settlers of this state were

[1] *History of American Literature.* Vol. 1, p. 98.

[2] Hinsdale. *Documents Illustrative of American Educational History. Report of the Commissioner of Education*—1892-1893, p. 1232.

[3] In the Constitutional Convention of 1850, of the 96 delegates, 34 were born in New England, and 43 in New York.

of New England extraction, how natural that they should open schools after this eastern pattern.

The monarchical and aristocratic governments of the old world, bound up by the traditions of ages, did not afford a good culture ground for the development of a common elementary school. The freedom and self reliance that would of necessity be developed in the forming of a new civilization in a new country were needful for such an institution. The subduing of a wilderness and the erection of new homes, the forming of a new government, with a firm belief in its perpetuation, all demanded the elementary public school.

America came into immediate contact with French ideas about the time of the War of Independence. We had known some thing of these through England, but, when the ties with the mother country were broken and we turned to France for assistance, cultured men of science began to visit this country in the spirit of scientific observation. Franklin, Adams and Jefferson were more than diplomats, they were scholars of the highest type and, being held in high esteem at foreign courts, were offered every facility for coming into close relation with the best in science and literature.

The founding of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in 1780 also marks an important step. The French ideas of philosophy and science had taken too firm a hold on American life to be easily dislodged, and their effects were seen and felt in numerous ways. Thomas Jefferson was enthusiastic in regard to everything pertaining to education and, while serving as minister at Paris, he was occupied in studying educational systems, organization of schools, institutions of higher learning and courses of study, and his contributions to the advancement in education were of the highest importance.

The story of French influence on education in Michigan affords us an interesting chapter in our history. Hinsdale says, "The first attempt to organize education in Michigan savors strongly of French influence." In 1817, the territorial legislature passed an act, drawn up by Joseph Woodward, to establish

the Catholepistemiad, or University of Michigania. Although written in an extremely pedantic style, this was a plan of remarkable comprehension. It was doubtless suggested by the University of France, which was founded in 1806. This act was repealed in 1821 and a new one enacted in its stead. By the provisions of this, the institution was named the University of Michigan. This peculiar legislation was marked with liberality and good judgment. In 1837, when Michigan became a state, the influence of Germany began to be felt in America, and we shall see that the Michigan system of public instruction was readjusted according to Prussian ideas, embracing provisions for primary, secondary and higher education, supported and supervised by the state.

It would be a difficult task indeed to give any kind of a just estimate of the extent or value of German influence upon American education, in the organization of school systems, in the modification of those already established, and in the reform of courses of study and methods of teaching. That this influence has shown itself an important factor in our educational history, no one, who has given the subject serious attention, will deny.

Dr. Franklin, who visited Göttingen in 1766, was probably the first American to investigate a German university, and George Ticknor was doubtless the first American, studying in a German university, who has left us an account of his work and observations. Many other names might be included in the list of those who studied at Göttingen, Halle, or Berlin previous to 1837, notably those of Everett, Bancroft, Longfellow, Motley, and others. This was the beginning of the direct German influence.

In 1823, Dr. Cogswell and Mr. Bancroft founded the famous Round Hill School in Massachusetts, and this was the first school in this country to be directly influenced by German ideas. This school was opened after Dr. Cogswell returned from Europe, where he had visited the schools of Fellenberg at Hofwyl, and Pestalozzi at Yverdun. He has left some interesting and valuable statements respecting these visits, and seems to have

been more favorably impressed with the work and results of the former than with the latter institution. This may have been due to the intensely practical character of this school, and to the ideas of family life employed in its management, ideas which he afterwards introduced into the Round Hill School. He said: "There was the greatest equality and at the same time the greatest respect, a respect of the heart, I mean, and not of fear. Instructors and pupils walked arm in arm together, played together, ate at the same table, and all without any danger of their reciprocal rights. How delightful it must be to govern where love is the principle of obedience."

The Fellenberg School was originally agricultural and industrial in its character and, because it offered the suggestion of a self-supporting school through the work of the pupils, it presented many ideas for the founding of schools of this character in the United States. Regarding Pestalozzi, he said: "I do not believe his system, carried to the extent he does, is the true method of storing the mind with knowledge. It would exclude memory altogether as a medium of instructing and make use of reason alone, which is absurd."

It is evident that he did not fully comprehend Pestalozzi's educational aims or methods, and it was necessary that they should be better understood before any permanent influence could come from this source. It was necessary for organization to precede methods of instruction, and, so it was not until 1860, that this influence directly effected our schools. Its introduction was due to the efforts of Dr. Sheldon of the Oswego Normal School.

In 1818–1819, Prof. John Griscom, of New York City, visited all of the important European countries and, upon his return, embodied the results of his observations in a book entitled: "A Year in Europe." This report had an indirect influence upon the early Michigan System. In 1838, the state of Ohio commissioned Prof. Stowe to study the foreign school systems. His report was full of suggestion, and coming into Mr. Pierce's hands proved of no little value to him in his later work. He gave this report publicity in his *Journal of Education*.

M. Victor Cousin's Report of Public Instruction in Prussia exerted more influence than any other upon the founding of the Michigan school system; in fact it may be said to have been the model used. It was the first complete and comprehensive report of European schools that had been available to the English reader. In 1831, M. Cousin, at the instance of his government, visited Prussia and other European countries, and the series of communications which he made constitute the report. In 1834, it was translated into English by Mrs. Sarah Austin and published in London. It appeared in New York in 1835 with a preface prepared by J. Orville Taylor, and was published by Wiley and Long. The book before us bears this imprint, and is the identical copy which was owned by John D. Pierce, and which was studied by Mr. Crary and himself as they sat upon a log, back in the pioneer days, in the city of Marshall, and planned our school system.[1] It is very evident that this report influenced them to a great extent. This becomes more apparent when one takes the trouble to compare its essentials with those of the first constitution of Michigan, or with Mr. Pierce's educational utterances.

We have now traced the source of many of the ideas that lie at the foundation of our educational systems, both national and state. They were all influences that were felt in Michigan, either directly or indirectly, and their careful consideration dispels the commonly accepted fallacy, that the American School System was of a spontaneous growth, indigenous to the soil, or that it was evolved or invented by some man or group of men, to fit the needs of a people. Education is adaptation, and in every instance where a group of people migrate to a new land, they take with them their educational ideas and ideals. The adaptation of these to time and place produces the school as one of the fundamental institutions. In his way a new ideal is evolved.

In 1837, certain important and urgent needs were evident

[1] See Chapter VIII.

in the country and, under the leadership of a few master minds, they were met and satisfied. There was a demand for:—

1. Something looking toward a better and more perfect organization of schools—including better supervision, a more complete maintenance, and a more perfect system of grading.
2. The establishment of agricultural, industrial and manual training schools.
3. Better and more liberal courses of study and better methods of instruction.
4. Trained teachers and the consequent demand for normal schools.
5. District and public libraries and better text books.

The educators of Europe had perceived these problems, and such men as Comenius, Locke, Rousseau, Franke, Fellenberg and Pestalozzi had offered a solution. When the same questions presented themselves to the pioneers in the new world, the experiences of the old educators were adjusted to the new conditions by the alert and inventive genius of such men as Jefferson, Franklin, Mann, Barnard, and Pierce, and thus was wrought out, in our public school system, our exceedingly complex educational ideal.

CHAPTER II.

SKETCH OF EARLY MICHIGAN HISTORY

We people of Michigan pride ourselves on being a sturdy and self-reliant folk. We are proud of our state, both for what she is and what she may become; we live in the present and our gaze is fixed on the future, not on the past. Perhaps this explains why we have a seeming disregard for our traditions, and consequently no real appreciation of our history, or, at any rate, of the romance in our history. For it is true,—we have had a romantic past, so picturesque, so adventurous, so heroic, that it deserves to be remembered by us and kept fresh in the remembrance of our children.

Now and then it is a good thing for us to take stock of our inheritance, and try to realize through what stages of progress we have risen to power and become great. We are not so very far removed from our political beginnings—our fathers can remember them, and our grandfathers achieved them—yet we can scarcely comprehend the changes that have occurred since that time. Nowhere else in this wide world was the ownward march of history swifter, or carried more changing conditions in its train, than in the Northwest, in the nineteenth century. And if we turn our gaze backward a little further into another century, we find ourselves in a period the story of which is as strange to our ears as if it were the chronicle of another land.

The seventeenth century was a brilliant age for Old France, but none the less so for New France on this side of the ocean. The king and his courtiers at home might gamble, and write verses, and frequent the drawing-rooms of beauties and blue-stockings, but in America his Majesty's representatives had more serious purposes. They gambled only with the hazards of death in the wilderness, wrote only to tell the story of their sufferings. their only salons were the log houses of missions and

trading posts, and the wigwams of the Indians. Verily, the pioneers of France in the New World,—priests and chevaliers, were of heroic stamp, and they left their names not only as landmarks in the geography of the Northwest, but also to mark eras in its history.

In the year 1632, Père Sagard, a Jesuit missionary, looked out upon the waters of Lake Huron, the first of that splendid number of devoted priests who did such valiant service in the exploration of the region of the Great Lakes. Nine years later Charles Raymbault and Isaac Jognes penetrated as far as the present site of Sault Ste. Marie, and were followed in 1660 by Mènard, who boldly skirted the southern shore of Gitchee Gumee, the Great Water, as far west as the northern part of Wisconsin, where he died the next year. "I put my trust in that Providence," he wrote, "which feeds the little birds of the air and decks the wild flowers of the wilderness."

Mènard was followed in 1666 by Claude Allouez, a man equally full of religious zeal, but at the same time a keen observer and explorer, and the map which he helped make of Lake Superior, under the name of *Lac Tracy*, is a marvel of accuracy and skill. A year or two later, at Allouez's request, came Claude Dablon and Jacques Marquette, and the Ottawa Mission became a permanent establishment, with its center on the river not far from the outlet of Lake Superior. The station was called *Sainte Marie du Sault*, in honor both of the place and of the faith, and was without doubt the first real settlement in Michigan.

The beginnings of work at the Sault had been unostentatious, but a touch of pageantry came in the year 1671, when Monsieur de Lusson, representative of the Governor-General of New France, arrived to take formal possession of the region. The Indians had come from far and near, and in the council house with the French sat fourteen chiefs who listened in stolid dignity to the proclamation of the king. On a height over the river a cross was raised, and the arms of the great Louis were tacked upon it. Then as the priests sang the *Exaudiat*, the

shield of France was suspended above it all, and amid the solemn silence that fell, Father Allouez, pointing to the cross, said: "It is He of whom I have always spoken to you, and His name and word I have borne into all these countries. But look likewise at that other post to which are affixed the armorial bearings of the great chieftain of France whom we call king. He lives beyond the sea; he is the chief of the greatest chiefs, and has not his equal in the world. . . . No one now dares to make war upon him, all nations beyond the sea having most submissively sued for peace. From all parts of the world people go to listen to his words and to admire him, and he alone decides all the affairs of the world." [1] Surely the Grand Monarque could have wished for nothing more eulogistic than this.

But in the same year that the king's representative at the Sault was taking possession of all the lands west of Montreal, forces were at work which were to interfere seriously with the actual occupation of this part of New France. The Ottawas, and the Hurons, who lived around the shores of the Great Lakes, were beset by two fierce enemies,—the Iroquois on the east, and the Sioux from beyond the head waters of the Mississippi. Since late in the year 1669, Marquette had been in charge of the mission at La Pointe, situated not far from the present city of Ashland. In the spring of 1671, news came to the little station that the terrible Sioux were on the war path, and the Indians living in the vicinity were panic stricken. They did not think of defense—flight was their only safety. Accordingly they collected their belongings, burned their fields so that they might not succor the marauders, and to the number of several hundred embarked in canoes for the Sault. After a short stay here the Ottawas proceeded to join their kinsfolk on Manitoulin Island, while the Hurons and Father Marquette repaired to the Island of Michillimackinac, lying between Lake Huron and Lake Michigan, where a mission called St. Ignace was already in existence. This retreat must have been a sorrowful one to Marquette, for it

[1] *Les Relations des Jésuites*, 1670-1.

meant the total abandonment of a hopeful field, which, as Thwaites says, for over a hundred years was now to be left to the fur trader and the savage. [1]

The coming of Frontenac, the greatest of the Governor-Generals of New France, in 1672, marked a new era for the region of the Great Lakes. He undertook at once to establish military posts at the Sault and at Mackinac, in order to maintain the dominion of the crown throughout the country by force, if necessary. He also began a war to the death upon the implacable Iroquois, who had so long terrorized the eastern borders and rendered impassable the waterway of Niagara and Lake Erie, leading to the Far West. Moreover, he entered heartily into ambitious schemes of exploration, and it was with his encouragement that Joliet and Marquette set out upon a quest for the discovery of the Father of Waters.

The story is an interesting one. On the 17th of May, a memorable day in our history, they left the mission station of St. Ignace, and just a month later they glided down the smooth waters of the Wisconsin and out upon the bosom of the Mississippi. The object of the journey was now achieved, but one of the discoverers, Marquette, was destined to pay for the experience with his life. His privations had brought upon him a disease, which though fought off for a time, at last struck him down. In the spring of 1675, after two years of arduous missionary work among the Indians of the Wisconsin country, he launched his canoe once more upon the waters of Lake Michigan, hoping if possible to reach St. Ignace to die. But his desire was not realized, for the summons of death overtook him on our beautiful west shore, somewhere near the present site of Ludington.

With the crushing of the Iroquois in New York, and the defeat of the English before Quebec in 1693, the French began to plan to utilize the strategic importance of the Lake Erie route to the West. In the summer of 1679 La Salle had reached Mackinac in the *Griffon*, by way of the lower lakes. Hennepin, who accompanied him, writes enthusiastically of the region along the

[1] *Father Marquette*. New York, 1903.

Detroit River:—"The 11th we went further into the Streight, and pass'd between two small islands, which make the finest prospect in the World. This Streight is finer than that of Niagara, being thirty Leagues long, and everywhere one League broad, except in the middle, which is wider, forming the lake we have called St. Clair." [1]

As time went on, the advantage of a post at this point became more and more apparent, and in 1701, Cadillac, who for some years previous had been commandant at Mackinac, brought from Montreal a company of soldiers and workmen, and laid the beginning of Fort Pontchartrain, later known in our history as Detroit.

The French occupation of the country of the Great Lakes was now practically complete, the three posts of Sault Ste. Marie, Mackinac, and Detroit, guarding the only routes by which the region could be entered. Still this occupation did not mean development in any real sense, and the next three-quarters of a century in Michigan history beheld no permanent conquest of the wilderness. *Coureurs de bois* and *voyageurs* penetrated the interior in every direction to barter with the Indians, a few more soldiers and traders came to Mackinac and the Sault, and up and down the river near Detroit, the white log cabins of a few *habitant* farmers began to show against the background of the unbroken forests; but this was not settlement that weighed much in the destinies of the land. Detroit alone grew, and yet not without great difficulty, for the military regime was tyrannical, and the inhabitants were burdened with feudal obligations and traditions.

But there were other forces at work which made the French occupation in the West precarious and unsuccessful. The English were beginning to encroach upon the trade of the country. The Indians, too, under the constant scheming and allurements of the English, were getting restless and impatient. When the final struggle should come for the supreme control of the continent, the French were not to be in a position to hope much

[1] The second London edition of Father Hennepin's *A New Discovery of a Vast Continent*, 1698.

from their western posts, since with these it was a struggle for their own preservation.

At last there came the trial of strength, a life and death grapple between two different races and civilizations. First Quebec fell, then Montreal, and with it all Canada. It seems that Vaudreil, the Governor-General, had counted some on a stubborn defense beyond the Lakes, but on the 29th of November, 1760, the lily-emblazoned flag of France was pulled down at Detroit, and with the surrender of the place passed away the last vestige of the sovereignty of New France. Though it was not till 1763 that the treaty between France and England was signed, which definitely disposed of the French possessions east of the Mississippi, Michigan actually came under British rule with the taking of Detroit, the only settlement in all the country of the Great Lakes at all worth a struggle.

As we have indicated, it had never been the policy of the French crown to develop or colonize the western country. This is all the more evident when one remembers that after more than a hundred years of contact with the region, there was nothing to show for it at its surrender except a few mission stations among Indians that were growing worse rather than better, and some scattered military posts, which did not contain more than 3,000 white inhabitants, all told.

The farmers along the Detroit River could hardly grow enough to feed the garrison, and transportation was still by means of batteaux and canoes, for there was not a sail on the Great Lakes. Spiritual needs had been provided for, but not so, intellectual needs, and hardly ability enough could be found to draw up and attest properly the legal documents of the settlement. And the printing press? There was none in Michigan, as Judge Cooley says, for the simple reason that there was none in all New France. [1]

But half-hearted and listless as had been the efforts of the French at colonization, conditions were not materially improved during the first years of British control. No attempts were made

[1] *Michigan—A History of Governments.* Boston, 1899.

to conciliate the French settlers, or secure new ones, and the management of the Indians was characterized by lack of intelligence, sympathy, and tact. The result came in the sudden outburst of savage fury on the part of Pontiac and his minions, which in 1763 swept the whole Northwest, and almost succeeded in annihilating the English power. Pontiac had reserved Detroit for his own vengeance, since it was within easy reach of his village, yet by rare good fortune, of all the fortified outposts in Michigan, Detroit was the only one that was able to withstand the shock. Treachery, from which the Indians had hoped so much, proved here their own undoing.

Michigan was not an active field of operations in the Revolutionary War, though the inhabitants of the scattered settlements watched the progress of events with eager interest. Nevertheless, the authorities at Detroit were constantly at work arousing the hostility of the Indians, and even fitted out marauding expeditions and scalping parties to prey on the remote American settlements in the Ohio valley. Nor did the capture of Hamilton, Lieutenant Governor of Detroit, at Vincennes, by Clark, and his subsequent removal to Virginia, in irons, succeed in putting a stop to this guerrilla warfare. In 1780, Captain Bird, of notorious fame, headed an expedition, made up in part of Detroit militia, that ravaged a portion of Kentucky, but though the excitement in the eastern colonies was raised to fever heat by the outrages, no campaign against Detroit was attempted.

By the treaty of 1783, which concluded the war, it was recognized that Michigan lay within American territory, but the British made no move to evacuate any of the forts. The commanders at Detroit and Mackinac were not notified by their government that any change of sovereignty had taken place, and in spite of protest and remonstrance they continued to hold these important places till 1796.

In the meantime Congress proceeded to make arrangements for the government of the newly acquired region, as if there were no question as to possession. In 1787 the whole district north of the Ohio was organized into a territory, with General St. Clair as

governor. But administration was not easy. The increasing tide of immigration from the eastern states began to make the Indians feel uneasy and insecure; and the British did all in their power to turn this feeling into animosity. Open hostility came in the year 1790, and the infant territory was exposed once more to all the horrors of border and savage warfare. In two preliminary campaigns the American forces suffered humiliating defeat, but in 1794, General "Mad Anthony" Wayne succeeded after a desperate battle in crushing the Indian power completely. When finally the British reluctantly handed over Detroit, it was Wayne who took command. Michigan was now for the first time really a part of the United States.

The Ordinance of 1787, under which the Northwest Territory was organized was a great document, and worthy of the genius of statesmen. "No charter of government in the history of any people has so completely withstood the tests of time and experience," is the opinion of Mr. Cooley.[1] And as one reads, he can readily see that it was well calculated to infuse new life into the Northwest. Feudal traditions, absolutism, disregard of human rights and needs, which had characterized the white man's rule for a century and a half, were now to give way to enterprise, ideals of progress, and assertion of individual freedom. The third article alone fully sustains Dr. Hinsdale's claim[2] that the Ordinance should be ranked with the Declaration of Independence as "one of the most memorable documents that passed the doors of the old Congress." Let us quote the part which refers to education—a prophecy which was later to be realized so thoroughly in the work of that great pioneer educator who is the subject of this volume:—

"Religion, morality, and knowledge, being necessary to good government, and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged."

The new order of things was destined to reach Michigan last. The century was almost gone before the English withdrew, and

[1] *Michigan—A History of Governments.* Boston, 1899.

[2] *The Old Northwest.* New York, 1888.

Indian troubles, which generally had their origin in British machinations, continued for some years to retard settlement. Detroit was still the only point of any importance, and it had as yet made no real progress. In the year 1805 when Michigan was set off from Indiana and made into a territory by itself, the total white population of the whole region was not reckoned to exceed 4,000 souls.

The first Governor of Michigan Territory was General William Hull, a man who had made an excellent record in the East, but was unfitted in every way to cope with the problems in the strenuous life of the frontier. And his assistants in the government were refractory and jealous. The Indians under Tecumseh were verging toward open hostility, and on the horizon could be heard the mutterings of war. The place demanded a man of iron, and Hull was a man of straw.

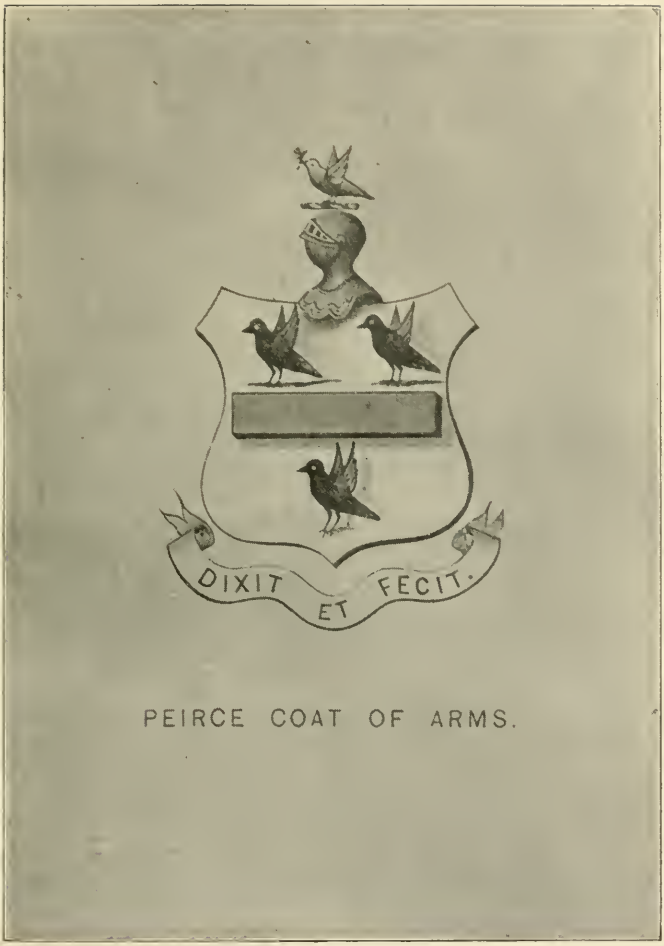
It was evident from the beginning that the coming struggle, unlike the Revolution, would involve the country of the Great Lakes, and measures were at once taken by the Government to defend Detroit with a large force. This Army of the Northwest, as it was called, was put in command of General Hull. After various blunders and grandiloquent proclamations, and a feint at an invasion of Canada, not quite two months after war was declared, Detroit was surrendered to the British without firing a shot. It was not in the face of overwhelming odds, or after a long siege, or because of the temper of the troops. From a military point of view the chances of success were good. But here let us take the words of the Detroit *Gazette*[1] of the year 1819:—

"It is rational to suppose that nothing less than a miracle could have saved the British army from capture or destruction. At such a moment, when the arm of the patriot was nerved for contest, when the enemy which he had eagerly sought was before him, under circumstances so favorable, and he exulting in a proud triumph for his country, with what agonized sensations did he behold a white flag floating over the Star-Spangled Banner!"

[1] Reprint by C. M. Burton, Detroit, 1904.

History has not rehabilitated the character of General Hull. Benedict Arnold earned the odium of his countrymen because he was a traitor, and General Hull because he was a coward.

During the next year Michigan paid dearly for the calamities at the commencement of the war. The hand of the English from Detroit rested heavily on the desolated Territory, and the infamous massacre of the Raisin, in January, 1813, was only a sequel of the story. But with Perry's victory on Lake Erie, a change came. General Harrison and his army could now be conveyed to Canada. On the 5th of October, 1813, was fought the Battle of the Thames, which avenged the ignominious surrender of Detroit, the woes of the British occupation, and the horrors of the River Raisin. Michigan ceased to be a contested ground, and was now ready, after long waiting, to enter upon its heritage of progress.



COAT OF ARMS OF THE PIERCE FAMILY

CHAPTER III.

CULTURE CONDITIONS IN TERRITORIAL DAYS

On the 29th of October, 1813, General Lewis Cass was made governor of the Territory of Michigan, with his capital at Detroit. This appointment was extremely fortunate for the development of the vast and unknown region, for the new governor was intelligently alive to its needs and possibilities. In order that the Territory might be opened up to exploration and settlement as speedily as possible, he at once began to negotiate treaties with various Indian tribes, by which their title to extensive tracts was extinguished, and a way thus inaugurated for the operation of government land laws. Of course, the first step toward inducing settlers to locate in the Territory was to be able to assure them of the legality of their holdings.

As early as 1812, an act of the general government had set aside two million acres in Michigan as bounty lands for soldiers, but when at the end of the war, surveyors entered upon the task of defining these grants, they reported the country of southern Michigan a swampy, pestilential region, with not one acre in a hundred fit for human habitation. A second examination seemingly confirmed this, and in 1816 the law was amended so that the claims of soldiers might be satisfied by lands in Illinois and Missouri. Such reports, no doubt, helped to delay actual settlement for a few years, nevertheless the surveys went on. In 1817 the sale of as small parcels as eighty acres was authorized, and the next year there were lands in the Territory on the market. In 1820 the minimum price was changed from two dollars an acre, as it had been fixed in 1796, to a dollar and twenty-five cents, and in 1830 the right of pre-emption was given to actual settlers.

To further facilitate matters of administration and pave the

way for the beginning of popular government, General Cass commenced at once to lay out counties and road districts. The General Government was induced to make an appropriation for the building of a semi-military road around the western end of Lake Erie, from Sandusky to Detroit, and within the Territory itself a few great highways were constructed. One notably, the old "Chicago Pike," from Detroit to Chicago, was destined for many years to serve as a channel along which rolled a mighty tide of colonization westward.

Another factor which contributed greatly to encourage settlement was the revolution wrought by steam in the navigation of the lakes. On the 27th of August, 1818, the first steamboat reached Detroit, and it was not many years before there was a daily service during the summer months between Buffalo and points west. This increase in the facilities of transportation on Lake Erie, coupled with the opening of the Erie Canal in 1825, made the journey from New York and New England comparatively easy, and people were attracted more and more by the opportunities awaiting them in the wilderness. By the year 1830, Michigan could boast a population of 31,639, as compared with 8,765 in 1820, and 4,762 in 1810, certainly a substantial and significant gain. In the fifteen years that had elapsed since the close of the war more had been done to promote the real development of the country of the Great Lakes than in all the two hundred years preceding. It was evident now that statehood was not far off.

It is not our purpose to discuss at any length the political evolution of the commonwealth. But in order to appreciate the conditions under which our educational beginnings were made and gradually transformed into a vital part of our theory of state government, it may be well worth while to try to convey a notion of what pioneer life was, and of the cultural and social elements which manifested themselves in our civilization between 1825 and 1840, when the Territory was waking from its lethargy, and taking upon itself the dignity of an integral part of the nation.

The pioneer inhabitants of Michigan are almost entirely of native American stock, largely from New York and New England. And this was fortunate. A sturdy vigor was needed to conquer the wilderness, and a correct appreciation of the obligations of the individual, society, and government, such as prevailed in our Eastern states, was necessary to form the foundation of an enduring civilization in the new land. In the early days of the territory the French element naturally predominated. The *habitants*, on their neat little farms along the Detroit River, were a thrifty, contented, but unprogressive folk. And the good burghers of Detroit, many of whom could boast of aristocratic and blue blood, were for the most part satisfied to live in the complacent ease of their own traditions. There was nothing in the descendants of the old *régime* calculated to wrest a state from the grip of primitive conditions. These people hated nothing so much as taxes, to paraphrase Judge Sibley, and would rather vegetate undisturbed in their own little communities than contribute to the support of a free government. In 1818 the possibility of having a legislative assembly for the Territory was lost through the hostility of the French vote.

But the Yankee settlers were different. There was nothing so precious to them as law and order, and the blessing of organized government. And they brought into the woods of Michigan the same ideas and ideals that their fathers had fought to preserve in the trying years of the Revolution, and they themselves had contested for in 1812. Their new life in the West was an arduous one, full of privations and discouragements, and we of this generation, who stand on the threshold of the most remarkable century in human history, have no adequate idea of their sacrifices. But there they are,—those years—three-quarters of a century agone, and in them lie the beginnings of our institutions.

Detroit, which did not reach a population of 2,500 till after 1830, was the gateway by which most of the settlers came into the Territory. They arrived here by boat after a week's voyage from Buffalo, unless they were fortunate enough to come by steamboat, or after a long and dreary overland journey through Canada. From this point they pushed on into the interior, usually along

one of the two or three routes: northwest, toward Pontiac and Flint, or westward on the old Chicago road, or toward the southwest in the direction of Adrian. When the roads failed, they followed trails if they could, or made their own way with a guide. As late as 1836 it took two weeks to go from Detroit to Battle Creek, and in the fall of the year a week was necessary to make the trip from Plymouth to Detroit and return.

The conveyance was usually a covered wagon drawn by oxen. In it were all the pioneer's worldly possessions,—household goods, provisions, farming tools, seed for the first crop. If the new-comer was well-to-do he brought with him a cow or two, and a few fowls crowded into a box. On the more travelled parts of the route he and his family stopped at night at some tavern which increasing immigration into the Territory had called into existence. Later, when night overtook them, they camped by the wayside and cooked their meals in the open air. In this way they reached the scene of their new home. But let us quote the story[1] of such a journey begun October 1, 1825:

"The Erie Canal was not yet completed. At Lockport the goods of our party were landed and transported seven miles around the unfinished part and reshipped. At Buffalo they shipped on board the steamboat *Pioneer* for Detroit, where they arrived just one week from the time they started. Detroit at that time was a little old French town, containing at most but a few hundred inhabitants. Five years later it had by the census but 2222.

"Our pioneers left their families in Detroit and proceeded to view their lands and provide means to get their families to them. But few days were spent in this, and soon all were shipped aboard a small boat and were floated and rowed down the Detroit River to the mouth of the River Rouge. They were rowed and towed up this to the Thomas settlement, about ten miles from Detroit. From thence they were transported by a wagon drawn by three Indian ponies, owned by Alanson Thomas, to the house

[1] "My Recollections of Pioneers and Pioneer Life in Nankin, Mich.," by M. D. Osband.—*Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections.* Vol. 14.

of Benjamin Williams, on the south side ot the river, near the west line of the town of Dearborn, where the two families got accommodations till houses could be built on their lands.

"My father, by the aid of his hired man, was able to get his house in a condition that justified moving into it Jan. 5, 1826, but it was then without doors or windows. A pack of wolves occupied it the night before, and dug in the ashes and gnawed the bones left of the workmen's dinner."

In 1833 a party of 63 persons left New York State for what is now Ionia, Mich. This is the narrative:—[1]

"This company left German Flats, Herkimer County, New York, April 25, on the boat *Walk-in-the-Water*, of Utica. This boat was propelled, or rather towed, by horses, the company having five. A small stable was in the bow of the boat for their accommonation. The cabin was located in the stern with the kitchen, the midships being used for dining hall, sleeping place, and storage of goods. They reached Buffalo, May 7, where the boat was disposed of. A vessel called the *Atlantic* was chartered to take the great bulk of the goods to Grand Haven. At Detroit this boat received a supply of flour and pork . . . and then proceeded to its destination. There was at that time at Grand Haven a small block house.

"The families, with horses, wagons, and a few of the most necessary goods, took passage on the steamer *Superior*, reaching Detroit May 10. On the 12th, having everything in readiness, the caravan started, a covered wagon to each family. My impression is that there were two horses and four ox teams. When night came it was sometimes necessary to pitch a tent, perhaps a tent for each family. They reached Pontiac, May 14th, Fuller's in Oakland County on the 15th, and Gage's on the 16th. They camped in the woods on the 17th, were at Saline on the 18th and 19th, and camped out from the 26th to the 28th. A part of the way it was necessary to cut their own road. During the last stage of the journey a child of Samuel Dexter was taken sick and

[1] "The First Settlement of Ionia," by P. H. Taylor, *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, Vol. 14.

died while the wagons were moving. The company came to a halt near or at Muskrat Creek, where the babe was buried. The death and burial of this child was the one marked event of the whole journey.

"On May 27th the company reached Grand River, near Lyons; forded the river and travelled across the prairie to Generoville, where they again forded and camped for the night. On the morning of the 28th they started again, following an Indian trail on the north side of the river, crossed Prairie Creek very near where the dam now is, and came to their final halt before noon, having been on the road from Detroit from the 12th to the 28th."

Frequently the settler came to a log house already prepared. More often, however, one had to be built after arrival on the site of the homestead. In the case of the company whose Odyssey we have quoted at such length, bark wigwams which were bought from the Indians sheltered the people till they erected cabins of their own.

As a rule, the log house of the early days was an unpretentious structure. There are log houses in the state yet, but such as still do service for dwellings are regal in their appointments compared with the typical cabin of three-quarters of a century ago. DeTocqueville, a famous French student of American institutions, in 1831 spent what he called "Quinze Jours au Dèsert —Two Weeks in the Wilderness"—in Michigan, and has left us a description of the usual settler's home. It was thirty feet long, twenty feet wide, and fifteen feet high, with one room and one window; a fireplace, over which hung a rifle and a deer skin; on the wall a map of the United States; near by on a shelf a few miscellaneous books, among which was a much-worn Bible, and sometimes a copy of Milton, or Shakespeare; the furniture a rickety table, some boxes, and a few rude chairs; in a corner leaned some agricultural implements, and a bunch of grain or seed corn dangled from the rafters.

This coincides with another picture left us by a pioneer. [1]

[1] "My Recollections of Pioneers and Pioneer Life in Nakin, Michigan.' by M. D. Osband—*Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections.*, Vol. 14.

"Judging by my recollections the house was 18x24 feet on the ground. I have spoken of the walls and roof. The cracks between the logs were stopped by triangular pieces of wood fitted and fastened in, and they were all plastered, outside and inside, with clay mud. This, if properly done, effectually prevented any circulation of air through the walls. The house was built on the south bank of the river and fronted south. It had but one outside door—located in the middle of the south side. There was one twelve-light window of 7x9 glass in each of the sides. The door was a battened one, and it and the windows and their casements were stained red. The brick fireplace and hearth were in the middle of the east end; an iron crane hung to the north jamb, suspended from which were several pot hooks, on which the kettles were hung when used in cooking. The bricks of the fireplace were laid in clay mortar. The ground story contained but one room; this room was used for kitchen, dining-room, bedroom, and parlor, and sometimes, as was common with us, for a shop. In cold weather my father brought his work-bench into the house whenever he had sash or doors, coffins, or other small articles to make."

"In the southeast corner stood a ladder leading to the attic. The dishes, and other culinary apparatus, together with a chest holding provisions, were kept in the northeast corner. The two west corners held each a bed, with a trundle bed under one of them. A trap door in the floor led to the cellar. The kitchen table set against the north wall, and over it hung the looking-glass. Between the bed and against the logs at the west side of the room stood a cherry bureau, a leather-covered trunk, and a candle stand. Standing about the room were a half-dozen straight-back, splint-bottom chairs, including a large and a small rocker, several three-legged stools, and a cradle. This last article was as indispensable among the pioneers as elsewhere, in every thrifty family. This particular one was made by my father of white wood boards, and after the most approved plan of the times. . . . In time of use, the flax and wool spinning wheels were also on this floor. At other times they were both in the attic."

"Suspended from a beam overhead by two hooks hung the trusty flintlock rifle. Hanging against the south wall, east of the window, were during the cold season, halves and quarters of venison. Strips nailed to the undersides of the beams overhead were frequently covered by small pieces of lumber used in making sash, axe helves, gun-rods, etc., and were utilized by my mother as a convenient place for drying fruit in the season."

The real trials of pioneer life came in the first years before the clearing of the farm had progressed very far. Salt pork and flour, relieved somewhat by wild game and fruits, were the staple provisions, and when these failed they could be replaced only by a long journey to some trading post or store, and at prices that were almost prohibitory. If things went well, and ague did not incapacitate the newcomer, he might succeed in getting land enough cleared by the second year to raise a small crop of wheat, corn, and potatoes, but when harvest time came it was a serious problem to convert the little grain thus gained into flour, Says the Hon. George Willard:—[1] "To illustrate the inconvenience arising from the distance of mills from most of the early settlers, and the difficulty of reaching them when there were no roads and bridges, a former resident of my own city . . . . who settled on Climax prairie in 1831, relates that he was nine days in going and returning from the nearest grist mill, located at Flowerfield, in St. Joseph County."

"Judge Sands McCamly, the pioneer of Battle Creek, was obliged to use the grit of pounded corn for his family bread supply, but requiring a change of diet for an invalid son, he made three journeys of fifty miles each to John Vicker's mill at Vicksburg . . . before his effort proved successful. As late as July, 1836, I recall a somewhat trying experience with the flour question. The barrel brought from the East to the log cabin in Battle Creek township, was empty. Not a pound of flour or meal was to be bought or begged in the neighborhood. The last shortcake had been baked and eaten, and the head of the family . . .

[1] "The Making of Michigan."—*Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections.* Vol. 17.

had repaired to the nearest mill, located at Marshall. The place was thronged with pioneers on the same errand. No flour was to be obtained by purchase except what came from the miller's toll, and this was divided among the waiting crowd at intervals with rigid impartiality. After waiting until the second day my father received his share, for which a liberal price was paid, and returned home, a distance of thirteen miles with just thirteen pounds of flour. Bread has never in my life tasted quite so well as the few loaves sparingly made at intervals from that grist."

Another early settler of Branch County adds:—"Then, 1831, we pounded our corn in a hominy block, and when I went to mill the round trip made 150 miles, and when I wanted a barrel of salt I had to go to Detroit, making the round trip 240 miles."

Sickness was the pioneer's worst enemy. As long as he kept his health he was usually able to keep the wolf from the door, but once he or his family was stricken, the prospect was appalling. DeTocqueville was impressed by this fact. He reported the following conversation with the inn keeper at Pontiac:—

"I said to him: The soil of all forests abandoned to themselves is swampy and unhealthful. Does not the pioneer who exposes himself to the miseries of solitude endanger his life?"

" 'The clearing of the land is a dangerous enterprise,' replied the American, 'and it is almost always the case that the pioneer and his family fall victims to the fever of the woods. Sometimes, when one is travelling in the fall one may come upon a cabin where everybody is down with the fever, from the settler to his youngest son.' "

"And what becomes of these unfortunates thus afflicted by Providence?"

" ' They resign themselves to their fate and hope for better things.' "

"But do they not hope for any assistance?"

" 'Almost none.' "

"Could they not at least have medicines?"

" 'Sometimes the nearest physician is sixty miles away. They have to do as the Indians do—die or get well, as God wills.' "

At our breakfast table we can read a morning paper filled with the happenings of the past twenty-four hours throughout the whole world, and the fact occasions no surprise. We get our mails regularly and quickly, we can talk with distant friends, if necessary, by telephone, or telegraph. But the early settler in Michigan, when once he entered the wilderness, was cut off from his friends and relatives more completely than would be true, now, were he to live in the uttermost parts of the earth. "What wonder," as an old pioneer has said, "that the parting scene when our company left their old home resembled friends standing over the open graves of their loved ones." The nearest postoffice was frequently forty or fifty miles away, and money was scarce and postage rates were high,—twenty-five cents regular letter rate,—and not always paid by the sender. Once when Bellevue was the only postoffice in Eaton County, a letter arrived from Bennington, Vt., with this address:—

"For Kalamo, I'm bound, Uncle Sam,
To Bazateel Taft, in Michigan;
When you get there you'll see his log fence,
Then ask him for the twenty-five cents."

And Mr. Taft paid it.

The early schools of the Territory were found chiefly in Detroit, or among the French farmers up and down the river, but they were little more than catechism classes to prepare the children for their first communion, and do not deserve to be considered in any discussion of an educational system. But with the coming in 1798 of the Rev. Gabriel Richard, a cultured and public-spirited priest, a new era dawned for education in the settlement.[1] In 1804 he was instrumental in establishing a classical school in charge of his assistant, Father John Dilhet, and about the same time founded a ladies' seminary. Upon the organization of the Territorial government in 1805, some provision was made looking to the establishment and support of schools, but there never was

[1] See Life and Times of Rev. Gabriel Richard," by J. A. Girardin—*Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, Vol. I.; also a series of articles on Early Education in Detroit, by C. M. Burton, published in *The Gateway*, 1904.

any well defined system, and it is hard to determine just how many schools were actually organized in that period. There are many records, however, to show the operation of some in which the common branches were taught, and the names of several men and women who were teachers of that day have come down to us.

But Father Richard cherished ideas of higher education, also, which were far in advance of his day, and as early as 1806 he petitioned the Territorial Legislature to create a "college in which will be taught the languages ancient and modern, and several sciences, etc." He petitioned the Legislature again in 1808 concerning a proposed academy for young women, and gave a statement of the work he had already accomplished: "Besides two English schools in the town of Detroit, there are four primary schools for boys and two for young ladies, either in town or at Springwells, at Grand Marais, or at the River Huron." He also requested that the Territorial government assist him in the building of this school by setting aside for the purpose one of the four lotteries of $4000 each, authorized in 1805. But it was not done.

The War of 1812 interrupted all public affairs in Detroit, and the schools suffered along with other interests, but when peace was declared there was a noticeable awakening in educational matters. Some of the schools of this later period, such as the Goff, the Danforth, the Brookfield, though providing instruction in hardly more than the common branches, were well and favorably known. One, the Lancasterian School, started in 1818 under the scholarly Lemuel Shattuck, enjoyed unusual popularity and came to be, perhaps, the most celebrated school in the Territory.

But the organization in 1817 of the "Catholepistemiad, or University of Michigania," was the crowning product of Detroit influences in our territorial education. And here again the progresive views of Father Richard are visible, though he was ably seconded by the Rev. Mr. Monteith, a Presbyterian clergyman, and Judge Woodward, Chief Justice of the Territory. But it took years for the university to develop into anything as pre-

tentious as its marvellous name, and not until Michigan became a state, with the interests of popular education in charge of John D. Pierce, were steps taken which ultimately resulted in making of the university a school of learning, the crowning glory of our educational system.

Let us now for a moment turn our attention to the common schools of the Territory as they came into existence at the close of the War of 1812, over the vast extent of wilderness, to keep pace with the rapid progress of settlement.

The early settlers from New York and New England took kindly to all efforts which tended to maintain the district school. It was an institution that they were familiar with,—in it the most of them had received their modicum of learning. But the country was sparsely settled, and a poverty which we cannot imagine prevailed. As Mr. Van Buren says: [1] "There was no want of a disposition to establish schools, but a want of means, and a want of a sufficient number of children in a settlement to constitute a school. But the settlers did all they could."

It was generally the case that wherever a few families were in close enough contact, it was not long before somewhere nearby, at the intersection of the roads, or trails, a log schoolhouse was erected. It was always a rude and unattractive structure, but every bit as good as the homes from which the children came. Here is a picture of one, [2] as an old settler has drawn it:—

"The house was usually covered with shakes. The door was made of rough boards, hung with wooden hinges, and fastened with a latch of the same material. The windows were made of twelve-lighted, seven-by-nine glass, the sash placed horizontally instead of perpendicularly. The floor was made of rough boards where they could be obtained, but frequently logs split in two and hewn smooth were made to answer this purpose. For seats, slabs with legs to them were universally used, which answered the double purpose of seats and sleds to ride down hill on. The

[1] "The Log Schoolhouse Era in Michigan"; *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collection.* Vol. 14.

[2] "Schools of Wayne County at an Early Day," by J. S. Tibbits. *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections.* Vol. I.

desks were constructed by placing boards upon pins driven into the walls of the house. No stoves were used in those days, but instead an ample fireplace was constructed by sawing out a few logs at one end of the house, and filling up the hole thus made with stone and mud, which formed the back of the fireplace. Sometimes the luxury of a brick hearth was indulged in, but usually this consisted of dried clay and sand. The chimney, of course, was built of sticks, plastered on the inside with mud."

The curriculum of that day was limited—it usually meant nothing more than training in the three R.'s, and spelling and grammar. There was a dearth of text-books, and those used were frequently heirlooms of an earlier generation, and as varied as the pupils who made up the schools. Nevertheless, a few books may be regarded as the standards of that period, some of which enjoyed a deserved popularity. The older readers of these pages will recognize them: Webster's Speller, Murray's English Reader, Daboll's Arithmetic, and Greenleaf's, or Murray's Grammar.

Teachers' wages were low,—for men, who as a rule taught in the winter schools, twelve or fourteen dollars for a month of twenty-four days, and board—that is, "boarding around"; women who taught in the summer received less—six or seven dollars and board.

Not much is to be said for those early backwoods schools from the standpoint of appliance and pedagogy, yet crude as they were, they did their work well, and afforded a training in mind, manners and morals, which was a sure foundation for the coming state.

There is one other factor in the civilization of the territorial days which must not be overlooked,—the pioneer preacher. The first settlers were a god-fearing folk who brought with them to the new land the regard for religion and the church which was so noticeable in New England in that day. And along with them came the frontier preacher to share their hardships and joys. Though often their superior in education and culture, he was no less self-sacrificing than they, expected no better lot, and worked for the same rewards. The story of some of the early

circuit riders and missionaries is an inspiring part of our history, and we may perhaps dwell upon it a little because it may help us later to estimate correctly the career of John D. Pierce.

The French of Detroit and the southeastern section of the Territory were faithfully ministered to by their priests, some of whom, like Father Gabriel Richard, were prominent men. But Catholic influence did not affect the Protestant immigrants from the East, and as the Territory was settled, the religious education of the people was left almost wholly in the hands of the pioneer preachers. The Methodists were usually first on the ground, zealous in revivals and camp meetings which almost always resulted in the starting of little church societies. De Tocqueville said in speaking of religious conditions in 1831:—

"Almost every summer some Methodist preachers come to visit the new settlements. The rumor of their arrival spreads from cabin to cabin with incredible rapidity; it is the great news of the day. At the time appointed, the settler, with his wife and children, set out along the paths hardly yet distinguishable from the forest, to the meeting place. It is not in a church that the faithful assemble, but in the open air under the forest trees. A pulpit of rough blocks, big trees levelled for seats, . . such the ornaments of this rustic temple. The pioneers and their families camp in the surrounding woods. Here for three days and nights the company engages in religious worship, rarely interrupted. It is a sight to see with what ardor these people devote themselves to prayer, with what devotion they listen to the solemn voice of the preacher. In the wilderness one famishes for religion."

And not only the Methodists, but also the Baptists, Presbyterians, Episcopalians, and other sects kept pace with the conquest of the wilds, all harmoniously working together to inculcate those principles of religion and morality upon which all good government rests. The Rev. R. C. Crawford, in some of his reminiscences [1] of pioneer ministers tells how the Rev. Richard Cadle of the Protestant Episcopal Church used to come out into Oak-

[1] *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections.* Vol. 17.

land county to hold service in his grandfather's log house. It was a matter of wonderment to the boy that a man so neatly dressed and so handsome in features, would leave his home in town, ride sixteen miles over rough roads, "and spend an hour in a log cabin with a dining table for a pulpit, in preaching to a handful of adults and children, and not even hint that a collection to defray travelling expenses would be acceptable." And when the circuit rider came, he too preached at the grandfather's log house, using the same table for his pulpit.

In 1831, the Rev. O. C. Thompson, direct from Princeton Theological Seminary, came to the Territory on an evangelistic tour. He visited all the inhabited portion of the country near Detroit, calling at almost every house, and he pays a fine tribute to the hospitality of the pioneer families. As there were already a few settlements in the western part of the Territory, he set out in that direction, and late in the autumn found himself at Jackson. Unable to make his horse ford the streams of his route, he had to continue his way on foot—the beginning of a 200 mile journey. But let us quote:—[1]

"West of Jackson it was next to impossible to distinguish the main roads from the Indian trails and the paths of the new settlers. I became lost in the openings, and was obliged to make my dinner that day on raw turnips which I found growing on a deserted homestead. Late in the afternoon of the second day's tramp I entered a ten-mile stretch of woods, beyond which I was told I would find accommodations for travellers. The sky was overcast with clouds, and the rain began to fall before I had accomplished half my task. The night set in fearfully dark and gloomy, and the stillness was broken only by the howling of wolves. I began to feel that my situation was anything but pleasant, and might be sadly disastrous, so I quickened my steps. Just then the noise of wagons and teamsters on the road before me was a glad and welcome sound. As I came up with the teams I found there were several families of immigrants benighted like myself, and all bound for the same house of entertainment

1 Observations and Experiences in Michigan Forty Years Ago."—*Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections.* Vol. 1.

beyond the woods. Among these immigrants was the Rev. J. D. Pierce and family; his wife whom he had married recently, a highly intelligent lady from a wealthy family in the State of New York, was sitting in her silks in an open wagon, drenched to the skin with pouring rain."

Such were some of the many experiences of the pioneer preachers of Michigan. John D. Pierce, like others, entered upon the new and trying life of the wilderness with faith and fortitude, and he was destined to play a great part in the future development of the new region. If he did more than others, it was not because he was more zealous and ambitious, but rather because the Providence of God marked him for great things, and he had ability to do that wherennto he was chosen.

CHAPTER IV.

TWO DIRECT SOURCES OF THE MICHIGAN SCHOOL SYSTEM

Michigan's school system, under the state government, has been a gradual evolution. It cannot be said to have been the creation of one man, or of any one group of men, in one time or place. There were leaders in thought who comprehended the complex conditions and surmounted the difficulties which confronted them, but in doing this they were more or less consciously influenced by the work that had been done by others, both at home and abroad.

We now purpose (1) to examine briefly into the development of the school system, through the territorial period up to and including the provisions for education to be found in the first state constitution, (Some reference has already been made in Chapter III. to the educational conditions); and (2) to submit a brief analysis of Cousin's Report of Public Instruction in Prussia. The first study will disclose the educational foundation upon which Mr. Pierce erected our school system; the second will serve to show the source of many of his educational doctrines and principles, and doubtless will reveal some of the educational agencies which enabled him to accomplish such wonderful results.

The Territorial School System.

There seem to have been four logical steps marking the development of territorial education: (1) the foundation of the system, (2) the Catholepistemiad, (3) the establishment of the university, and (4) the founding of the district system. Let us now examine the legal provisions connected with each of these stages.

The first law relating to schools in the Territory was, without doubt, enacted in the year 1809. Regarding this, Justice Cooley

says:[1] "The act provided for the laying off into school districts of all the settled portions of the Territory, and for an enumeration of the children, between the ages of four and eighteen, in each of the districts. From these districts annual reports were required of the moneys expended in the support of schools and in the construction of school buildings. The Territorial government was to levy an annual tax of not less than two, or more than four dollars for each child reported within the ages mentioned. The sum collected was to be apportioned among the districts; not, however, in proportion to the number of children in them respectively, but in proportion to the sums expended in the year preceding, for school purposes."

No further school legislation was enacted until 1817, when the Territorial government incorporated an institution, which was known as the Catholepistemiad, or University of Michigania. It has already been shown how this originated.[2] The act was couched in language crude and pedantic, but, as has been said, "the author had grasped certain principles which were of the very highest importance, and which, from this time, became incorporated in the polity of the Territory and subsequently of the State also."

The main provisions found in the act are as follows:—[3]

1. The establishment of a university with thirteen professors, to be appointed by the governor and to be paid an annual salary from the treasury of Michigan. It was provided that more than one professorship might be conferred upon the same person.

2. The professor of universal science was the president, and he, together with the other professors, had the power to regulate all the concerns of the institution, to enact laws for that purpose, to provide for and appoint all officers or teachers under them, to establish colleges, academies, schools, libraries, museums and laboratories and to provide for and appoint all school officers throughout the various counties, cities, towns, townships, or

[1] Justice Cooley, *Michigan—A History of Government*,

[2] See page 41.

[3] See *Report of U. S. Commissioner of Education*, 1897-1898, Vol. 1, p. 601.

other geographical divisions of Michigan. All teachers were to be paid a fixed salary from the treasury of Michigan.

3. The public taxes were increased fifteen per cent and from the proceeds of the public taxes, fifteen per cent was appropriated for the benefit of the university. Further, it was authorized to prepare and draw four successive lotteries, deducting from the prizes the sum of fifteen per cent for the benefit of the institution. The proceeds of the preceding sources of revenue, and of all subsequent sources, were to be applied to the procuring of buildings and the establishment of libraries.

We have little evidence that the provisions of the act of 1817 were extensively carried out, but, in 1821, some important changes were made, which subsequently developed into the fabric of our school system. A board of twenty-one trustees, of which the governor was a member *ex-officio*, was given the control of the university, thus transferring the management from the professors to an independent centralized body. This board of trustees was given the power to organize such schools, colleges and academies as they deemed proper. An important step was also taken in regard to school maintenance; the trustees were left to depend entirely upon the income of the lands especially devoted to educational purposes and upon voluntary contributions from private individuals, instead as formerly, upon an income from a general tax upon the property of the territory.

This extreme centralization paved the way for the next step, which resulted in the inauguration of the district system. Previous to the year 1827, the people had had no voice in the management of the schools, but everything had been in the hands of a central power. In this year, however, a law was passed which took the control of the common schools out of the hands of the university trustees and conferred certain well defined rights and powers upon the people and imposed upon them grave responsibilities. By the provisions of this act, every township containing fifty families was required to support a school. Townships having a greater population were required to maintain the school for a greater length of time and to make it of a more advanced character. This law is, in many respects, the duplicate of the ordin-

ance of 1647, enacted in Massachusetts. The voters of a township could order a division of the township into districts with a board of three trustees to manage the local affairs. The examination of teachers and the supervision of schools were placed in the hands of a board of school inspectors in each township.

In 1828, the law was further amended by providing for the appointment, by the governor, of a superintendent of common schools for the territory. He was required to report annually on the condition of school lands and the amount of money received from the rent of them. By this law, the district system was defined. It provided for a board of "Commissioners of Common Schools" in each township, whose function was to attend to the distribution of all money derived from the rental of the school section, and to arrange the boundaries of the districts. There was also a board of five, designated as "Inspectors of Common Schools," which examined and licensed teachers and performed the functions of supervison.

Dr. Daniel Putnam summarizes the educational conditions at the close of the Territorial period as follows:—[1]

1. "Provision for higher education by a university existing in the state, and in anticipation of a prospective endowment from seventy-two sections of land donated by Congress and three sections given by certain Indian tribes.

2. Provisions for secondary education by means of schools to be established and supported by the trustees of the University.

3. Provision for elementary schools, to be held at least three months of the year, controlled and supported by the various school districts, with the aid derived from the rents of the school system.

4. Provision for a Territorial Superintendent of Common Schools, appointed by the governor with the consent of the legislative council."

During the Territorial period, centralization had gradually given away to extreme individualism. This condition made a central organizing agency necessary and this could be possible

[1] *Primary and Secondary Public Education in Michigan*, p. 17.

only under a state constitution, because, under the Ordinance of 1787, in accordance with which Michigan was governed, the governor and judges did not have the power to enact original laws, but only power to adopt and publish such laws of the original States as might be necessary and suited to the circumstances;[1] consequently the educational provisions of the constitution of 1835, while recognizing the rights and duties of the people, assumed the responsibility and undertook the organization and control of the school system, by conferring upon the Legislature power to enact and execute such laws as may be necessary.

The following article was adopted:

"1. The Governor shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Legislature, in joint vote, shall appoint a Superintendent of Public Instruction, who shall hold his office for two years, and whose duties shall be prescribed by law.

2. The Legislature shall encourage, by all suitable means, the promotion of intellectual, scientific, and agricultural improvement. The proceeds of all lands that have been, or, hereafter, may be granted by the United States to this State for the support of schools, which shall hereafter be sold or disposed of, shall be and remain a perpetual fund; the interest of which, together with the rents of all such unsold lands, shall be inviolably appropriated to the support of schools throughout the State.

3. The Legislature shall provide for a system of common schools, by which a school shall be kept up and supported in each school district at least three months in every year, and any school district neglecting to keep up and support a school, may be deprived of its equal proportion of the interest of the public fund.

4. As soon as the circumstances of the state will permit, the Legislature shall provide for the establishment of libraries; one at least in each township, and the money which shall be paid by persons as an equivalent for exemption from military duty, and the clear proceeds of all fines assessed in the several counties for

[1] Dr. Hinsdale: *Report of the U. S. Commissioner of Education*, 1897-1898, Vol. 1, p. 601.

any breach of the penal laws, shall be exclusively applied for the support of said libraries.

5. The Legislature shall take measures for the protection, improvement, or other disposition of such lands as have been or may hereafter be granted by the United States to this State for the support of a university; and the funds accruing from the rents or sale of such lands, or from any other source for the purpose aforesaid, shall be and remain a permanent fund for the support of said University, with such branches as the public convenience may hereafter demand for the promotion of literature, the arts and sciences and as may be authorized by the terms of such grant; and it shall be the duty of the Legislature, as soon as may be, to provide effectual means for the improvement and permanent security of the funds of said University."

Cousin's Report of the Prussian Schools.

In a previous chapter reference has been made to this report, and it has been shown how it became a part of America's educational inheritance, and how it came into the hands of Mr. Pierce.[1] As it doubtless influenced him in transforming the old territorial plan into the new system, we now wish to examine it more in detail in order to bring its main principles clearly before the reader.

Mr. Taylor's preface to the report is exceedingly suggestive and interesting, in so far as it directs the attention of the reader to educational tendencies and dangers in America, and hints at a remedy. He emphasizes the necessity of the different states fixing the school fund at a sum sufficient for the entire support of the schools; speaks of the necesssity for trained teachers, and urges the desirability of a separate officer of public instruction. He shows the value of public libraries and suggests the publication, by the government, of an educational magazine so be sent to all of the schools. In conclusion, he shows that the district school is the source of national intelligence and that universal education is the only true security of life and property.

The Report proper naturally divides itself into four parts as follows:—

[1] See page 19.

1. General organization of public instruction in Prussia.
2. Primary instruction.
3. Secondary instruction.
4. Higher instruction or Universities.

The American edition of the Report, being the one that came into the hands of Mr. Pierce, deals with the first two parts only. In the analysis of these two, marked emphasis is placed upon those facts and principles that appear to have exerted an influence upon the founder of the Michigan system.

Let it be remembered that the Prussian system is a highly centralized one and, therefore, the one officer of the greatest rank and endowed with almost unlimited power is the Minister of Public Instruction. This office embraces everything relating to science and in consequence all schools and libraries and all kindred institutions, such as botanical gardens, museums, cabinets, the lower schools of surgery and medicine, and academies of music, all come, either directly or indirectly, under his supervision. The superintendence of ecclesiastical affairs is likewise united to that of public instruction.

The minister has around him a council, which is divided into three sections, which correspond to the three branches of his office, viz:—a section for church affairs, composed of a certain number of councilors, mostly clergymen, with a director at their head; a section for public instruction, also composed of a certain number of councilors, almost all laymen, with a director; and a section for medicine, with its councilors and director. From time to time, the minister meets with these councils and directs their work and it is through this central administration that all the parts of public instruction are directed throughout the whole extent of the monarchy.

Prussia is divided into ten *provinces*. Each of these provinces is divided into *departments* which comprise an area of greater or less extent. Each department is again sub-divided into what are called *circles*, and each circle is divided into *parishes*.

Almost every province has its university, with its own managing board and authorities elected by itself. It is under the superintendence of a Royal Consistory, nominated by the min-

ister of instruction and in direct communication with, and responsible to him. He is the only mediator between the university and the minister.

In every province, under the direction of the supreme president, is an institution which is both connected with, and dependent upon the Ministry of Public Instruction, and, in a way, in its internal organization, is a copy of the councils mentioned above. They are called Provincial Consistories and, as the Ministry is divided into three sections, corresponding to the three lines of administration, so we see here a similar sub-division into (1) a section for ecclesiastical affairs, called the Consistory, (2) for public instruction, called the School Board, and (3) for affairs connected with public health, called the Medical Board. The functions of the school board are of interest to us because its domain is secondary instruction; it has to deal with the *gymnasia* and those higher common schools and *progymnasia* which form an intermediate link between primary and secondary education. All seminaries, devoted to the training of teachers, come under its jurisdiction, and it has a will in all the more important questions relating to primary instruction. Attached to the School Board is a Commission of Examination, composed of the professors of the university. Its function is two-fold: to examine pupils of the *gymnasia* who wish to enter the university, and to examine those who apply for situations as teachers in the *gymnasia*.

By the law of the land, every parish must have a school, and, by virtue of his office, the pastor is its inspector. Associated with him is a committee of administration and superintendence, composed of some of the most important persons in the parish. In the chief town of the circle, there is to be found, also, another inspector, whose authority extends to all of the schools of the circle. He, also, is a clergyman.

In Prussia, all public servants are paid for their services and as no post whatever can be obtained without passing through the most rigorous examination, they are all able and enlightened men. And, as they are taken from every class of society, they

bring to the exercise of their duties the general spirit of the nation.

Primary instruction is parochial and departmental; at the same time, it is subject to the authority and direction of the minister of instruction and is responsible to him. This double character is consequent upon the very nature of those institutions which require both the superintendence of local powers and the guidance of a superior hand, harmonizing the whole. This double character is represented by the school councilor, who has a seat in the council of the department and is responsible both to the ministry of the interior and to that of public instruction.

All secondary instruction is under the direct care of the school board, the members of which are nominated by the minister of public instruction. All higher instruction has for its organ and its head the royal commissary, who acts under the immediate authority of the minister. Nothing, therefore, escapes the eye and power of this officer and yet each of these departments of public instruction enjoys a sufficient liberty of action. The universities belong to the state alone, secondary instruction to the provinces, and primary instruction to the ministerial department and to the parishes. The aim of the entire organization of the school system is to leave the details to local powers and to reserve to the minister of public instruction and his council the direction and general impulse given to the whole.

Under the organization of primary instruction, the report deals quite in detail with many topics of a practical character. It discusses the duty of parents to send their children to the primary schools and the duty of each parish to maintain such a school at its own cost. Much attention is devoted to the question of the training of teachers, mode of appointment, promotions, grading, etc. Finally, accompanying the report, were plans of school-houses, outlines of courses of study, and programs of work, all of which would be very suggestive to one about to undertake the organization of a new system. Special reference will be made to these as necessity requires in making a comparison of the systems.

PART II. JOHN D. PIERCE

THE FOUNDER OF THE MICHIGAN SCHOOL SYSTEM

CHAPTER V.

EARLY YEARS IN NEW ENGLAND

The Pierce family is an old one in New England, John Pierce, the first of the line in America, having settled at Watertown, Mass., in the year 1637. The conditions of life in the pioneer days of the colonies, though hard and primitive, only served to bring out the more native vigor of this race, and as one examines the records of the family he is impressed with the fact that its men and women have been unusually sturdy in mind and body. The most of them have lived quiet lives, content only if they were worthy citizens and industrious and upright parents. But some like Gen. Benjamin Pierce, one time governor of New Hampshire, his son Franklin B. Pierce, president of the United States, and his cousin, the subject of this volume, have had distinguished careers, and played creditable parts in the history of their country.

John Davis Pierce, the only son of Gad Pierce and Sarah Davis Pierce, was born in Chesterfield, New Hampshire, Feb. 18, 1797. When we recall that Washington was still president at that time we realize a little better, perhaps, how far back in our history the life of this man takes us, and how young we are as a people among the nations of the earth.

The father, Gad Pierce, was a typical Yankee, tall, of powerful physique, and intelligent, but somewhat restless. Only a short time before the boy was born the father had moved from Paxton in Worcester county, Mass., to New Hampshire, drawn thither by the presence of relatives and some evanescent hope of improving his worldly condition. But in this he was disappointed, for he was seized with inflammatory rheumatism soon after his arrival

in his new home, suffered from it for two years, and died, leaving his wife and two children, John, a baby two years old, and Sally four, in financial straits. This calamity resulted in the breaking up of the home, for the widow saw no way of supporting herself and the children together. Accordingly, she resolved to carry the boy back to his kinsfolk in Massachusetts. She made the journey on horseback, carrying her baby before her, and in Paxton handed him over to his grandfather, David Pierce. It is a pathetic picture, the lad at such a tender age, carried away from home and across the New England hills. Not long after the mother's return to New Hampshire she married a Mr. Foster who already had a large family of children, so there never was any place for the step-son, and he was thus left to grow up without a mother's care.

The grandfather, David Pierce, was a Tory, who because of his fondness for the English church remained loyal to the king. From what we know of him he must have resembled a country squire; he wore knee-breeches and buckled shoes, and insisted on his grandson's doing the same. But though the boy wore English clothes the heart underneath was Yankee through and through. About 1807 the old man died, bequeathing to his grandson one hundred dollars which he was to receive at his majority.

The lad, ten years old and homeless a second time, now passed into the family of an uncle where he was not especially welcome. His grandfather, though old and out of sympathy with childhood, had been kind and had cherished a real affection for him. But all at once this was changed. There were already several children in his uncle's family, his aunt regarded him as an intruder and a burden,—and from now on love and sympathy were to be absent from his childhood.

For the next few years his lot was a bitter one. Though but a mere boy, he was obliged to work like a farm hand the whole year through for his food and clothing. He slept in an attic room under the roof, and the snow of the dreary winters often drifted to the very window. Then there were the long hours when he helped to shovel out roads, and clear paths,

or toiled in the wood-lot, chopping the year's supply of fire-wood for the big fire place. There was actual physical suffering for him in those days. The lunches he took into the woods were insufficient to satisfy the hunger of his rapidly growing body; and he often returned at night with frosted hands and feet. In the summer time he worked in the fields, trying with the other members of the family to wrest a living from the rock-ribbed hills of Worcester county. Such was the round of toil through the year, a cheerless, disheartening one for a boy who already had a taste for books and reading, and was beginning to dream dreams of the great world without.

In these years he received a little schooling—not much—and this was his only pleasure. During the winter months he was allowed to attend school two months each year, just enough to give him some knowledge of the common branches. Later the village library was accessible to him, and he luxuriated in the delight of losing himself in its books. He borrowed books, too, from any one who would lend, and tramped miles to get them. As a man, John Pierce often remarked that he had read every book within ten miles of Paxton.

But no one must think that the boy was unlike other boys, fond only of dreaming and reading, and eschewing the sports of boyhood. With all his fondness for books he was a real boy,—stalwart and athletic, noted for that physical endurance which seven generations of New England forebears had bred into the Pierce family. And so we find him taking part in all the out-door sports that he could manage to get leisure for, and he was regarded by his fellows as a leader and champion. He was an all-around, well developed boy, such as would have delighted a Greek of Pythagoras' days, for a perfect harmony had been established between his bodily, intellectual and moral powers. His muscles were hard from rough toil, but his mind was keen and receptive, he was gentle and genteel, and his heart was pure. His bringing-up had resulted in giving him confidence in his own powers and in making him rely upon himself. From the tenacity with which he held to his high purposes he was called by his acquaintances "Stubborn John."

The religious strain in young John Pierce's nature did not lie very far below the surface. Coupled with his thoughtful, studious bent of mind was a deep seriousness which early made him susceptible to religious impressions, and at the age of eighteen or so he passed through that soul experience which is termed "conversion"—an experience, by the way, which one comes upon so very frequently in the life histories of the prominent men of New England in that early period.

The result of this conversion was to beget within him two ambitions, namely, to acquire more education, and finally to become a minister of the gospel. With this thought in mind, he asked and obtained his uncle's permission to go out to work for himself. Accordingly, he hired out to a Mr. Grosvenor, a neighbor, with whom he remained till he had accumulated one hundred dollars. This with the one hundred from his grandfather's estate made the funds for his college course.

But he was not yet ready for his college course—his preparation had been deficient, still it was not beyond hope of remedy. And so one December day he walked fourteen miles across the country, buying a Latin grammar on the way, and that night knocked at the door of the Rev. Enoch Pond for his first lesson in Latin.

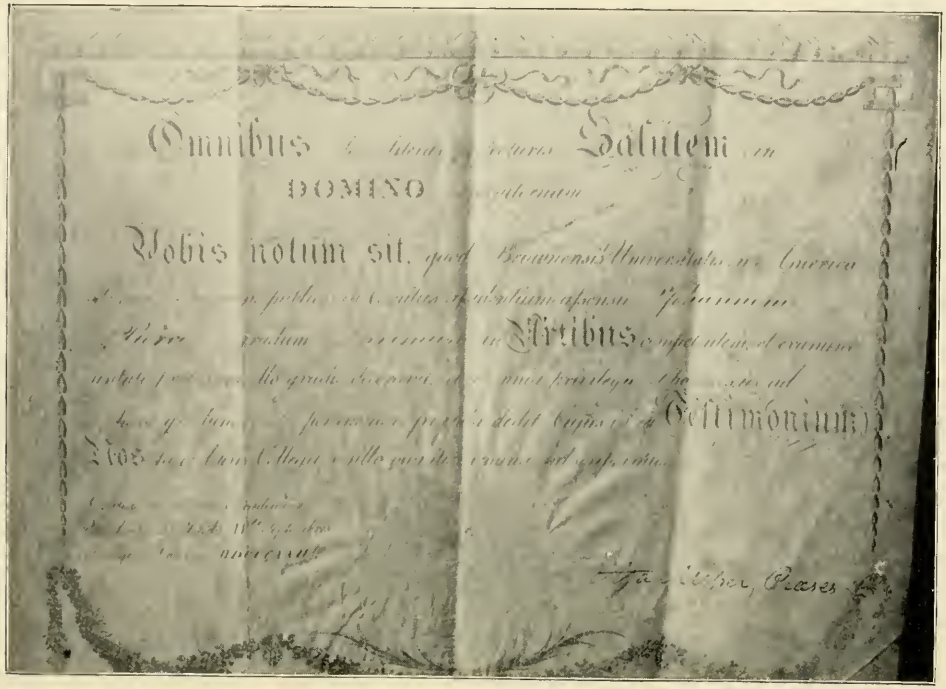
It was fortunate for the young country lad that he came under the influence of a man like Enoch Pond, for probably no one was better calculated to direct him. Mr. Pond was a young man himself at that time, only twenty-six, but already becoming known as a clear, polemical thinker and writer. After graduating from Brown in 1813, he had studied theology and in 1815 had become pastor of the church at Ward (now Auburn) Mass., where he remained till 1828. In 1832 he accepted the chair of systematic theology in the seminary at Bangor, Me., and remained connected with that institution up to the year of his death in 1882. He was the writer of no less than twenty-eight different works, some of them enjoying more than a nominal fame, and many exercising much influence on the thought and polity of the Congregational church in New England. There was not enough difference in age between teacher and student

to affect in any way the bond of sympathy between them, and for almost a year the relation lasted. Probably from this distance of time no one can know exactly what young John Pierce, the serious-minded, speculative, enthusiastic seeker after knowledge, derived from the already mature mind and soul of Enoch Pond, yet no doubt much that guided him in his longing for higher learning and the higher life. Still the student with all the admiration he felt for his teacher did not lose his independence of thought. It is quite possible that Mr. Pond may have drawn him toward the Congregational pulpit and have directed him toward Brown University to continue his studies, for already he himself was well and favorably known in the church, and Brown was his Alma Mater. But he could not prescribe the young man's theology. A little later we shall see—not many years either—John Pierce actually expostulating with his former teacher over theological matters.

Brown University at the beginning of the last century was already widely known for the quality of its work and the liberality of its scholastic atmosphere. Then, as now, it was under the direction of the Baptist church, but exercised no control over religious opinions, and so in September, 1813, John Pierce, fresh from the tutelage of Enoch Pond, with $200 in his pocket, entered its halls as a freshman. Providence was not far from his home —all the one he had—and there was a hope that he might return to the community where he was known, to do some teaching when his funds should run low. And the expected happened. But notwithstanding the fact that he was compelled to interrupt his college work each year to teach a district school three or four months, at the end of his course in 1822, he graduated among the first eight in a class of thirty-six. On his diploma, a faded old parchment, eight by ten inches in size, one may with patience read as follows:—

"*VOBIS NOTUM SIT, quod Brownensis Universitatis in America Praeses.....Johannem Pierce, gradum primum in ARTIBUS.... decoravit, etc., etc.*"

During the year following his graduation, from 1822 to 1823, he served very successfully as principal of the academy at


Omnibus
Salutem
DOMINO
Vobis notum sit,
Artibus
Testimonium

DIPLOMA FROM BROWN UNIVERSITY

Wrentham, Mass., in Rev. Enoch Pond's birthplace. It is quite possible that the latter may have helped him secure the position. Late in 1823 he entered Princeton Theological Seminary for his course in theology. This institution was a Presbyterian school just coming into prominence, and generally regarded as standing for a conservative form of Biblical criticism. It is now hard to tell what drew John Pierce thither; it may have been this very renown for orthodoxy, or perhaps merely a desire for a different intellectual atmosphere. At any rate, it did not result in what he hoped, for he left in January, 1826, after a few months' stay. In this short time the relations between himself and the President had become strained over an essay of Mr. Pierce's which betrayed an unwillingness to accept certain features of Calvinistic theology. The young man, therefore, decided to leave. When urged to remain he remarked that he would not stay longer as "the speckled bird to be shot at." On the minutes of the seminary faculty this entry was made: "Mr. John Pierce was dismissed in good standing in January last."

It has always been believed even by members of the family that Mr. Pierce returned from Princeton to continue his theological studies with Rev. Enoch Pond, but recent investigations have shown that he studied through 1824 with Prof. Calvin Park of Brown. In this year, also, he was licensed to preach by the Congregational society, and the following year took charge of a church.

He was now twenty-seven years old, and his school preparation was finished. He had completed his studies at a later age than most young clergymen of his day, but no training could be better calculated than his to develop the powers of the individual. In the first place he had brought to his college work a sound and mature body, and a consuming eagerness for knowledge. The years in which his mind had starved served only to render his faculties all the keener upon actual contact with learning, and we find him, when his school work was done, an independent, thinking man, holding to views which he could justify, with a determination characteristic of one who had been dubbed in his youth "Stubborn John."

His studies had resulted not merely in making a theologian of him, they had developed a speculative bent of mind which led him to pause inquiringly before every subject. Like Terence he could say, "I am a man, and every thing that concerns man is of interest to me." He was also a philosopher and a student of civilization, and later, when the occasion demanded, a philosopher of education, ready to form the school system of a great state.

It is interesting to read the little which has been preserved from that early period of his writings. His style, particularly in writings of a literary nature, is ponderous, sometimes involved, but there is no confusion of thought. When once he had investigated a subject certain conclusions stood out clearly in his mind, and it took good reasons to shake them. His language is the language of the educated man of his day, inclined sometimes to be Johnsonian and florid in rhetoric, but accurate and forceful. The reader will be interested, perhaps, to read some extracts from the early products of his pen. The first is taken from a sermon of the year 1825, preached from Ephesians, 6:4, "But bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord."

"3. It is important (the education of children) because the general interests of the community are depending upon it. The whole nation is composed of families. Hence the state of the whole must be as the state of the individual families of which it is composed. Obedient children usually make good citizens and good subjects and good rulers having been accustomed from their early days to observe the rules and regulations of the family, and to submit themselves to its government they are prepared to regard the laws of the land and to yield obedience to its constituted authorities. Such children are prepared, when they arrive to years of maturity, to govern themselves, and hence they are qualified to make good husbands and wives, good parents and guardians. Such persons are qualified to enter upon the active scenes of life with honor to themselves, and with a fair prospect of being useful members of society. They have been accustomed to habits of industry, they have been taught to fear the name of

the Lord and to reverence His ordinances and institutions. We do not say that all who are well brought up do as they ought; but we do say, and we think the affirmation warranted by general observation and experience, that very few who have been well governed and instructed from their early days ever disappoint the reasonable expectations of their fond parents. But the case is far otherwise with such children as have not been well brought up—as have not been restrained and instructed in early life. Disobedient children usually make bad citizens, bad subjects and bad rulers. Not having been taught and made to obey at home—not having been accustomed to submit to family government, they are not prepared to regard the laws of their country, or to yield obedience to its lawful authority. They have never been taught to govern themselves, and hence they are under the government of their feelings, and consequently exposed to all manner of excess. Should we visit our common jails and state prisons, and houses of correction and learn the history of their forlorn and wicked inmates, we should find that twenty-three out of twenty-five were once unrestrained and disobedient children, beside being exposed to run into all manner of evil, and in addition to being bad citizens, subjects and rulers, such children make bad husbands and wives, bad parents and guardians. Since then so much is depending as it respects the general interests of society and the proper management of children, how important that parents and heads of families bring up their children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord."

The second extract is from a fragmentary paper on Dugald Stewart (17——1828), the Scottish philosopher, and may be referred to his years at Brown.

"To give the true character of Dugald Stewart, as a philosopher and as a writer, would require an accurate knowledge of the state of metaphysical science when he commenced his speculations upon the subject. Such knowledge we do not possess. Hence, therefore, a few general observations is all that can reasonably be expected. That Mr. Stewart is, both as a philosopher and as a writer, a man of no ordinary rank must be admitted by all who have read his works with any degree of candour and

attention. It will not be pretended, except by enthusiastick admirers, that Mr. Stewart excels all others, either in delicacy of taste, elegance of composition, accuracy of discrimination, or fertility of invention—that a considerable share of each really and justly belongs to him cannot be denied—that he is nothing more than an elegant commentator, without originality of thought and without a comprehensive arrangement of subjects, will hardly be believed, even though it should be said, except by such as are entirely swayed by prejudice, and wholly destitute of soundness of judgment—such an observation could not be made except by those who envy him his great celebrity, or who were totally incapable of understanding the subjects concerning which Mr. Stewart has written. His works, however, will always be admired, whenever they are so fortunate as to fall into the hands of unprejudiced readers.

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"But waiving all considerations of this nature, it is proposed to examine Mr. Stewart's speculations respecting the foundation of reasoning. The common theory upon this subject is that all reasoning, whether moral or demonstrative, is founded upon axioms, or rests ultimately upon truths intuitively certain. In mathematicks, says Dr. Reid, the first principles from which we reason are a set of axioms which are not only intuitively certain, but of which we find it impossible to conceive the contraries to be true Dr. Campbell maintains the same, and also that all moral reasoning may be reduced to this general axiom, that whatever is is, or that it is impossible for the same thing to be and not to be. In short, the general supposition has been that all correct conclusive reasoning proceeds from axioms, or rests ultimately upon a set of truths intuitively certain. But notwithstanding the weight of authority maintaining this doctrine, Mr. Stewart has controverted the point, and shown conclusively that no kind of reasoning is founded upon axioms as intuitive truths, but on very different grounds—in mathematical science demonstration is built entirely upon definitions—and in all the other sciences reasoning is founded on well ascertained facts—definitions holding the same place in mathematicks as facts in all the

other branches of knowledge. Definitions and assumed facts Mr. Stewart calls the principles of reasoning, because from them as a datum a train of reasoning may proceed. Axioms, or intuitive truths, he calls elements of reason, not because any truth can ever be deduced from them, but because they form, as Mr. Stewart expresses it, a part of those original stamina of human reason which are equally essential to all the pursuits of science, and to all the active concerns of life. It is true, indeed, in mathematical science that unless such intuitive truths as these—things equal to the same are equal to one another, if equals be added to equals the wholes are equal, the whole is greater than its parts, or any of the nine first elements in Euclid,—be admitted there can be no demonstration; but it is equally true that no inference or conclusion can be deduced from any of them or from all of them, or from all of them together, therefore no demonstration can be founded upon them. Let any one make the attempt and see if he can deduce from any number of mathematical axioms an unknown truth."

CHAPTER VI.

FIRST YEARS IN THE MINISTRY

After continuing his theological studies through the year 1824 John Pierce—the Reverend John Pierce now—was ready to enter upon the duties of the actual ministry to which he had looked forward ever since his conversion. In January, 1825, he was elected pastor at Sangerfield, Oneida county, New York.

The future looked bright for the young clergyman. He had prepared himself at great pains for a career which now was dawning; it was time, also, for the happy consummation of a romance. Back in Holden, Massachusetts, not far from Paxton, where he had spent his boyhood, Millicent Estabrook, his betrothed was waiting. In his student years at Brown he had gone back to his home county to teach a winter school, and with other conquests had won the heart of a pupil. She was a young woman of more than usual thoughtfulness, and had dreamed of sometime becoming a foreign missionary, but she relinquished her hopes to become a preacher's wife. On February 1, 1825, she and Mr. Pierce were married, and later they made a short trip to Boston where Mrs. Pierce's brother, Col. Estabrook, was collector of the port. The trip coincided with the visit of Gen. Lafayette to the city, and the young couple were fortunate enough to be presented to the distinguished Frenchman at a banquet in his honor, to which they were invited.

The Sangerfield period of Mr. Pierce's life was a most important one, and full of far-reaching consequences in the shaping of his future. We shall, therefore, dwell upon it at some length.

Accompanied by his young wife and his mother, who had come now to make her home with him, Mr. Pierce reached the scene of his labors early in the year and at once began his pastoral duties. But he wanted still to be teacher as well as preacher, and in connection with his church organized a school

in which both he and Mrs. Pierce taught. Two years now slipped by, years that were busy, but not altogether happy ones. Up from the western part of the state, like a storm-cloud ready to burst, came an epidemic of fury and fanaticism that left much trouble and disturbance in its track. It reached the little community in Oneida county where John D. Pierce was laboring, and ravaged there as elsewhere.

To appreciate the situation at this time one must recall some of the events in connection with the formation of the Anti-Masonic party in American politics, a party which arose as the result of the excitement aroused by the mysterious disappearance of one William Morgan. Morgan, an American by birth, had come from York, Upper Canada, and settled in Batavia, New York. Towards the middle of 1826 it was rumored that he was about to publish a book exposing the secrets of Masonry, and under color of some criminal process he was lodged in the county jail at Canandaigua. On the 12th of September he was liberated, but as he was leaving the jail he was seized by unknown parties, forced into a carriage and spirited away. His fate remains a mystery to this day. In the subsequent investigation it was proved that he was taken blindfolded in a closed conveyance to the Niagara frontier, but his further whereabouts could not be traced. Popular excitement claimed that he was abducted by the Masons, and upon refusing to withdraw his book and renew his oath of secrecy, was drowned in the Niagara River.

Morgan's book, however, appeared and was followed by others of a similar character, and while the revelations generally fell far short of expectations, under the stress of public feeling there speedily developed a powerful opposition to Masonry and other secret societies. All western New York was in a turmoil, the agitation even extended to other states, and in the end took on a political and national significance.

When this movement reached Oneida county and Sangerfield, there was sure to be trouble in the little church, for John D. Pierce was a Mason, and had been one for several years. Considerable dissatisfaction at once began to manifest itself, and there were some who claimed that they ought not to retain a

pastor who was a member of a secret order. About this time, also, occurred the death of Mrs. Pierce,[1] and this sorrow added to his other trials led Mr. Pierce to ask for his dismissal. Some differences in doctrine had been discovered by those who were opposed to the pastor, but the fact that he refused to sever his connection with Masonry in this time of panic was without doubt the real grievance of the congregation. Later, when the difficulties were all temporarily adjusted, the whole history of the unpleasantness was written down and the old manuscript is now drawn upon for its evidence. In regard to Masonry, Mr. Pierce says:—

"The second reason urged for my dismission is Masonry. On this subject I have but little to say. If it was not sufficient to procure my dismission two years ago when I offered to be dismissed, it is no reason why I should now be dismissed. Besides I have conformed to the letter and spirit of the resolution of the Association passed at the last meeting. And while I see fit to do so, I have nothing more to do with it than other men; and that is, the right of thinking my own thoughts on the subject, and of declaring them when asked or not, as I deem most proper. Under these circumstances if you say that it is a good reason why I should be dismissed, you declare to the world in effect that I am no longer a fit person to preach the gospel—."

When the matter came to a vote, however, the congregation almost unanimously asked Mr. Pierce to continue as pastor. The arrears in salary were paid, and his financial support for the future put on a sound and permanent basis. Believing that everything militating against the success of his work had been removed, he now began to plan for a home in Sangerfield. In 1829 he married Miss Mary Ann Cleveland, an amiable and accomplished young woman, daughter of Gen. Cleveland of Madison, New York, and built a house and furnished it. But alas, his expectations for a peaceful pastorate were doomed to be disappointed. Hardly was he settled in his new house before the smouldering elements of discord broke out with new fury, and

[1] Mrs. Pierce and her infant son are buried in the cemetery at Sangerfield.

early in 1830 the church petitioned the Association for Mr. Pierce's dismission.

The objections urged against him were differences in doctrine, Masonry, and loss of usefulness, and his defense lies before us. In many respects it is a striking document. Mr. Pierce takes up his doctrinal beliefs one by one, compares them with the views held by the complaining members of the church, and then proceeds to elucidate, justify and defend them. He argues well, and cites authorities from Augustine to Luther, and Calvin, and on down to Jonathan Edwards and other later writers. The earnestness with which he does this shows how important trivial considerations of theology were thought to be seventy-five years ago. Whether "the essence of all sin is selfishness," or "depravity belongs exclusively to the heart," as Mr. Pierce was accused of believing, does not seem a very momentous thing now, nor much calculated to interfere with pastoral success.

That Mr. Pierce's orthodoxy should have been challenged at this time seems all the more strange in the light of a letter which he wrote to his old friend and teacher, Dr. Enoch Pond, the same year. It appears that Dr. Pond had accepted the editorship of *The Spirit of the Pilgrims*, a publication recently established in Boston, and designed to promote the interests of orthodoxy in the church. When Mr. Pierce heard of this he addressed him a letter beginning thus:—

"Rev. & dear Sir:

Ever since I left your friendly abode where I commenced my course of study, I have cherished a high respect for you as a man of learning and as a Christian minister. I have regarded you as t advocate, unyielding and firm, of t leading & essential truths of t gospel. It was, therefore, with deep concern that I learned the other day th you had recently left your people to take charge of t. S. of t. P. In some circumstances such an arrangement would have given me much satisfaction, because I believe you are well qualified to conduct ably a work whose object it shall be to inculcate and defend t great and fundamental doctrines of divine revelation. But I cannot, so far, regard t. S. of t. P. in this light. I think t. P. would be unwilling to own

such a work. It professes to be highly orthodox; but is orthodoxy wh embraces in its arms errors of every description. In t first No. it professes to give an outline of t gospel. But how meagre a view of t gospel this! There is nothing in it discriminating—nothing wh t rankest Arminian may not assent to. T universal decrees of and agency of G—his sovereignty—election and reprobation—& disinterested benevolence, or t essence of true religion find no place. Are those things wh always distinguish t gospel from all false schemes of religion to be excluded? Are these things to be left out of a work wh claims to be t. S. of t P., which prophets & apostles took so much pains to establish & defend, etc.?"

As to Masonry, we have already seen Mr. Pierce's rejoinder. But the third objection made against him was the one, we may believe, which touched him most keenly, and in the light of his subsequent career for fifty years, seems now like a burlesque on the judgment of some very well-meaning, and no doubt pious people.

"The third reason urged for my dismission is loss of usefulness. If my usefulness is lost, how came it to be destroyed? Is it my fault? Has my deportment among the people been such as to destroy it? Or is it the fault of members of the church? Have they not said and done many things which must greatly have tended to injure it? There is evidently a fault somewhere, if my usefulness in this place is at an end. If it is owing to unchristian conduct in me, then I ought to humble myself before God—plead guilty and be silent. But is my usefulness at an end? The subject certainly demands investigation, and it is my intention to go into it so far as to show that if it be lost, the responsibility of it does not rest with me. So much is done in justice to myself."

The appeal to the Association resulted in a complete vindication of Mr. Pierce on every point. Particularly was his theology pronounced sound and in accordance "with the confession of faith of this Association, and with the doctrines which are, and have been long known in this region and in New England under the name of the *orthodox doctrines* or *Strict Calvanism*."

The Association, however, in light of all the circumstances, agreed that it would be for the best to dissolve the relations between pastor and people, but that Mr. Pierce should receive compensation for the financial loss he would incur through such a settlement. As this proposal represented Mr. Pierce's wishes, it was assented to by both parties, and in this way the matter was closed.

In the summer of 1830, Mr. and Mrs. Pierce removed from Sangerfield to Goshen, Conn., where a sister of Mrs. Pierce was living. Mr. Pierce acted as teacher in an academy for a time, and also preached as occasion offered, in the pulpits of the surrounding towns. But neither the young pastor nor his wife was contented. Mrs. Pierce said the only business of the place was going to mill and to meeting, and discussing the merits of quarrels that were a hundred years old. It was just at this time that the call of the West began to be heard in New England, and along with many others Mr. Pierce harkened to the voice. Having been appointed by the American Home Missionary Society to work in Illinois, or Michigan, he set out in the early part of 1831 to spy out the land before moving his family into the new country. His wife returned for the time to her father's home in New York, and his mother, who did not wish to undergo the privations of frontier life, went to live with a daughter in Massachusetts. [1]

At this point we can hardly forbear to moralize a little over some of the strange turns in human destiny. Doubtless in the life history of almost every individual there comes somewhere a parting of the road involving decisions of much moment in one's after life. If John D. Pierce's pastorate at Sangerfield had proved a pleasant one, he doubtless would never have turned his face toward the wilderness. We do not imagine that he would

[1] Mrs. Sarah Davis (Pierce) Foster died May 23, 1848, aged eighty-four, and her grave is in Sleepy Hollow Cemetery, Concord. After her return from Oneida County, New York, she lived for some years with Mr. Pierce's only sister Sally (See p. 57), wife of Edmund Hosmer, of Concord, friend of Thoreau, Emerson, and Hawthorne, and himself a thinker and scholar. Mrs. Hosmer, who was the mother of ten children, all prominent and successful in life, died July 8, 1890, at the age of ninety-five.

have lived an obscure life in New England, like so many clergymen of his day and generation, content to vegetate in some quiet community, and ambitious only to preserve a strict quarantine against new theological ideas. He would have grown in any environment, but he would probably have had no opportunity to inaugurate a great system of education for a commonwealth.

CHAPTER VII.

WITH THE PIONEERS IN MICHIGAN

Mr. Pierce departed for the West in May, 1831, and by the first of June had reached Detroit. Here he met a committee of the Home Missionary Society, with whom he consulted in regard to future operations and a desirable field of labor. In the course of the discussion the question of church government and affiliation, and the formation of new churches, was brought up, and the remark was dropped that it was expected that he would join the Presbyterian Church and not attempt to organize any Congregational societies; Congregationalism might do for New England, but it was not adapted to the wilderness. The young clergyman's answer was emphatic. He was satisfied, he said, that Congregationalism was the Scriptural mode of church government, and that if it was adapted to the primitive times in New England it would not be less so to the new settlements of the west.

From Detroit he journeyed inland, but let us quote his own words:— [1]

"Leaving Detroit, I spent four Sabbaths at Ann Arbor, and then passed on to Marshall, recently established as the seat of justice for Calhoun County. Arriving here the last of June, I found one or two shanties and a double log house partly done. The next day, it being the Sabbath day, July 1st, 1831, by consent of the owner of the log house a meeting was appointed. The entire community assembled; not one of the settlers was absent. When the congregation came together it numbered about twenty-five. Some present were non-residents in search of locations, land lookers as they were then called. The novelty of the scene induced all to attend. There was one congressman and one judge from the east, and others were men of learning and intel-

[1] "Congregationalism in Michigan." *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections.* Vol, 12, p. 354.

ligence. At that time there were three white females in the country, two at Marshall, and one twelve miles west. I never preached to a more attentive congregation. This was my text, found in Gen. 3:10: "And he said, I heard thy voice in the garden, and I was afraid because I was naked and I hid myself." It was my purpose to show that without a revelation from God man had reason to despair of being saved. This was the first Christian assembly, and the first sermon ever preached in all that region for hundreds of miles in extent, where the red man and his companion hunter, the wolf, had roamed as free as air for ages."

Mr. Pierce had originally intended to locate in Chicago, but on this preliminary trip he was so attracted to Marshall, after staying there some three months, that he determined to return east for his family and settle there. Late in the autumn he was back again in Calhoun County, bag and baggage, transporting his goods from Detroit by ox teams. In Chapter III, page 45, we have quoted from Rev. Mr. Thompson's account of how he met Mr. Pierce and his party in the woods west of Jackson when he was moving in from Detroit. We now continue the narrative:—

"Late in the evening we saw the light of the long-looked-for tavern, as it shone through the chinks of the logs, a sight most welcome to us. Our caravan halted before the door—only there was no door there, a blanket being where the door should be. The shanty was only partly covered with shakes; the rain was pouring in at one end, and a cook-stove stood on the ground in the middle. The stove was soon put in requisition, and the coarse fare was a great relief to us hungry, weary mortals. After supper we prepared to retire for the night, but where to retire to was the question. Some of the company packed themselves away in the only bedstead, others under it on the ground, their husbands next, and the remainder of us occupying a little more than the remainder of the dry ground in the shanty. Sleep soon came to the relief of the weary bodies,—at least it was so with one of the number. The morning came, a dark, gloomy morning; the rain was still falling, so we made another requisition on the potato pile and pork barrel, after which Mrs. Pierce sang so

beautifully as few persons can sing, 'Home Sweet Home,' and then turned her face to the wall and wept. . . . . That day we reached Marshall, consisting then of one log house, and another in process of erection; a few immigrants had planted themselves in the beautiful and fertile land of that vicinity. The next day being the Sabbath, we had public worship; a young Methodist clergyman by the name of Pilcher preached in the morning, and the Rev. J. D. Pierce, one of our company, in the afternoon. These meetings were held in the unfinished log house of Mr. Sidney Ketchum."

It had been Mr. Pierce's intention to settle somewhere beyond Marshall, near Battle Creek, where he had purchased some land, but upon his arrival from the east he was urged by the people of the little settlement to locate there and make his home in their midst. There were already eight college-bred men there,—this fact appealed to him—and then the people promised to do what they could toward his support. To show their purpose they gave him a village lot with a double log house upon it, which he immediately occupied.

Mr. Pierce did not come into the territory like so many in the pioneer period without money or equipment. His father-in-law, General Cleveland, of Madison, New York, a gentleman of wealth and prominence, had fitted the couple out with abundant supplies and furniture, and they were able to begin housekeeping under comparatively favorable circumstances. The double log house was fitted up to the extent of its possibilities, and since it was the most commodious house in the little settlement, it speedily became a stopping place for travellers and land-lookers. With all her aristocratic training, Mrs. Pierce was a frugal housewife, and she saw here a way to add an honest dollar now and then to the income of her missionary husband. As one reads the accounts of the settling of Calhoun County, he comes upon many tributes to the good accommodations of the Pierce house. But Mr. Pierce was first of all a preacher, and his house served also for a church. For the first two years meetings were held in it almost every Sabbath. And when the Methodist circuit-rider appeared on his quest for souls, as he did soon, two

services a week were kept up in the little village with cordial relations. The first winter some sixty persons remained over in Marshall. In the spring more settlers came, and the double log house, big as it was, could hardly contain the strangers. But here is Mr. Pierce's own chronicle of the fateful year:

"In May, 1832, the First Congregational Church was formed, consisting of seven members. Mr. Steven Kimball was chosen its first deacon. It was in July of this year that the cholera, 'the pestilence that walketh in the darkness, and the destruction that wasteth at noonday,' came, and two of our members died. That was truly a day of gloom. Such a one I hope never to see again. One of the victims was my own wife, a noble Christian woman, whose lifeless form I was under the necessity of preparing for the grave with my own hands, assisted by one man, and he a stranger. Her death was occasioned by her sympathy for others in distress. She visited a family that had just moved in from Detroit to escape the dreaded cholera, from whom a son had just been taken to the grave, 'for the express purpose,' as she expressed it, 'of trying to comfort them a little. On entering the house she found the mother dying, the father prostrate, and another son coming down with the disease, who soon after died. She was deeply moved. On her return she said, 'I cried like a child when I saw how afflicted they were.' Immediately after, she too was taken with all the fearful symptoms, and it soon became evident that she must go, and in about twenty hours was on her way to her last resting place; but she died in hope,—having no fear of death,—praying for her two little ones. I may add that when it was known that the cholera was in our midst, many fled the place. There remained about seventy persons. Of this number eight died, ten others were severely attacked, but recovered; and all within the compass of eight days."

Thus Mr. Pierce was a second time bereaved, and two babes were left without a mother's care. Not being able to provide for his own children properly in Marshall, he took them in the fall of 1832 to his wife's home in Madison, N. Y. He spent the following winter there and elsewhere preaching, but the next year returned to Michigan and took up his labors again in the same

field. About this time he began preaching occasionally in Homer township, where a little church of twenty members was built up, and later he helped establish a church in Richland, Kalamazoo County. He also journeyed about through the surrounding settlements, preaching in school houses, private dwellings, or taverns. In 1874 Mr. Pierce attended a pioneer gathering in Marshall, and in the course of some remarks touching his early days there, said:—

"I held the first meeting and organized the first church also, in both of the counties of Branch and Eaton, and married the first pair and preached the first funeral sermon in Calhoun and Eaton counties. I have travelled a hundred miles to marry a pair and to preach a funeral sermon."

During this year (1833) he married Miss Harriet Reed, who had been a member of his Sangerfield church, but was at this time teaching at Hamilton, N. Y., where she had formerly been a student. Although her tastes were literary, and her life up to this time had been devoted to study and education, under the enthusiasm of Mr. Pierce she was eager to try pioneer life in the west, and no disenchantment came when brought face to face with actual conditions. The women of Michigan in that primitive time were of heroic stamp, and no story of our early history is complete which does not recognize their courage. No sacrifice was too great for them, no danger too threatening, and side by side with their husbands they entered the wilderness, and left there the heritage of their virtue and fortitude.

When Mr. and Mrs. Pierce reached Marshall in the summer of 1833, they found the place astir with activity and enterprise. and they entered heartily into the life of the community. Mrs. Pierce in her new home showed the same enthusiasm and devotion to duty that had characterized her in her school work in the East, and became at once a faithful help-meet to her husband. Wherever sickness ravaged the settlement she hastened with comfort and assistance; she was always a friend of the poor and needy, and bestowed a bountiful hospitality upon the stranger within her gates. During the absence of her husband on his preaching trips, and later when engaged in his public official work

for the state, she was the prudent housewife and manager, and directed with skillful hand the various business interests which devolved upon her. Almost three-quarters of a century has passed since she first saw that little collection of log houses on the banks of the Kalamazoo River. Most of the men and women she knew there in that early day have long since been sleeping with her husband in that beautiful cemetery on the river bank, but she has been spared, venerable and honored, to live over into the new century. And now at the age of 96,—she was born September 20, 1809—she greets the appearance of this volume with lively interest, having done much in many ways to make its publication possible.

Mr. Pierce came to Marshall as a missionary, and we have told of the zeal with which he looked after the religious interests of the community. But he was a public-spirited citizen as well as clergyman. No atmosphere of false ecclesiastical dignity surrounded him. When the first frame house was erected in Marshall, during the "raising" he held the foot of one of the corner posts of the structure; he was postmaster of the place and kept all the mail in the case of the family clock; he also traded in lands, and in 1832 we find records of his selling 160 acres near what is now Battle Creek, to Moses Hall, for fourteen shillings an acre. He with others built the mill at Ceresco on the Kalamazoo River, and he it was who named the place after Ceres, the goddess of agriculture. He also owned a farm, and was interested in everything that related to the intellectual and political progress of the community. He belonged to various debating and literary societies. There is before us as we write, the faded pages of an essay, "The Earth—Its History and Final Destiny," which begins:—

"Gentlemen of the Marshall Lyceum!"

When the *Democratic Expounder* was started in 1838 he became a regular contributor to its pages. Some of his articles from the time of the "Railroad War" we shall have occasion to refer to in a subsequent chapter. But let us now follow his career in public life during the first few years of Michigan's statehood.

CHAPTER VIII.

SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

On the 29th of June, 1832, a law was passed by the Territorial legislature authorizing an election in the following October to decide "whether it be expedient for the people of the Territory to form a State government." The resulting vote showed an overwhelming desire for the change. But the coming of the cholera, and the breaking out of the Black Hawk war, conspired to retard any definite move in that direction, and so it was not till January, 1835, that an act was passed providing for the election of delegates which should assemble in Detroit in May to formulate a constitution and state government. This convention met, and after much discussion submitted a constitution which was adopted in October of the same year. The new constitution did not differ materially from those of the other states carved out of the Northwest Territory except in its provisions for education, which in the convention had been in the hands of Isaac E. Crary, the chairman of the committee on education.

Mr. Crary was in every way a distinguished man, and his memory deserves well of the citizens of Michigan. He came of good Puritan stock, and was born in Preston, Conn., Oct. 2, 1804. At the age of twenty he entered Washington (now Trinity) College where he graduated. Later he read law, was admitted to the bar, and practiced for two years. During this period he was also associated with George D. Prentice in editing *The New England Review* of Hartford. In 1832 he removed to Marshall, where he at once became prominent in local affairs. Upon the reorganization of the state militia in 1836 he was appointed major-general of the third division. Here is the origin of the title of "General" by which he is usually known. In Congress he was once twitted by Tom Corwin of having seen no other battle than that of the "Watermelon patch" in the wilds of Michigan.

Mr. Crary's career in Washington in the service of the state was an honorable one. He did yeoman service in the Constitutional Convention to which reference has been made, and also in the National House of Representatives. Much of the work carried out so successfully by Mr. Pierce when Superintendent of Public Instruction was made possible by his encouragement and coöperation. Some people hold that Mr. Crary has never received due recognition for the share he had in the establishment of our school system, and that he rather than John D. Pierce should get credit for the plan. A good deal of investigation has persuaded us that there is no real ground for this belief. Mr. Crary and Mr. Pierce were intimate friends. They counseled together on all phases of educational work, as Mr. Pierce's own words[1] will show, but that Mr. Crary was ever more than an enthusiastic adviser of Mr. Pierce is nowhere apparent. Mr. VanBuren's tribute to him is a fair one: "There was not a particle of the partisan in Isaac E. Crary. If he erred in his political course it was error of his judgment and not of intention. That he was a politician is true. But whether discussing party principles at the hustings, or national affairs in legislative council, he was the same candid, able counselor in the one case as the other. He was foremost among our early statesmen in discovering the wants of the new state, and his master hand is seen not only in its full and thorough organization, but in the establishment of those institutions that have made it a great and prosperous commonwealth."

He died in 1854 and was buried in the cemetery at Marshall.

We have now come to Mr. Pierce's entrance into public life and can do no better than to quote from his own account[2] of it, which our observation touching the organization of the state government and the career of Gen. Isaac Crary will, we hope, serve to make clear.

"It was at this period of our history that the Michigan school system had its inception and origin. Gen. I. E. Crary, a grad-

[1] *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*. Vol. 17, p. 245.

[2] *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, Vol. 1.

THE PIERCE OAK IN MARSHALL

uate of an eastern college, and a warm friend of education, was for a year or two an inmate of my house. The condition and prospects of our new State were often subjects of discussion, and especially of schools of various grades, from the highest to the lowest."

"About this time Cousin's report of the Prussian system made to the French minister of public instruction came into my hands, and it was read with much interest. Sitting one pleasant afternoon upon a log on the hill north of where the court house at Marshall now stands, Gen. Crary and myself discussed for a long time the fundamental principles which were deemed important for the convention to adopt in laying the foundations of our State. The subject of education was a theme of especial interest. It was agreed, if possible, that it should make a distinct branch of the government, and that the constitution ought to provide for an officer who should have the whole matter in charge and thus keep its importance perpetually before the public mind.

* * * * * * * *

"Up to this period, though I had often counseled with Mr. Crary as to what ought to be done to promote the best interests of our new State, yet I had not thought of ever occupying the position provided for by the constitution, being constantly employed in the work of a missionary of the American Home Missionary Society. On his way to Washington General Crary held a consultation with Governor Mason, and proposed my name for the newly created office. The Governor expressed a wish to see me on the subject, as we were then wholly unacquainted. I accordingly visited Detroit and had an interview with the Governor, about the 20th of July. After discussing the matter at some length, the result was that on the 26th of the same month in 1836, I was nominated and unanimously confirmed as Superintendent of Public Instruction."

After Mr. Pierce received his commission to office he determined to go east and study the operation of schools. As he says, his object was "information in regard to schools, from the primary school to the University; their organization, management

and support. The whole subject has been committed to my hands. Besides, I had over a million acres of University and school lands to look after. Such, then, was the responsibility and such the interests involved,—interests not only for the then present, but for the future. A failure, or even a bad beginning, must necessarily affect the State in its educational interests for a long time."

As ready money was scarce, Mr. Pierce sold his big log house in Marshall for $600 to get funds for the trip. Mrs. Pierce, who was in poor health at this time, accompanied him. They left in August, going in a lumber wagon to Detroit, and thence by steamboat to Buffalo. The rest of the way was made by canal boat, train and stage.

In this connection it is interesting to note a prophecy made by Mr. Pierce on this visit to New England. At a dinner party given in his honor in Concord by his sister, Mrs. Hosmer, he remarked that he had been three weeks on the road from Michigan, but that he should live to see the day when the trip could be made in one. The Concord philosophers laughed and said he was visionary, yet he himself made the journey before his death in a day and a half.

While in the east he conferred with many prominent men, among whom he names John A. Dix, Secretary of State, and Superintendent of Common Schools, in New York, Governor William L. Marcy of New York, and Edward Everett, Governor of Massachusetts. He was fortunate enough also to meet President Humphrey of Amherst while travelling by stage; he attended Commencement exercises at Brown, then journeyed to Connecticut where he met President Jeremiah Day of Yale. On his way back across Massachussetts he visited the scene of his boyhood at Paxton and preached there. He also found time enough to attend the American Institute of Instruction held at Worcester.

Nothing shows the versatile genius of Mr. Pierce more than the record of this trip. He had suddenly emerged from a remote settlement on the frontier, laid aside the garb of a frontier missionary, and now was a keen observer and investigator of educational affairs. The men and institutions that he drew upon for

ideas were widely known, and he knew exactly what help they could give him. The fact, also, that he attended the Institute of Instruction, and later the College of Professional Teachers at Cincinnati, is significant. These gatherings were the two great teachers' associations of America at that time,—the one in Massachusetts combining lyceum features with those of a convention, the other more like a modern teachers' institute. The most vital questions and needs of education were discussed at these meetings, and John D. Pierce had suddenly become an educator. And yet not suddenly; his great nature was showing itself merely in a new phase.

If Mr. Pierce met Horace Mann at this time—and it is doubtful—it was surely at this meetiug at Worcester, for a great question was up at the session of 1836, a question that Michigan had already settled, viz., the appointment of a superintendent of public instruction for the state. It was voted at this meeting to memorialize the legislature to that end, but when the matter was finally worked out, instead of a superintendent there was a board of education, and Horace Mann was its first secretary.

The meeting of teachers at Cincinnati in October, which Mr. Pierce attended on his way home, was a source of much encouragement to him. If the organization stood for anything it was for the "diffusion of knowledge in regard to education, and especially by aiming at the elevation of the character of teachers who shall have adopted instruction as their regular profession."[1] For Mr. Pierce's own views on the teacher's profession and training, the reader is referred to a subsequent chapter.

Upon his return to Marshall Mr. Pierce found that property had risen in value, and he was obliged to pay $1500 for a house. From a financial point of view the interruption of residence there had been a costly experience. He now set about drawing up a report to the legislature, and his recommendations were adopted practically in their entirety. The way was thus ready for tangible results.

Although he kept his office at Marshall much of the time

[1] Article I, of the constitution of the College of Professional Teachers.

while he was Superintendent, still the fact that the seat of government was at Detroit necessitated his absence from home for long periods. Whenever he was in Detroit he boarded with Mrs. Elihu Newberry whose husband had come originally from Saugerfield, New York. It was in this home that he became acquainted with John Starkweather, later a clerk in his office. Before Mr. Pierce's term of office expired Mr. Starkweather bought a school-land farm near Ypsilanti, and in the course of time became one of the prominent citizens of Washtenaw county. When Mr. Pierce transferred his residence to Ypsilanti in 1853 he found a staunch friend in Mr. Starkweather, and in the memorial chapel erected by Mrs. Starkweather in the Ypsilanti cemetery, there is a handsome window to his memory.

Mr. Pierce's incumbency of office lasted till the middle of 1841, almost five years, and in this time he launched the school system of the state. He was an indefatigable worker. In order that the common schools should be put on a secure basis in the allotment of public money, he advocated that the control of the sixteenth sections be taken away from the townships and given over to the State. But this was a matter in the hands of Congress, and Congress was notoriously hostile to the ambitions of the new State. However, in Michigan's representative, General Crary, the commonwealth had an adroit defender. When the ordinance for the admission of the territory was drafted at Washington, Mr. Crary acted with the committee, and cleverly managed to have the act worded so that the desired change might be made. The result fully showed the wisdom of Mr. Pierce's belief. "It infused new vigor into our new-born system," was his comment, and the organization of district schools, with the help of apportioned state funds, became a matter of pride in every settled part of the state. [1]

The question of the reorganization of the University was likewise a task that called for all his skill. Whether to center the energies of the state upon one university, or to grant to an indefinite number of institutions the right to bestow degrees, was

[1] See *Michigan Historical and Pioneer Collections.* Vol. I, p. 40, *et. sq.*

the problem. In order to prepare for the contest that was sure to come, he addressed a circular letter in the summer of 1837 to a number of prominent men over the country. The replies were unanimously in favor of one central university. This was Bishop McIlvaine's response:

"Dear Sir:

Long absence from home has prevented my answering your letter sooner than the present. It requires but little time to make up an opinion on the question you propose. I consider the present multiplication of institutions called colleges, and empowered to confer degrees, exceedingly detrimental to the interests of genuine education. They so divide patronage as to create competition, which instead of leading to the result which some suppose must be the consequence,—of elevating the standing of the several institutions—produce precisely the opposite. An uneducated community is to be courted and pleased, a community easily taken with name and promises, and lists of students, new methods, short roads and cheap acquirements.

"Who shall please said community the most, becomes the strife. The strong temptation then is to lower the terms of admission, retain the names, but lower the amount of studies, relax the discipline, confer degrees on persons not fit to be sophomores, and so make the honor of a graduate a miserable weed instead of a classic laurel.

"The *prima laurea liberalis educationis* has greatly withered in these parts. Where such multiplications have taken place it is difficult for an institution that wishes to maintain a dignified stand to compete in patronage with others of less conscience in such matters.

"I consider that with the property devoted to education in Michigan, you have a most noble opportunity of taking and holding dignified ground on this subject, of building a breakwater against the winds and waves by which other less independent institutions are in danger of being overwhelmed, behind which the sciences and classics may anchor in peace, and have *otium cum dignitate.* I would say, by all means improve it by having but one place of conferring degrees in Michigan, and that

a university perfectly endowed and furnished. Other States will supply the little colleges. Be it yours to set the example of a genuine university, a mother of learning, rejecting, not following the opinions of the inexperienced on the subjects of education.

Yours very truly,

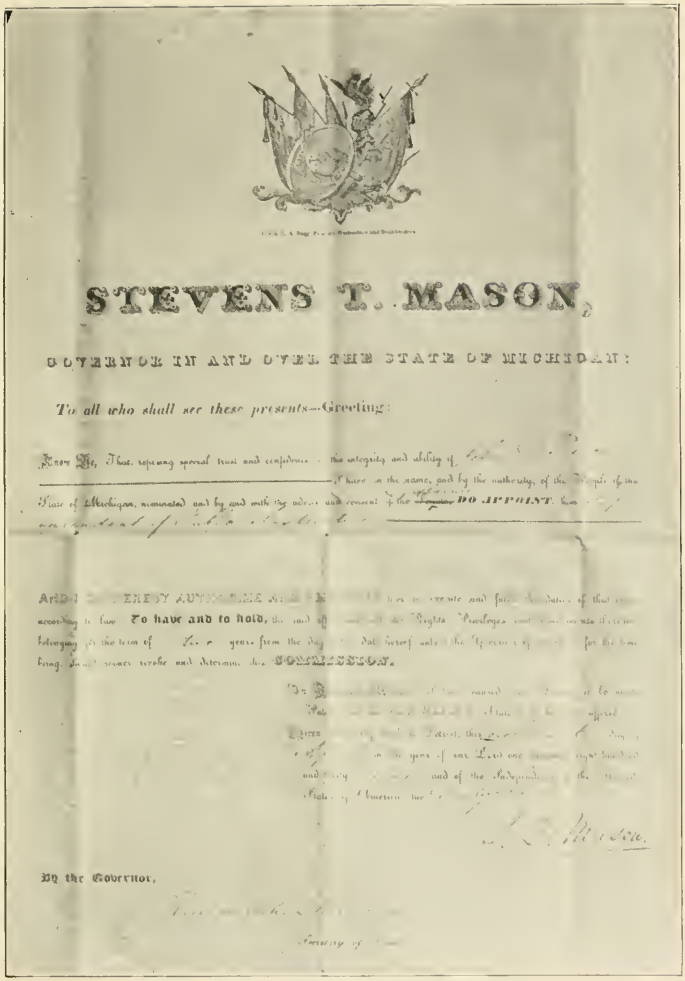
C. P. McIlvaine."

Mr. Pierce left no stone unturned to carry his point. He wrote in defense of the plan, he lobbied for it, he spoke for it. In 1838, while the matter was still in doubt he appealed to the Legislature in a report which closed as follows:—

"Deeming the question above discussed to be one of vital importance, the Superintendent has felt constrained, in the outset of that career of improvement on which the State seems disposed to enter, to present to the consideration of the Legislature his views in an extended form on the subject."

"It is to be borne in mind that the policy now adopted is destined to affect the literary standing and character of the State, not only for the time of the present generation, but so long as the republic and its institutions shall be preserved; nay, more,—so long as its name and the memorial of its deeds shall be read in story or in song."

Time has proved the wisdom of John D. Pierce's efforts here, and likewise in another matter which has almost escaped the attention of our historians. No sooner had Michigan become a State than a feeling of inflation seized the minds of our law makers—they were ready to countenance any project from a trans-state canal to wild-cat banking, and so it was not difficult to get a law passed authorizing the regents to procure plans for a great university building,—plans which should become binding upon the state when approved by the governor and the superintendent of public instruction. As finally presented by the architect the specifications called for the expenditure of half a million dollars. Mr. Pierce would not approve them, urging as his reason that it was not good sense to pay so much for a building that the academic work would be crippled. A university consisted not alone in buildings, but also in skilled teachers, libraries, and appliances.



STEVENS T. MASON,

GOVERNOR IN AND OVER THE STATE OF MICHIGAN:

To all who shall see these presents—Greeting:

Know Ye, That, reposing special trust and confidence in the integrity and ability of [illegible] I have in the name, and by the authority, of the People of the State of Michigan, nominated and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate DO APPOINT [illegible]

AND [illegible] HEREBY AUTHORIZE AND [illegible] to execute and fulfil the duties of that office according to law. To have and to hold, the said office [illegible] Rights, Privileges and Emoluments thereunto belonging, for the term of [illegible] years from the day [illegible] date hereof, unless the Senate of [illegible] for the time being, shall sooner revoke and determine the COMMISSION.

[illegible]

By the Governor,

[illegible]

Secretary of State.

MR. PIERCE'S COMMISSION AS SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

The stand taken by Mr. Pierce called down upon him a storm of denunciation, but he was unmoved, and his firm attitude defeated the scheme. After the lapse of almost seventy years, we now see how much wiser he was than his contemporaries.

In connection with what he did for education at this time, one must not forget to mention his founding of *The Journal of Education*. The publication lasted only two years, 1838-1840, but in that time it circulated generally throughout the state in the interests of education, and was an able advocate of our common and higher school systems.[1] A more detailed account of the *Journal* appears in Chapter XIII.

[1] Pierce—*History of Calhoun County*, Philadelphia, 1887, p. 32.

CHAPTER IX.

THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE STATE

A man's philosophy will determine the character of his educational doctrine. The world may value him from the standpoint of his ability to organize and direct its affairs, but beneath the surface there are certain great principles which may never have been formulated into a regular system. Such a man would be regarded as a "doer of deeds," and his worth would be estimated accordingly. If the results of his labors be subjected to a close analysis, and each step be interpreted in terms of his public life and utterances, the whole may be again formulated into a definite theory of education.

Education, as an abstract term, stands for that maturing process by which the individual child adjusts himself to the spiritual environment, which is the achievement of the race. Society creates an aim or ideal, and establishes schools for the realization of it. Its agents devise ways and means by which the will of the social whole becomes a reality. In this way, a school system originates. The educator or the philosopher may be called a leader, but in reality he is directed by the society, of which he is a member.

It is hoped that an application of these simple principles will assist us in the task of formulating the educational theory and doctrine of John D. Pierce. The sources employed are: First, the results of his labors as embodied in our magnificent school system, organized under his master hand, and next his public utterances as recorded in his annual reports, printed addresses, and numerous unpublished manuscripts.

We have seen something of the man himself and the circumstances under which he was developed; we have examined the great body of ideas which influenced him, and we shall now

make the attempt to assemble his thoughts in a systematic way, and to formulate them into a related system and theory.

Education is, primarily, for the individual himself, and, incidentally, for the perpetuation and glory of the state. Each is mutually dependent upon the other. The individual, therefore, has a two-fold function and performs a double duty—a duty to himself and a duty to others, through society.

As we look upon the beauties of nature and see the manifestations of the wisdom of a wise Creator, everything is hopeful. "Whatever may have been the forbidding aspect of the past, and whatever may be the indications of the future, a noble destiny awaits the race. The earth is to be a delightsome land—a garden of paradise, filled with a ransomed, joyous people." Man's high destiny is certain, and the future is perfect. Man is, therefore, placed in a beautiful environment. His universe is under a perfect and pre-established law, and everything moves with certainty and in perfect harmony. Stability, beauty and order characterize everything. Man has every faculty of soul, every susceptibility of mind, and every taste combined in his noble existence. All is nicely and delicately adjusted and adapted to the full enjoyment of the same endless round of harmonious grandeur and existence, and thus he stood forth in his original condition, fully matured, and the noblest product of the Creator's workmanship. But through sin he became incapable of the fullest enjoyment of Nature and Nature's God, and, though he lived with his fellow man in society, and seemingly is in perfect harmony with all creation, this cannot be truly real until he, in the exercise of his free will, accepts the ransom and follows the example of the Perfect man;—"A man more noble and exalted shall reign in righteousness. Behold the man, the perfection of beauty,—he shall repair the ruin, and in him all the kindreds of the earth be blessed." Mr. Pierce then proceeds to show that originally the Church was the institution ordained for the purpose of leading man into the perfect life, but, with the development of the state through the home, the creation of the school became one of the great institutions, to be used by the state to bring man back into harmony with the universe, and, by so doing, consummate a

double purpose—the perfection of the individual character, and through it, make secure the perpetuation of the state. The state, in caring for the individual, makes itself secure; the individual, in accepting this bounty, is insured freedom and happiness. This will afford a solution of the great world question—of the relation of the man to the institution—and, at the same time, recognize the equal importance of Church and State. The one, cultivating the feelings; and the other, exercising the powers of reason. Therefore, he says; "Let the school house and the church be planted, as they ever have been, in every village and hamlet throughout the length and breadth of our land, and no tyrant can ever arise that shall be strong enough to trample upon and tread down the rights of the people."

This was the philosophy of education which actuated Mr. Pierce in the organization of the Michigan System. It will be necessary, however, to examine his conception of the state and the individual, and their mutual relationship, in greater detail, before we can form an adequate idea of his meaning of education, or understand the reasons for the means adopted in the realization of its aim.

Nowhere in his writings does he clearly define the state. It is left to the reader to infer his meaning from what he says regarding the individual, and his rights and duties. He speaks of the obligations and prerogatives of the state, and the relations which exist between the individual and it. While the state appears supreme, it is always the citizen that makes it what it is. Our form of government assumes to be founded on those principles. Knowledge is an element essential to its existence and vigorous action; perpetuation of the government, and the sovereignty of the state depend upon the intelligence of the citizen, and education secures the state against the encroachment of power, removes superstition and ignorance, and makes the man free; therefore, education is an affair of the state.

The distinction between noble and ignoble birth is a fiction of the imagination, because all men have one common Creator and are born free and equal. "The blood of the hard-handed laborer is just as royal as that of the king on the throne." Men are

equal and free under the law, but they can only maintain this through the acquisition of knowledge. As the rich treasures of learning are not gained by inheritance, and as there is no such thing as innate, inbred, hereditary knowledge, freedom and equality depend upon education; and, as the care of the whole depends upon the care for the individual, the glory and perpetuation of the state depends upon qualifying the individual to think for himself, to reason and judge correctly, and to pursue a just line of policy and conduct in all things pertaining to his own interests and public welfare.

The individual, Mr. Pierce shows, has certain rights as an individual and certain others which he may claim as a citizen. These rights are either natural or acquired. The possession of rights involves the discharge of duty. These rights and duties are carried forward into the state because, as the state is composed of individuals, the individvals composing it must transfer certain of their natural rights to the state, and are, therefore, under obligation to perform certain duties imposed upon them by the majority. The state, on the contrary, having been created by man, and, having accepted or assumed these obligations, likewise acquires rights and duties which the individual is bound to respect, and which the state is equally as bound to observe.

It is on this philosophy that Mr. Pierce bases his argument for free and universal education, The line of reasoning was not original with him. It has been employed by others, but it is of interest to us because he put the theory into practice. His contention is for the stability of the government and the perpetuation of the state. This stability depends upon the intelligence of the citizen, who has been made such by the state, while intelligent citizenship insures the greatest personal freedom.

How the people are to know and to preserve to themselves the sacred rights which belong to the nature of man as a rational and responsible agent, is a question of thrilling interest. These rights are individual, social, civil, political, and religious. Man's greatest right is the right to think for himself; but in order to be qualified to do this for the best good of himself and others, he must be made intelligent. He says: "Under a free government

like ours, the all important object to be gained is to qualify each individual to think for himself, to reason and judge correctly, and to pursue a just line of policy and conduct in all things pertaining to his own interests and public welfare." Education, therefore, is the only safeguard of public and private rights, and the future permanence and character of our institutions depend upon the degree of education in our citizen. The man can only become the citizen through education. "He may be born to vast estates, to untold riches and honor, and come into possession of titles, coronets, scepters, diadems and crowns, but no man was ever born a statesman, or a poet, or a philosopher, mechanic, or teacher . . . . . all was acquired by education, by the culture of the original faculties and susceptibilities of human nature, and by close application to study."

Mr. Pierce saw a danger which threatened the state, and which he hoped to avert by universal education. He saw clearly the danger that would result from the concentration of wealth and power in the hands of the privileged few, and he saw equally as clear that the only remedy would be universal and free education. "All classes must be thoroughly educated in the principles of true wisdom and virtue, and be made fully acquainted with the great doctrines of individual, civil, and political rights."

The various activities of life spring out of the many and varied relations which the individual maintains under the different institutions of civilization,—in the home, the state, or the church. He must learn and practice these duties, that he may enjoy his rights. There are duties which men owe to each other as rational and moral beings; duties which they owe to the state that sustains them, and duties which they owe to the government of the state that protects them. These duties grow out of the relations which they bear to each other, to the state and to its government, and the child can only become the man, fitted to assume and perform these functions, by education. He must live and mature in and by the institutions which he hopes to serve, protect and perpetuate, and which are bound to bestow upon him his just and equal rights. Therefore, the state must educate for the sake of the individual.

The state, according to his views, is much more than an aggregate of individuals. He recognizes it as a spiritual creation, with supreme rights and duties. It must be protected, and is under obligation to protect; therefore, the state has the right to demand obedience to certain of its prerogatives. The most important of these, and the one which Mr. Pierce most often emphasized, is education. The object to be attained is the welfare of the individual and the security of the state. To secure this object the individual must be educated, and hence the state has the right to require it of all children and youth, and to impose upon all, to whom their management and care is committed, the duty of educating them, and, if they cannot do it themselves, to send them to the public schools. "This," he says, "is the very letter and spirit of the Prussian law," and it was the essence of the argument employed by him when he recommended and urged the school system which was adopted.

In thus stating a need for education, he laid the foundation for a wise system. The individual stands ahead of the state, because the safety and security of the government depends upon the intelligence of the citizen. Mr. Pierce was exceedingly optimistic in all things. He saw, with a clear vision, the great possibilities of the State of Michigan, when her resources should be fully developed. He saw that the labor expended in the cultivation of the soil, in the general improvement of the country, in the formation of her institutions, and the support of government would produce great results, and that, to maintain this supremacy and advance to new vantage ground, educated men were necessary. "We cannot do without them; without them we cannot advance or even hold our present position." Yet he was apprehensive of danger, and saw a possible failure in the experiment of government. The people were not yet far enough removed from the great struggle for liberty to feel secure in it, and it was his desire to build on a foundation so solid that disaster could not overtake them. In the American colonies, the transfer of sovereignty from crown to people was a successful experiment because of the general diffusion of knowledge;

therefore, he again and again expresses the thought that universal education is necessary to perpetuate the institution.

In his first annual Report, after showing that instruction should be co-extensive with universal suffrage, and that an unenlightened mind is never recognized by the genius of a republican government, and that the will of the many is the supreme law of the land and is generally obeyed, he reposes perfect confidence in an enlightened public opinion, and believes that it is sufficient to cure all evils and avert every danger. The question is then raised: Can any plan be devised by which the principles of virtue and knowledge can be so diffused among the great body of the people as the existence and perpetuity of our institutions seem to require? This question can be answered in one way only, viz., by a carefully planned system of free schools which ought, therefore, to be the property and care of the State.

In his third report, in speaking of this subject, he says: "Our safety is not in constitutions and forms of government, for no constitution within the power of man to devise can provide such security, but in the establishment of a right system of general education, is the development and culture of these moral, and intellectual powers implanted in the nature of man. Would Michigan attain a high rank and an honorable distinction in this matchless confederacy of states, let perseverance be written upon the walls of her capitol, and let this be the watchword of the people, till every child in the state shall be thoroughly educated and fitted to fulfill his duty faithfully to his country and his God."

Having completed his work of organization, he still urges, in his fifth report, the necessity of education in the following words: "We must multiply our school houses, educate teachers, furnish books, procure libraries, and provide, indeed, all the necessary means of instruction for the whole population, or increase greatly the number of our jails, penitentaries and standing armies." "We must educate, or forge bars, bolts and chains."

Mr. Pierce's theory of the relation of the individual and the state is fundamental, and, as will be seen, affords the surest basis

for a free and universal educational system. The importance of the man and citizens, and the sacredness of his individuality, are ever to be regarded. The state, however, is supreme, but depends for its safety on the character of the elements composing it. The child is born into the state and must grow up under its fostering care. For the first years of its life, the home, protected by the state, must undertake its education; later, the school, which is created by the state for a specific purpose, undertakes what the home cannot do. As the state depends upon the school for its prosperity, so the school depends upon the home for the proper discharge of its function; hence the duty of parents and heads of families to use their authority in restraining their children and to instruct them in everything which relates to their duty to their God, their fellow man, and to themselves.

Education is necessary in order to bring man into a perfect harmony with his surroundings and the great universe, so that he may be of the greatest service to the government. Every human being has a right to a good education. The state is under obligation to furnish it, and property is liable for it; and, as a failure to do this imperils the state, its duty it is to see that every child within its boundaries is properly educated.

Such are the principles that were in the mind of the founder of Michigan's school system when he adapted the old to the new.

CHAPTER X.

THE MEANING AND AIM OF EDUCATION

Superintendent Pierce's views upon the meaning and aim of education were broad and comprehensive. He did not write upon the subject of education in a scientific way, or for the sake of the subject itself, but he gave expression to his views in order that he might convince men of its meaning and value and thus induce them to adopt new ways and means adapted to the organization of a new system of education. He might not have been conscious that his was a system, as such, and it may not be even so regarded by educators, yet, by gathering up and articulating all the elements, one discovers certain great principles which guided him in his work and which have served to direct his followers ever since.

We have seen how by virtue of his theory of the state and the mutual relations between it and the individual, free and universal education was necessary. It is now pertinent to inquire what he meant by the term education and what was included in its aim and design. He firmly believed that in order to preserve the principle of civil and religious liberty, perpetuate free institutions, transmit to posterity a government based upon the rights of man and, finally, to rear a great citizen, the permanent foundations of knowledge and virtue must be made broad and deep. Therefore, "the design of education is to invigorate the constitution, polish the outward man, refine the taste, improve the moral faculties, strengthen the intellect, store the understanding, and develop all the powers of the mind. The end to be gained is to fit human beings for usefulness, to make them happy in themselves, while they are a blessing to their fellows, and to conduct them on through all the vivid scenes of time to a glorious termination of this earthly career, to a higher, purer and better life."

The aim of education may rest on an ethical basis and may mean much or little; but when, as above, it is given an ethical, social and religious foundation, it must comprehend all of man's acts and include all of his relationships. A knowledge of all these relationships gives a meaning to education. Education, he says, is not for the sake of a man as an individual alone, but that he may become an efficient and valuable member of society; therefore, there must be included in the ethical idea that of the social aspect of man. It is curious and interesting to notice that much that is now said regarding the social aspects of education were fully anticipated by "Father" Pierce.

He shows that education is the development of a human being, the maturing of a child into a man and a citizen. Such being the case, two presuppositions are necessary, a being, endowed with a free will capable of being developed, and the means or the agencies that he himself may use to effect this matured condition. It is education and study, and long-continued perseverance and application, and not wealth or power or birth that makes the man. Education, according to Mr. Pierce, means self effort. This is good old fashioned doctrine and means something more than mere development on the part of a teacher, or the awakening of an interest that is for the passing hour. How well the application of this theory to the schools of Michigan has succeeded in the last fifty years, is shown in the lives of the men that have been produced in these schools.

"By means of the public schools, the poor boy of today, without the protection of father or mother, may be the man of learning and influence tomorrow; and he may accumulate and die the possessor of tens of thousands; he may even reach the highest station in the republic, and the treasures of his mind may be the richest legacy of the present to the coming generations."

These words, written seventy-five years ago when our State was an unbroken wilderness, and schools were unorganized, speak the ideal of the writer, who saw clearly the untold possibilities that would be afforded by an education which would unfold the hidden mysteries of creation, and enable him to arrive

at the highest degree of physical, intellectual and moral attainment. This would make him an efficient human being, a true man and a citizen. He would possess then not mere intelligence, but the actual knowledge which is required in every department of government, legislation, and jurisprudence, and in the daily execution of laws, in business transactions, manufacturing, commerce, agriculture, internal improvements, architecture, gardening, finance, law, medicine, theology and teaching. This is his great aim in education, and it always implies manly independence in thinking. Mr. Pierce calls this true moral courage. It is in this way that man makes himself proficient and by so doing becomes efficient in society; therefore, the more important design of education is to fit human beings to move in all the varied circumstances of life, with honor to themselves, and to be a blessing and not a curse to their fellow-men. "The object of education is to raise up, not to pull down; to improve the condition of man, to advance the interests of the whole people, while increasing the individual happiness and prosperity of every member of the commonwealth, and, if education will thus result in the perfection of government, it will also lead to the like perfection in science, in the arts and in every kind of improvement."

Having now seen what led Mr. Pierce to the formulation of an educational aim, let us examine into the meaning which he attaches to the term education.

Education is the entrance of a human being into an inheritance, and the accepting and using of his inheritance to fit him to transmit it to succeeding generations, not only unimpaired, but improved. He did not see, in the inheritance transmitted that of the whole race, but he did see that which had been derived from a high-minded, intelligent, educated, moral and religious ancestry. These men had lived and had formed institutions under trying circumstances. They lived as the whole world had lived, and gave to their children free institutions, equal laws, personal, civil and religious liberty, and the choicest form of government on earth. It is necessary, therefore, if the succeeding generations are to improve and perpetuate the same,

that they be brought into possession of this world experience by becoming a part of it. By means of education, therefore, humanity, in coming into its inheritance, gains power and efficiency and the state as an institution is saved from disaster and ruin.

More recent writers upon education have spoken of man's inheritance and its relation to his education in a more concrete way, perhaps, but nowhere do we find one who has incorporated the idea into a philosophy, or made it the basis of his educational theory in a more practical way than did Mr. Pierce.

Education is a developing, maturing process. Man with an inherited organism is born into a natural and social environment; he is developed in and by this environment upon which he reacts. In one place he says: "To educate is to draw out, unfold, develop, enlarge, and strengthen all the powers, faculties and susceptibilities of human nature. Education is the great business of human existence." This leaves us in doubt as to the way in which the process of development will be originated, or carried forward. Is to be from within or from without? Is a child to be educated by giving him a knowledge of the world and of things, or does he become developed through his own self exertion? In answering these questions, he says, first, that to be successful in teaching, the laws by which the mind is governed in the acquisition of knowledge must be known, and because in infancy the body and mind are plastic, it is the design of education to take this feeble and helpless being, strengthen all his powers, and nurture him into vigorous manhood. This is to be done by the communication and reception of knowledge. When he speaks of the "design of education," the term education is spoken of as a concrete rather than an abstract term, and he doubtless has in mind the organized agencies of education—the home and the school. The teacher communicates knowledge and the child receives it, and by so doing develops or matures. The character of this development and the results, as they are shown or expressed in life, will largely depend upon the kind of knowledge communicated, and the manner in which it is brought to the child.

Education is, therefore, a subject of immense magnitude and

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comprises more than is generally supposed. All that a civilized man is when he grows to maturity, more than he is at birth is the result of education in the widest sense of the term. As progress is the great law of human existence, and, as education commences with the first dawn of being and is not complete until there is nothing more for man to learn, the most important meaning to attach to the term education is that it is a process of adjustment through development.

A child is educated by acquiring knowledge. This may mean that in the acquiring of knowledge he becomes educated, or that the acquiring of knowledge is the end sought. More than once does Mr. Pierce tell us of his belief in the harmony and unity of the universe and of the reign of a universal law; and so, when he speaks of all the principles of knowledge as parts of one great and glorious whole, we are reminded of the modern conception of "education as world building," and come to the conclusion that it was his thought that knowledge itself is not the end of education. He speaks of the boundaries of human knowledge and the limits beyond which it is useless for man in his present state to attempt to go. And when he tells us that "when all is known of matter in all its forms, modifications, motions, powers, laws, relations, and dependencies that can be learned; when the universe of mind is fully surveyed and all is known of its mighty energies, susceptibilities, high emotions, connections, duties and destinies that can be learned,—then a man's education is finished," we can draw but one inference regarding the value of knowledge,—that "the great object gained is a well balanced mind." That man is the best educated who has acquired a knowledge of the existence of things and who has become acquainted with their most intimate and important relations, if his physical, intellectual, and moral faculties are developed in just and equal proportions.

The foregoing is sufficient to show that Mr. Pierce entertained definite views upon the value of religious instruction, for in his day schools were distinctly religious in their character, and it was not necessary to say anything in favor of religious teaching in

them. His entire theory of education presupposes this. It is true that he believed that the state university should be undenominational in its teachings; it could be none other than this and be supported by a state composed of individuals of all denominations, but this did not mean that the separation of church and state should result in the taking of all religious teaching away from the common schools. His religious standards were high, and the demands for citizens of the highest and best character, led him to the common school to furnish this. He would teach religion by having the teacher teach religiously.

Instruction is the means by which a human being becomes educated. Mr. Pierce is clear in his statements upon this point. He speaks of education as a means or process that makes a man and, at the same time, "makes the state and exalts it to empire." And as superior knowledge gives a power of mind over matter, education is an all important end to be pursued through life. But instruction is the presentation of facts, the communication of light and knowledge and is, therefore, only a means to an end. The following quotation makes his meaning clear; "The primary signification of the word educate is to draw out, while the original meaning of instruct is to pour in; to educate is to unfold, to develop all the powers of the nature of man, while to instruct is to communicate facts. Education is the end, and instruction the means of accomplishing that end;" and finally, in his address, delivered at the dedication of the State Normal School, at Ypsilanti, his definition of education seems to be the summary of his life thought and experience. He says: "Education comprehends all that series of instruction and discipline which is intended to enlighten the understanding, correct the temper and form the manners of youth and fit them for usefulness in their future stations of life."

Having given education a meaning and fixed its aim, he next seeks for a realization and accomplishment of all this. How can the ideal of education be realized? How can the aim which has been set up become actual in the life of the man and the citizen? This is first answered by viewing education as a science and an

art and, then, by providing the agencies whose function shall be to execute the principles and realize them as an art.

Education is to be regarded both as a science and as an art. It is a science because it has its distinct subject, its distinct object and is governed by its own peculiar laws. It is the object of the science of education, while it communicates in a given time the greatest amount of knowledge, to render mind the fittest instrument for discovering, applying and obeying the laws of the universe in which the man is placed. If education is a science, it can only be understood by study. But, like other sciences, it has its corresponding art,—the art of teaching, and hence results the profession of the teacher. If teaching then be an art, it can only be successfully practiced by one who has had suitable preparation for his work.

A summary of Mr. Pierce's views upon the meaning and aim of education may be stated as follows:

Expressing the aim in ethical terms, it should include everything that is social and religious. The state should aim, by means of education, to procure efficient and intelligent citizens; while the home and the church, exercising their perogatives, should aim to produce strong, religious characters. This can be done only by organized means, hence the institutions concerned should aim to provide the best possible agencies by which these ends may be secured.

Education has been shown to be a maturing procsss,—the development of a human soul. Coördinate with this process and not as a result of it, the child, in becoming an educated man, enters into possession of his ancestral inheritance of institutional life. By virtue of his acquired efficiency, he transmits it to the future. In becoming educated, the child gains knowledge and power. Education is both a science and an art, and, as instruction is the means by which it is acquired, the highest and best understanding of this science and art is necessary for the training of those who are to carry on this great work of life.

ing & reflection will be readily formed in early life.
Experiment is another means of promoting a
good education. Children are fond of making ex-
periments - but parents are apt to repress the
spirit in their children - ~~but~~ nothing however can be
more injudicious - this disposition may be
regulated - may be guided - may need direction
but should never be repressed - it ought rather
to be encouraged. There are certain kinds of
knowledge, which can be acquired only by experience.
A knowledge of the laws of gravity - of weight - of the
resistance of bodies - of the effects of physical force
of the action of fire & water - of the results when dif-
ferent substances are brought in contact - A know

A PAGE OF MR. PIERCE'S MANUSCRIPT

CHAPTER XI.

EDUCATIONAL METHOD

Mr. Pierce was a practical teacher, as well as an organizer and writer upon education. He not only entertained clear convictions on all the educational questions of the day, and was able to sustain them by means of a sound philosophy, but he had had opportunity, in his younger days, to engage in the actual work of teaching. [1]

In one of his addresses, he gives us a description of his practical work. "I have," he said, "one word to say to such as mean to be teachers; it is a laborious employment. I seldom sat down from the time I entered the school room until I left it, besides teaching five evenings in the week. And I may be allowed to add that, though I have had one hundred pupils for the day and forty on my list for the evening, I never had occasion, except in one or two cases, to inflict corporal punishment; and yet we had order and stillness in school. I have, in times gone by, given instruction in all branches, and have made philosophical and chemical experiments, and have even carried into the school room the dissecting knife and showed to the young mind the peculiar structure of the eye, and the formation of the ear, and other things pertaining to the animal economy."

We can see in this account something of the man as a teacher, and it will not be difficult to perceive that in his methods he was far in advance of those employed in the school of his day. This method was not empirical, but was rational and was derived from fixed principles. Fortunately, he has left much that will serve us in our attempts to formulate these principles. We shall proceed to an examination of the foundation of his method, then to what he has to say about it, and, lastly, inquire into the ways and means to be used, in the actual application of the method to teaching.

[1] See page 60.

He was a psychologist of the old school. He understood the mind and the laws of its development and, in more than one instance, convinces the reader that he had come in touch with the newer psychology. He never refers to the doctrine of interest as such, makes no reference to apperception and does not plead for correlation. He lived before their time and yet he betrays the fact that, had he lived at the present, he would have given these notions a place in his system. He speaks of the importance of each person possessing a knowledge of himself, discusses the relation between matter and mind, and shows how each of these is affected by this relation. If the brain is the chief instrument of mind in all its operations, then whatever may affect the brain must necessarily affect the mind; hence, on account of the complex nature of man, it is of the highest degree important and essential that we have a correct knowledge of the intellectual, moral and religious nature. Such a knowledge can be secured in only one way; by self study, by turning our thoughts back upon ourselves for the purpose of observing these varied operations of the mind. This knowledge is essential and important to the teacher because his first work is to study the child and understand his nature, in order to develop his mind and, in the end, perfect his character.

Mr. Pierce tells us that one of the original, innate elements of the human mind is a desire for knowledge. It is not easy to understand his meaning. By taking into consideration all that he has said regarding the mind, we are led to think that he means that, as the child is brought into relationship with the things of his environment, and is led to interpret them in terms of what is already in his experience, his interest is aroused and as a result, he is induced to greater effort. This is a statement of the subjective condition of which the following is the objective: he says, that this desire is easily developed in children; they uniformly love to learn, and the more they study the more they wish to study, and the more they read the more they wish to read, provided the books, put within their reach, are what they should be, plain and easy to be understood and filled with useful and interesting matter.

His catalogue of the mental powers is interesting. "The rational nature is obviously three-fold, intellectual, moral and religious. The chief intellectual powers are perception, memory, reason, association of ideas, imagination and fancy; the moral powers are ability to distinguish between right and wrong, to will, to choose and refuse; while the affections, emotions and passions form the heart and constitute our religious being." He was an intellectualist and believes that the moral and religious nature are consequent to and grow out of the intellect.

He speaks of the mind perceiving the existence of objects and the relations by which they are connected. The mind then remembers and feels, combines and infers conclusions, and then acts or wills. This, he says, all takes place as a development and follows the course of nature, but it is necessary to know what this course of nature is; therefore, study nature. One might feel that he were reading Comenius when he comes to the following: "Nature begins at the lowest point, with the simplest things, and leads onward and upward, step by step."

He had made a close observation of the process of learning and speaks of it with a definiteness that does not leave one in doubt as to his meaning. He had observed that children learn the first principles of things and the elements of language with astonishing rapidity and ease, and that the abstract sciences require a fuller development of the intellectnal faculties, but in no place does he intimate a knowledge of the method to be employed in bringing about abstract thinking. He is satisfied with the mere observation, that the mind passes slowly from infancy, through childhood and youth, to mature age. The following quotation shows us what he understood by the learning process: "The process by which the child learns in the home is as follows: an object is presented, it is viewed perhaps as children are wont to do, examined more closely, the name of it is repeated and he associates with the object the name of it; whenever afterward the object is presented he calls it by name. The child has thus learned the sign of an idea, but, before learning it, he had acquired a knowledge of the thing signified by that sign." It is implied in what has been said that he would have the child do

those things that will interest him. Children, he says, are interested in study and their school work, but, because of an incomprehensible book or a poor teacher, this interest is soon lost and the teaching is a failure.

Mr. Pierce does not give us anywhere any statement that makes clear what he means by method. Had he been writing upon the subject of education as such, he might have done this; but he looked forward to an organized school system and therefore devoted his thought and attention more to the means to be employed in teaching than to a fixed method. He believed in the efficiency of new and better methods of instruction, which should be based upon the simplest principles of human nature. He says, "If the child is properly instructed, he will be taught thoroughly, and then the knowledge which he requires will be permanent and it will be communicated in the shortest time, which is an object of great moment." The nearest approach to a statement of method is in the following: "The faculties of our constitution are all invigorated by that exercise which is required in the acquisition of knowledge, but each must be duly exercised." Therefore, the great object of teaching, he argues, should be to impart, in a given period, the greatest amount of knowledge and the greatest degree of strength to each one of the original faculties. He would throw the teacher upon his own genius in devising his own special method, by throwing him back upon the days of his childhood and youth, and calling up a vivid recollection of his own history in the acquisition of knowledge.

Mr. Pierce saw very clearly that no matter how perfect the organization, or how well the detailed plans may have been prearranged, success could not come to any system of schools unless the proper methods were employed and the right agencies used for carrying it forward.

Acting, therefore, upon suggestions gained from his study of the Prussian system, he spoke in his report quite at length upon the necessity of trained teachers, the value of a proper course of study, books and libraries, school-houses and the necessary appliances. The suggestions he offered showed his wisdom and

foresight, and proved exceedingly helpful to the people in organizing their schools, and eventually became the origin of much that is valuable at the present.

He felt keenly that, no matter how perfect the organization of a system of schools in all of its varied departments might be, it must fail in securing the desired results without a sufficient number of competent teachers, and that it would be utterly impossible to elevate the schools and make them what they ought to be, to meet the just demands of all classes of the community, without elevating the character and rank of the teachers. He expresses his idea of the teacher in the following words: "There are chords in every human soul, and strings in every human heart, that may be touched and vibrate as they are touched, and it is the business of the teacher to do it. A perfect school system must have a living soul. The teacher is its life and vital energy, its pervading, innovating spirit."

Such was the ideal, but how was it possible to realize it? We have seen a picture of the school in the pioneer day and the incompetence of the teacher. Mr. Pierce saw this more clearly than anyone else, and, in his practical way, would attempt to remedy the evil by affording a means, first to educate and then to train teachers. The training of teachers was not an original idea with him. Europe had long before this opened normal schools. M. Cousin explained fully the Prussian plan of such schools, and the idea was fast gaining ground in the New England States.[1] It was not possible to provide such a school in the new state of Michigan, so Mr. Pierce did the only thing he could do under the circumstances. In his second annual report, he discloses his plan: "It would seem to be indispensably necessary, if the securing of competent teachers can be brought about in no other way, to appropriate a small percentage of the income of the school fund for the support of the department of teachers, to be established in the several branches of the university. The sole object of these branches is the ultimate supply of the district

[1] It is an interesting fact that the principal of the first normal school in Massachusetts established at Lexington in 1839, Rev. Cyrus Pierce, was a relative of John D. Pierce.

schools with competent teachers." This was the beginning of the normal school idea in Michigan. In the address which he gave at the opening of the first normal school at Ypsilanti, he said: "The object of this school is to qualify teachers for the great and important work of rearing up and training, in the first rudiments of knowledge, the children and youth of our state, and incidentally to this main design, to provide such, as may desire, the means of reaching a grade of education that may be obtained in the primary schools. It was earnestly desired by me, when the foundation of our school system was laid, that such an institution might be established. It has ever been my deliberate judgment that it was essential to perfect the system and ensure success. It is needed to occupy ground between the primary schools and the university."

Having shown the desirability of the trained and thorougly equipped teacher, he called attention next to the fact that the teacher must receive adequate compensation for the service rendered. While he would place the minimum salary at thirty dollars for men and fifteen dollars per month for women, we must remember that these figures at that time were relatively far above the average salary of the present. He argues that it would be unavailing to provide for the education of teachers unless the appreciation of this efficiency is expressed by a liberal compensation. "The difference between high and low wages," he wrote, "depends upon education, because the educated man has more intelligence and skill to combine with his labor than the ignorant, unlettered man." He believed that the minimum salary should be so fixed, that below this no teacher should be entitled to receive aid from the public fund, and that every teacher should have been through a regular course of training and have received, from the academic board, a diploma setting forth his qualifications as a teacher; and finally that the provisions of the law should be such that no township should be entitled to any portion of the income, from the public fund, which did not employ such qualified teachers.

A course of study is next in importance to the teacher, and Mr Pierce made some very interesting and valuable suggestions

upon the various subjects to be included in the curriculum. The elements of an education were, of course, reading, writing and arithmetic, and a good education he said might be acquired with these. He mentions, however, many other subjects such as physiology, psychology, civics, geography, grammar, history, surveying, engineering, botany, chemistry and geology. In all of his statements regarding the subjects to be taught, emphasis is placed upon the practical value of them. A study possesses value in proportion as it will give a man a broader view of life. The following excerpts from his writings, regarding the different subjects, will prove interesting reading and will fully illustrate his opinions.

READING

"A reading book is for improvement in the art of reading and hence should contain some variety of composition. Every piece should contain something entertaining and useful and be written in plain, simple and elegant language—in such language as children use, in language easy to understand. The reason why children read large portions of the Bible with interest, is because they understand the langauge."

SPELLING

"The object of a spelling book is not definition of words, but, as the designation imports, it is chiefly to teach correct orthography; and it should be specially adapted to this purpose."

"The principles of classification adopted by Webster have done more to promote uniformity of pronunciation among our people than all other causes combined."

"Children do not learn the meaning of words from books. This is done in the house and in the open field—in converse with nature."

ARITHMETIC

"The practice has been to require the youthful mind to commit to memory certain rules and thus to solve questions mechanically. On the other hand, when questions are solved by the process of reasoning, the mind is satisfied, it has the evidence

within itself that the solution is correct; and thus a rule is discovered that can never be forgotten."

"A child, old enough to know what addition is and how to perform the process, is just as capable of understanding the reason why one is carried for every ten, as any teacher."

LANGUAGE.

"In some schools Latin has been taught. I have taught it in a common school, I would not adopt any provision by which any knowledge would be excluded. I would make it imperative that the English language should be taught."

HISTORY AND CIVICS

"The history of our country is implied in a good education."

"Our young men in all conditions of life, should be taught the great principles of the constitution and laws of the State, and of the United States. No man can do his duty while ignorant of them."

GEOGRAPHY

"Education implies a knowledge of our country, its political and natural divisions, geological formation, its resources, soils, and commerce."

NATURE STUDY

"Children are fond of making experiments. The philosopher is allowed to make his, so should the child. More experiments should be introduced into our schools."

"No education can be regarded as complete without a knowledge of agriculture. Agriculture is most peculiarily adapted to give to a people that individuality of character which is essential to sustain republican institutions."

PHYSIOLOGY

"Children must be early informed of their bodily constitution. A man who knows what his physical condition is, and requires, will not be likely to be either a glutton or a drunkard, but temperate in all things."

Mr. Pierce believed the teacher to be superior to the book, and that the one who had been most thoroughly trained could do vastly more with the most ordinary book than the incompetent teacher could do with the best books ever written. He believed in good books, however, and felt that those in use were mere compilations gotten up for speculation, written by those in no way qualified to write for children. "Authors should throw themselves back to days of childhood and call to mind how children think, feel, and reason. The language should be pure and simple."

In his fifth annual report, Mr. Pierce published a list of the text-books then in use in the state. It will prove of interest to the reader to examine this list, and to notice the relative popularity of the different books, as indicated by the number of districts in which they were used.

Webster's elementary spelling book	548
Cobb's elementary spelling book	62
Town's elementary spelling book	14
Emerson's elementary spelling book	2
Olney's geography	315
Parley's geography	78
Woodbridge's geography	47
Smith's geography	89
Huntington's geography	17
Daboll's arithmetic	304
Cobb's arithmetic	3
Adams' arithmetic	103
Smith's arithmetic	119
Davis' arithmetic	15
Ostrander's arithmetic	31
Pike's arithmetic	5
Colburn's arithmetic	21
Kirkham's grammar	266
Murray's grammar	27
Smith's grammar	65
Brown's grammar	23
Greenleaf's grammar	6

Hale's history of the United States	145
Juvenile reader	49
National reader	7
English reader	371
Historical reader	20
Young reader	4
Porter's reader	4
Testament—used as reader	116
Webster's dictionary	13
Walker's dictionary	11

Mr. Pierce said that when the necessities of education are the greatest, then the difficulties are the greatest and the means the least. In his first report, he not only submitted the plan of a school house, but made some suggestions in regard to the construction of one. In the first place, he would have the entire premises, with all the appendages, the construction of the house and its internal arrangements, the picture of order, of neatness and comfort. The windows should be high, so as to prevent outdoor occurrences from attracting attention, also for the purpose of ventilation. The floor should be level. The temperature of the room should be kept at 60°, and there should be 21 cu. ft. of air to each pupil. He recommended farther that the seats should be so constructed as to conform to the natural curve of the back of the child.

At the close of his term of office, he wrote as follows regarding school houses:

"Large sums have been raised for the erection of school houses. True, many of them are built of logs, and might be taken by some unreflecting passerby from some of our large and wealthy cities, as evidence that little or no interest is felt in schools; but it is to be remembered that the buildings, though rude they may be, are as good as the circumstances of a people in their infancy will allow—good, indeed, as their own dwellings."

We have now traced the philosophical theory of the state and its relation to the individual; and have seen how it gives a meaning to education and fixes its aim. We have seen how the method and the means for its accomplishment grew out of all

this, and how Mr. Pierce adapted these ideals to the pioneer conditions incident to the organization of a new state. We shall next see how he actually organized Michigan's school system.

CHAPTER XII.

ORGANIZED EDUCATION.

Mr. Pierce entered upon the work of organizing the school system of Michigan, which had fortunately been assigned to him by the Governer of the State, with a rare intelligence. For nearly five years he labored with untiring zeal and vigor.

Prof. McLaughlin says of him:—[1]

"He combined rare philosophical grasp with genuine practical sagacity, and at once began the duties of a new office in a way that inspired confidence and had immediate effect,"

He was well prepared to undertake this work, having been trained and educated in the East, and having, in the exercise of the ministerial function, had the greatest opportunity and leisure for the study of the great educational questions of the day. He had read extensively, and had been a keen student of men and affairs. As a man, he had the courage of his convictions. He possessed excellent executive ability, and, having clearly perceived the conditions and needs of the new state, he brought all of his powers to bear upon the means at his command to produce enduring and practical results. No sooner had he received his commission as Superintendent of Public Instruction, than an act was passed by the legislature instructing him to prepare and submit a plan for the organization and support of primary schools; a plan for a university and its branches; also, a plan for the disposition of the university and primary school lands. He says, regarding this act:—

"This was the first work assigned me to do, and I had five months before me in which to do it. The field was clear; there were no old institutions and deep-rooted prejudices to be encountered and removed."

[1] *Organization of the State University. Circular of Information*, No 4, p. 35. Bureau of Education.

In order to fully prepare himself to execute this commission and to discharge the duties of his office in an acceptable and satisfactory manner, he made a visit to Massachusetts and the eastern states, as has been shown above.[1] The object of this visit was to make a careful study of educational questions, and to seek information in regard to the organization, management and support of schools from the primary grades to the university.

He was absent two months. Upon his return, he formulated a report in which he discussed, in a clear and forcible manner, all of the questions involved, and submitted to the legislature a detailed plan which, with few exceptions and minor modifications, was adopted and embodied in the laws of the state.

In order to form an adequate idea of what he proposed regarding the organization of the common schools, it will be necessary to examine Mr. Pierce's first report somewhat in detail In the preceding chapters reference was made to this and his subsequent reports, as furnishing the material for the construction of his educational views into a rational unit. As these reports are inaccessible to the general reader, there being only a limited number of copies in existence, it is proposed to quote quite extensively. This is done in order that the reader may have a statement of Mr. Pierce's views, and be left free to compare the same with the actual organization of the schools as they are now.

Two important and fundamental educational problems presented themselves to Mr. Pierce for solution. 1) The proper distribution of the school funds; and 2) How to secure an organized body of officers to administer the affairs of the school.

The success or failure of the entire system would necessarily depend upon the disposition which should be made of these questions. It was seen to be necessary and important that the distribution of the income arising from the sale or leasing of public lands should be based on broad principles which would have a strong tendency "to stimulate to exertion and secure the co-operation of the greatest numbers in promoting the cause of education." Mr. Pierce was of the opinion that the distribution of this income, in its proper place, could be so made from year to

[1] See page 82.

year, that the ends sought would be gained. Accordingly, it was proposed that all districts, failing to comply with the law, should be deprived of their share of the income.

The success of this proposed plan would not be assured, however, without an efficient school board, to be elected by the people. Upon the wisdom, fidelity, and zeal of the board, the success of the whole system would, in a great measure, depend. The school board must be given legislative and executive powers, and the men composing it must be regarded as trustees of the people, deputed to fulfill certain important trusts. Mr. Pierce wrote as follows regarding this:—

"There must be simplicity, combined with activity and energy. Let the agents be few; let their duties be clearly defined, and let them, as in the Prussian system, be paid for their services. The time of every man is his property, and cannot, either justly or constitutionally, be taken and given to the public without remuneration."

Mr. Pierce accordingly submitted to the legislature a plan in harmony with the above-named principles, and which was substantially as follows:—

The unit of the system shall be the school district. It must be invested with certain well defined corporation powers, and must be held responsible for the performance of certain well defined duties. The district must make provision for the erection of all buildings, and must provide the necessary school appliances. For this, as well as for library purposes, it may levy a tax. Suitable officers, whose duties must be defined by law, must be elected; only properly qualified teachers are to be employed, and a school must be maintained at least three months in the year. The officers composing the district board were called the moderator, director and assessor, and the duties imposed on them, severally and collectively, were but little different from those printed in the present school law.

There seems to be little doubt that Mr. Pierce was influenced by the Report of the Prussian System in the choice of the school district as the unit of his system. It corresponds to the parish mentioned in the report, but with this difference, that

much more power was placed in the hands of the people under the Michigan system than was delegated to them under the Prussian law. The Prussian school system was highly centralized. It was Mr. Pierce's idea that, while the schools were always to be kept, as an organized unitary system, under the control of a central authority, much power should be retained and exercised by the people, and the will of the majority in the unit should always prevail, so long as the will did not conflict with the will of the great majority.

The next division of the system, regarded from the standpoint of importance and size, was the township, which was, like the district, a corporate body with specific functions, and endowed with rights and charged with duties. It will be recalled that at one time previous to this, the township, as in the east, had been the unit of the system. The township was enjoined to raise an amount of money equal to the amount received from the school fund. It was required that a board of school inspectors be chosen by the people. It was the duty of this board to attend to the formation of new districts, inspect the schools and teachers, apportion the money received from the income of the school fund, among several districts, and to make annual reports to the superintendent of public instruction. The points of similarity between the township and the circle of the Prussian system, while they may be incidental, are quite plainly observable.

Mr. Pierce believed in the value of the public library, and felt that it should be so arranged as to be easy of access to the greatest number of people. Accordingly, he recommended that provision be made for a library in every school district, and this plan was incorporated in the school law. The success and extension of school librararies in Michigan in recent years is the most fitting testimonial of the value of this suggestion, and is the best realization of the ideals of the founder and organizer of our school system. Quoting from his third report, he says:—

"To accomplish the greatest degree of good in our state, district libraries must be established; not only that the useful information contained in well selected books may be generally con-

veyed, but that the teachers may have the benefit of acquiring the most extended knowledge."

But unless some attention were given to the material organization of a school, any theory would prove unavailing and futile. Michigan had but few school buildings in 1837, and these were poor ones. The superintendent, recognizing the importance of the immediate construction of good and comfortable ones, called attention to this important subject. The following was quoted from the report of the Prussian schools; Cousin said: "The ministry has shown the most praiseworthy perseverance in planning school houses. I have now under my eye a general order addressed to all the regencies, containing a detailed description of the best and most economical manner of building school houses. Their construction must not be left to experience or to an injudicious economy."

Acting upon these ideas, Mr. Pierce submitted a very carefully drawn ground plan of a model school house, together with the suggestions and directions which have been discussed in detail in a previous chapter. It is curious to note that nearly all of the older rural school houses in the state are constructed after this plan and in accordance with his wise suggestions.

It will be recalled that in the Catholepistemiad, according to the territorial act of 1821, a provision was made for the establishment of colleges, schools, and academies, by the board of trustees. Evidently Mr. Pierce was strongly impressed with this idea because he saw in the academy, as a branch of the university, not only a provision for secondary education and a preparatory school for the higher education, but an opportunity afforded for the education and training of teachers for the primary school. Accordingly, he recommended that these branches should have three departments: one for the higher branches of English education, which was designed to furnish a large class of persons with an opportunity for pursuing some branches of education in advance of that which could be done in the primary schools; one designed for classical education, designed for those who wished to fit themselves to enter the university; and one intended to prepare teachers for the elementary

schools. The last named department should have a course of instruction covering three years, and was to be open to all without charge, the sole condition being a promise to teach in the schools of the state for at least three years after graduation.

Any county was entitled to an academy by complying with the following conditions:—

The board of supervisors must secure an eligible site and cause the erection of suitable buildings, subject to the approval of the superintendent of public instruction. There was to be a board of trustees, consisting of seven persons, six of whom were to be appointed by the board of supervisors, and one by the superintendent of public instruction. The entire management of the academy was to be placed in the hands of this board, which was to appoint all professors and teachers, and was required to make a report each year to the board of visitors. The board of visitors was a sort of supervising body, consisting of three members, one of which was to be appointed by the board of supervisors, and two by the superintendent of public instruction. The duties of this board consisted in visiting the academy at its annual examination, inquiring into its condition, examining the proceedings of the board of trustees, and finally in making a report and forwarding it, together with the report of the board of trustees, to the superintendent of public instruction.

The board of supervisors was to secure from the county, for the support of the academy, a sum equal to that apportioned to it from the income of the university fund.

Mr. Pierce was, without doubt, largely influenced by the Prussian system in the formation of his plan for the academy. The academy was a combination of the Prussian gymnasium and the normal school, while the method and means for their management and supervision, especially regarding the close relationship borne to the central officer of the system, the superintendent, was a close copy of the Prussian system. There can be no doubt but that this proposed plan of the academy has finally evolved into the high school, normal school, and county normal.

Mr. Pierce's recommendations regarding the organization and maintenance of the university, and his many public utter-

ances regarding its value and prospective greatness, all furnish abundant evidence that his interest in this institution was great. It was his desire to make such a provision for a system of education in the new state that it should be broad, comprehensive, and of a permanent character. His plan was difficult of realization at the time of its proposal, yet the suggestions were so practical and valuable, and so far in advance of the conditions of the day, that we are only beginning to see their realization.

The following quotation from his first report will show his proposed plan for the organization of the university. He wrote:—

"In the organization of the university, it will be proper and necessary to create a board of Regents to superintend and manage its general concerns. The powers to be vested in this board and its duties may and ought to be prescribed by law. The board of Regents shall consist of the Governor, Lieutenant Governor, the Chief Justice and Associate Justices of the Supreme Court, Chancellor of the State, and Chancellor of the University, who shall be *ex officio* members, and twelve others to be appointed by the legislature. The Secretary of the State shall be *ex officio* Secretary of the board. The Board of Regents shall have the power, and it shall be their duty to enact laws for the government of the university, to confer degrees, to appoint a Chancellor and all professors and tutors, and to make a report annually to the Board of Visitors." There were to be three departments in the institution:

1. The department of science, literature and arts.
2. The department of law; and
3. The department of medicine.

It was further provided that the Board of Visitors, above referred to, should consist of five members, and should be appointed by the superintendent of public instruction. The Board of Regents was required by law to make regular reports to this board, and they exercised supervisory powers somewhat similar to those exercised by the similar board for the academies. We are again reminded of the Prussian system in the similarity

between the board of visitors and the council chosen by the minister of education.

This is not the place to trace the development of the university farther. Enough has been given to show that Mr. Pierce clearly saw the present and future needs of the commonwealth, and that, with the development of the natural resources of the state, the demand for educational facilities of the higher kind would be increasingly greater. Twenty years later, he said, in a public address:—

"To perfect our school system and render it complete in all its parts, the University of the State must take and maintain a high and elevated position. It must be the polished key stone of the grand arch; it must be adorned with all the graces of high literary attainments."

Mr. Pierce held the opinion that the office of superintendent of public instruction was a very important and responsible one, and that this officer should be endowed with extensive powers. The spirit of centralization is everywhere apparent, and the Prussian minister of instruction was his model in the formulation of his duties. The more important recommendations in respect to this officer were as follows:—

1. To submit to the legislature an annual report exhibiting the condition of the university and of the primary school funds, also of the primary schools and of the university and its branches.

2. To prepare suitable forms for making reports required of district, township, academic and university boards, and to make all suitable regulations for conducting all proceedings under the law relating to public instruction.

3. To appoint the prescribed number of trustees and visitors in the different academic boards, and the annual board of visitors to the university.

4. To take charge of all university and school lands, and all other property reserved to the state for the purposes of education, and dispose of the same according to law.

5. To invest all moneys arising from the sale of such lands, as directed by law.

6. To apportion the income of the university fund among its branches and the parent institution, and, also, the income of the primary school fund among the several townships and cities of the state.

7. To hear and decide all questions arising under the public school system, the decision when made to be final.

In no other way did Mr. Pierce display so great ability as an organizer as in the administration of the public funds entrusted to his care. He favored the sale of land and the careful investment of the proceeds, the income from which should be faithfully devoted to the support of schools. That he did this well is shown by the results; for in his last annual report to the Legislature he shows the total receipts for his term of office to be $186,338.98, of which sum $135,648.84 belouged to the School Fund, and $50,690.14 to the University Fund. Of this sum $117,860.45 was invested, and the balance applied to the use of the schools.

In conclusion, the work of organization may be summarized as follows:—

1. Mr. Pierce entered upon the duties of Superintendent of Public Instruction, fully prepared to perform its duties. He reinforced this preparation by a careful study of home conditions and foreign influences.

2. The system was conceived as a unit under state control, yet not removed from the people, who were made to feel the responsibility of fostering the schools. At the head of the system stood a responsible officer, who was commissioned to exercise extensive powers of administration.

3. The plan of the primary schools for all of the people, the academies for secondary education and the preparation of teachers, and the university for higher education and the professions, paved the way for a graded system with all of its attendant institutions.

4. The public school fund and state aid to education emphasized state control, while necessity for direct and local taxation fostered direct interest in the schools by the people.

In the organization of the school system, the founder always emphasized the necessity of a centralized agency, and never lost

sight of the dignity and importance of his office. That this was true, and that he worked with an intelligent and untiring zeal, is well illustrated by a remark[1] of his, made upon the floor of the Constitutional Convention of 1850, when an attempt was made to belittle the office which he had held so successfully:—

"It has been said, I understand, that the office of Superintendent of Public Instruction has been a 'sinecure'. From my own personal experience, having had the honor to fill that office four and a half years, I may say it is not so. During that time I visited every organized county in the state, and drew up all the laws passed in that year in relation to common schools. In my first report I advocated that system which the state should adopt —that is the free school system. Why is it that Prussia stands at the head of education in Europe? For the simple reason, she has a Minister of Public Instruction to superintend and foster everything relating to the education of her people."

[1] See report, p. 535.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATION

The Journal of Education, founded, edited and published by John D. Pierce, the first educational paper in the state of Michigan and in fact in the whole Northwest, deserves more than a passing notice.

Doubtless but few teachers of the present generation have ever seen a copy of this paper, and many are unaware of the fact that it ever existed.

The writers have had the rare good fortune, through the kindness of a member of Mr. Pierce's family, to come into possession of the complete files of this journal, and are in this way able to place before the public, for the first time, a brief analysis and description of it. By setting forth its character, scope, and value, it is proposed to make a permanent and easily accessible record which it is hoped will prove of value for reference, and which will settle all controversies regarding the history of the Journal.

The Journal of Education was printed as an eight-page paper, ten by twelve inches in size, with three columns to the page. It was issued as a monthly and was continued during two years. The first number was dated Detroit, Michigan, March, 1838, and was edited by John D. Pierce. This arrangement was continued until the following November, when Mr. Pierce associated with himself Francis W. Shearman, later superintendent of public instruction, who assumed the editorship, a position which he held as long as the Journal continued to be published.

Until December, 1838, the Journal was printed by J. S. & S. A. Bagg, Printers, Detroit, Michigan, but with number ten of volume one, the place of publication was changed from Detroit to Marshall, the printing being done by Henry C. Bunce, of the latter place. The terms of subscription were "for a single copy,

JOURNAL OF EDUCATION.

[illegible]

MARSHALL MICHIGAN, MARCH [illegible]

JOURNAL OF EDUCATION

[illegible]

MISCELLANEOUS.

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PURCHASERS OF UNIVERSITY AND [illegible]

[illegible]

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75 cents, payable in all cases in advance," and Alexander McFarren, of Detroit, was the subscription agent.

Primarily, the Journal of Education was without doubt intended by Mr. Pierce as the official organ of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, to be used by that officer as a means of communication between himself and the subordinate school officials. This idea was probably suggested to him in reading Mr. Taylor's introduction to Cousin's report of the Prussian schools; moreover, such a medium seemed to be necessary, owing to the character of the Michigan School System and the extensive power vested in the superintendent. In conformity to a joint resolution of the Legislature, the Journal of Education was sent free to every school inspector in the state, but no provision having been made for the payment of postage, it was necessary that the recipients should pay one shilling postage in order to receive the paper. In an editorial, Mr. Pierce criticizes some of the inspectors for refusing to pay this sum, and deplores their lack of interest in education. In the second place, it was designed to make the Journal an educational magazine that should possess a marked literary and scientific character. In addition to the circulars of information and official instructions by the Superintendent, the editorials, articles on education, and selected matter were of a character calculated to arouse interest and afford instruction for both teacher and parent The only advertisements appearing were a limited number of book notices. The following motto appeared at the heading of each issue: "*Omnibus scientia, sicut omnibus suffragia: literis enim crescit respublica, et permanebit.*"

The plan of the paper was somewhat as follows: The first page was devoted to editorials concerning the live educational questions of the day. They were carefully prepared and to the point and, without doubt, exerted considerable influence in shaping public opinion. Following the editorials, there was usually an extended article or address, by a person of distinction, upon some subject relating to education. This was followed by circulars of information issued from time to time by the superintendent, interpretations of the school law, com-

munications and answers to questions, together with interesting items of school news from other states. The remainder of the Journal was filled with copied articles, from the pens of the best writers of the day, selected from the most highly literary magazines.

Space will not permit more than a cursory notice of the character and scope of each of the above mentioned departments, but the mere mention of some of the subjects and their authors will show the exceeding high grade of the Journal of Education. As one reads it today, almost seventy years after its publication, there is the conviction that it would rank at par with any educational paper now published.

Professor C. E. Stowe had been commissioned by the General Assembly of Ohio to visit Europe and to make a report upon elementary education.[1] This report was made by him in December, 1837, and was published in full in the first number of the Journal of Education.

M. Victor Cousin not only visited and made reports upon the condition of the Prussian schools, but upon those of other European countries as well. They were translated into English by Leonard Horner, of London, and were published in the *London Courier*. From time to time, these were printed in the Journal. This fact must have exerted no little influence upon Michigan schools, as it kept the people in touch with European school conditions.

Four pages of Number One are taken up with the publication of a report on vocal music as a branch of common school education, by T. B. Mason and C. Bucher.

There appears on page 12 of Vol. 1, the complete text of an address delivered by Mr. Pierce, at Detroit, on January 3, 1835, before a "Convention of teachers and other friends of universal education." In his address is to be found a complete exposition of his educational doctrine. On page 76 of Vol. 1, there may also be found an address by Mr. Pierce on "The present condition and future prospects of Michigan." This was given before the

[1] Report of the Commissioner of Education, 1897-98. Vol. 1, p. 622.

Young Men's Christian Association, of Marshall. His masterly review of the past showed his remarkable grasp of the general affairs of the state and nation, and his predictions for the future have been fully realized.

The following are some of the more extended articles which were copied from different sources:—Extracts from the examination of Dr. Nicholas Henry Julius before the education committee of the British House of Commons, July 7, 1834; Mr. Buckingham's lectures on geography, copied from the *New York Observer*; and a series of articles on the Abridged History of England, taken from the *Juvenile Repository*. From the *Tauton Whig*, we find a speech by Governor Everett, delivered at a meeting of the friends of education at Tauton, Mass. We also find a synopsis of a lecture by Theodore Dwight, Jr., on the management of a common school, delivered before the American Institute of Instruction, at Boston, in August, 1835.

In May, 1839, Mr. Crary made an address before the Calhoun County Association. This speech was reported in full, and a perusal of it convinces the reader of his earnestness in the cause of general and universal education, of the liberality and breadth of his views upon the subject, and of his thorough endorsement of the work of Superintendent Pierce.

It would be reasonable to suppose that something would appear regarding Horace Mann, as he was beginning to come into prominence about this time; but a careful search reveals only two short notices. In Number 12 of Vol. 1 of the Journal in speaking of some periodicals devoted to the cause of education, we read: "Common School Journal, edited by Horace Mann, and published at Boston. First number just issued." In the same number we also read: "A weekly course of lectures has been commenced in Boston by some of the most distinguished friends of education and chiefly practical instructors. Among them are the Rev. Jacob Abbott and Horace Mann, Esq., Secretary of the Board of Education."

Superintendent Pierce's circulars to school inspectors prove interesting reading, and serve to show strongly the executive side of his character. Reference is made to the necessity of the

preservation of school lands and of jealously guarding the funds resulting from their sale. Instructions are given relative to the formation and organization of new districts, the opening of schools, and the local administration of school affairs. Blank forms for school reports are printed, together with definite instructions for making them. In the supplement number, the full text of the school law is printed, together with explanations and interpretations of it. All questions referred to the Superintendent are fully answered in the Journal. There were also printed the reports of a number of important meetings that were held in the state.

The Michigan Historical Society met in Detroit Feb. 28, 1838. At this meeting, Hon. Lewis Cass, Minister at the Court of France, presented the "Pontiac Manuscript," narrating the circumstances of a conspiracy to take the Fort of Detroit by the Lake Indians, in 1763, and Dr. Z. Pitcher presented an original Indian deed of the date of 1771 for a farm in Springwells. Among the officers of this society, we find the names of John Biddle, C. C. Trowbridge, Dr. Douglas Houghton, and Dr. Abram Sager.

Quite an extended report of an "Education Convention," held in St. Joseph county, is printed. This convention was held for the purpose of considering the question of common schools, and to discuss the merits of the existing school laws. The persons participating in these discussions were representative citizens of the county. Similar meetings were held in Branch and Calhoun counties. The proceedings of these and other meetings were reported by Mr. Pierce himself, and he seems always to have been an active and interested participant.

It has been with great interest that the writers have examined large number of articles upon all kinds of scientific subjects. The range of subject matter is exceedingly extensive, and while from the present standpoint of science these treatises would be regarded as inaccurate, yet they served a valuable purpose. Agriculture and gardening were given much attention, and it is easy to see here an anticipation of the idea of the school garden and the teaching of agriculture in the schools. There were numerous articles on the culture of the sugar beet, in which the advantages

of its raising were fully set forth. Much space is devoted to all branches of natural science and the necessity of giving them a proper place in the school curriculum is repeatedly urged. In one place Mr. Pierce writes: "In all our schools fate seems to have laid its heavy hand upon the study of the sciences. The ancient and modern classics occupy by far the greater share of attention; but this ought not to be so." This quotation was the key note of his series of excellent articles pleading for the teaching of natural science.

Reference should be made to the high moral and religious tone given to the paper. The highest sentiment pervades every sentence and here, as in no other place, does Mr. Pierce show his firm belief in the home and school as the two institutions which should care for the religious teaching of children.

The Journal of Education said nothing about method or device. It had to deal with the larger questions of the principles of education. It was not for the teachers alone, but for a wider circle. It aroused interest in education and stimulated and inspired activity in the organization of schools, and thus lead the citizens of the new commonwealth to realize the best in their civilization through the upbuilding of all their new institutions.

This initial movement of an educational publication in the Northwest may be regarded as one of Mr. Pierce's greatest achievements.

CHAPTER XIV.

MR. PIERCE'S SECOND APPEARANCE IN PUBLIC LIFE

When Mr. Pierce's term of office as Superintendent of Public Instruction expired in 1841, he returned to Marshall, and to the work of the ministry. The record of his life for the next few years chronicles nothing of special importance. He had not sought popular honors, and now that his educational work was over he once more gladly became a simple villager and preacher. Public affairs interested him as before, but he followed their development from his study and his farm.

In his business ventures he seems to have been pursued by a Nemesis of ill-luck, which, however, was not able to shake his equanimity of mind, or his optimism. In the midst of calamities he was patient and cheerful. The mill at Ceresco, which he was interested in, did not pay, and in a few years collapsed because of a poor foundation. His farming, too, was a costly experiment. The farm lay along the Kalamazoo River and contained about a thousand acres, which he and some other men owned on a syndicate plan. It was part of a tract of 1700 acres which had been entered upon in 1831 by John Bertram, a wealthy Englishman, who thought to convert it into an estate on the English model.

Mr. Pierce brought to his farming scientific notions, many of which were far in advance of the day. He was a believer in thoroughbred stock, and at great expense imported from New York a flock of high grade Merinos. But all of the woolen mills of the state had spindles for coarse wool, not for fine, and this venture failed. In cattle raising and dairying he was more successful, but the dishonesty of an employee ruined his hopes. A large herd of cattle had been fattened for the Buffalo market, but the man who took them there

for him absconded with the proceeds, some $1,900, and left him to settle the bills out of his own pocket. Another year he put in eighty acres of wheat, but the railrord was not completed to Marshall as soon as expected, so there was no market for the crop. Finally, to crown the long series of calamities, the other members of the syndicate incurred debts without his knowledge and left him, as the only man of means, to adjust matters. The land was at last sold to satisfy creditors.

In 1847 Mr. Pierce was elected member of the State House of Representatives, and at once began to take an active part in legislative affairs. His work as Superintendent of Public Instruction had made him prominent, and his opinions were highly regarded.

The first matter to which he gave his attention was the question of locating a new capital for the state. By previous legislative enactment the seat of government had been fixed at Detroit till 1847, when it should devolve upon the legislature to arrange for its permanent location. Mr. Pierce was one of a committee of seven in the House appointed to report upon the subject, but the feeling grew so intense that the committee split up into three groups and presented three reports. Mr. Pierce stood for making Marshall the capital. This had long been a dream of Calhoun county, and almost from the time the town was platted a beautiful site, known yet as Capitol Hill, had been reserved for this coming glory. All of Mr. Pierce's arguments for moving the capital from Detroit were readily accepted, but the view held by the majority that it should be somewhere north of the line of the Michigan Central Railroad was too firmly grounded to be overcome. Finally, after much lobbying and debate, Lansing, at that time only a point in the wilderness, where, as a member said, the only bells heard were cow bells, was settled upon and the quarrel ended.

As chairman of the committee on federal relations, Mr. Pierce was instrumental in passing a resolution instructing the Michigan delegation in Congress to oppose the introduction of slavery into the territories. This fact should be known now in view of the criticism he later drew upon himself during the progress of

the Rebellion. He was always uncompromisingly opposed to slavery, and many documents and public addresses testify to this; but he believed some other settlement of the question other than by the sword was possible, and he deprecated the national policy and war. But no one who knew him well could ever have doubted his patriotism. He came of a fighting stock. Pierces had fought in the Revolution and the War of 1812. His son, James Pierce, at the age of eighteen went out as lieutenant in the Mexican War, and died from hardships endured before the war was over. July 4, 1847, Mr. Pierce delivered an address in Marshall which closed as follows:—

"The fortress of our strength is union, and the high purpose must be the permanency and improvement of our institutions. To be great the whole American people must do what Taylor declared after the battle of Buena Vista, 'All pull together.' High patriotism and a noble destiny demand it. Then there will be preserved to us and our children, and ultimately extended to all men of all nations, tongues and tribes, what is now the glory of our land,—free principles, free institutions, and free government—thus consummating an ancient prediction: 'They shall sit every man under his vine, and under his fig tree, and none shall make them afraid.' In conclusion I give you this sentiment: The Union, free and independent, one and inseparable, now and ever, with a free government, free institutions, free religion, free schools, and a free home to all our people."

As a member of the legislature he was still further noted for his efforts in behalf of exemption laws. He always held pronounced views on the subject, and bad gained some notoriety back in the years when the legislature met in Detroit by getting a bill passed which secured a team from exemption. In order that this might be done the value of the team was limited. Opponents of the bill referred to it as "Pierce's Pony Bill" In the sessions of 1847–48, Mr. Pierce was instrumental in having a law enacted making homesteads exempt. In February, 1848, he made a memorable speech in the House of Representatives on the subject. In it occurs a paragraph which makes his position clear:—

"I wish to see the adoption of a system of legislation that shall care not merely for money but for the man—which shall secure a home to every man and his family who shall hereafter earn one—to put it beyond the reach of mere contingencies to turn a defenceless family into the street. This, Sir, is the object of this bill—not to give a man a home, but to preserve it to him when once acquired."

On the fourth of March he took the floor again in behalf of the measure:—

"And I apprehend if the measure proposed in the original bill is adopted, still greater good will result. It will have a tendency to create an independent yeomanry and to attach men to the soil, to their country; to remove a vast amount of mental suffering in families. And is this of no consequence? Those who have had no experience in these matters, whose business has not led them into contact with the poorer classes, have no conception of the amount of distress that has been created by our oppressive collection laws. During the half century that I have lived, I have witnessed much of it, from the incarceration of a man in a loathsome prison house with felons, and from the turning of families into the highway. For weeks and months, from day to day, the wife and her children, the widow and the orphan, live in constant expectation that the final process of law will be had, and then where to go they know not. These days are passed in bitterness and tears, with many sleepless nights, for such things cannot be done without producing much mental agony. Sir, I would not be the occasion of that suffering in a single family, 'For all the gold that sinews ever bought and sold,' and I have no doubt that many who have been sordid enough to perpetrate such oppression have themselves by a just retribution been in their turn reduced to the same object of poverty and distress.

"But it is not right in any case. Where a man trusts another, he should do it at his peril, at his own risk. And it should not be the policy of the government to step in and arm the creditor with unlimited powers over the debtor. . . . .

"Now, Sir, I wish to see every man protected in his home,

the strong arm of the government thrown around him, that he may have occasion to love his country and its institutions, and not to curse the day of his birth because he finds himself in a land bearing down his spirits and crushing his energies, and sending him out upon the highway a wreck and a vagrant. . .

"But, Mr. Speaker, before I close I wish to refer to one objection urged on all occasions against liberal measures, urged against this bill, urged heretofore, an omnipresent all-pervading objection—the passage of this bill will affect our already utterly ruined credit abroad. We have a set of croakers, and ever have had, whose croaking is as perpetual and as full of sense as the peeping of frogs on a warm evening at the opening of spring. The cry is that the credit of our state has sunk as low as it can be, yet we are told that there is a still deeper abyss to which we must sink if this bill is passed. . . . I affirm and can prove by facts and figures the reverse of all this to be true. Our credit abroad at the present time is better than that of any other new state, it has been too good, and is as good now as is desirable."

This was the first of such laws in the United States, but it was not long before others similar in nature were found on the statute books of almost every state in the Union.

In the year 1846 the two chief lines of railroad owned by the state, the Michigan Central and the Michigan Southern, were sold to Boston capitalists. At that time the Michigan Central extended as far west as Marshall. In the years immediately following the sale, before the new management had fairly gotten affairs into smooth working order, came the "Railroad War," a series of suits and legal actions directed at the Michigan Central Company for its failure to recognize liability for damages in accidents occurring along its right of way. Mr. Pierce was a strenuous defender of the rights of the people, and published in the *Democratic Expounder* of Marshall, a series of letters that aroused much comment. Some of them, we suspect, were not pleasant reading for officials of the company. For instance this, from an article dated June 25, 1849:—

"The road has been for a long time, one gore of blood. No heathen altar ever smoked more continually with the blood of its

victims. Horses and oxen, and cows, and sheep and hogs—all free commoners by law—the road not fenced—and yet we are told that the owners are trespassers! They (The Company) force their way through our farms, leaving our fields, and meadows, and pastures all open as commons, and yet we are the trespassers if our stock pass over the road of their high mightinesses, and liable to them for damage, though the statute of the state expressly declares no such liability can exist where there is not a good and lawful fence. See session laws of 1847, page 181. Besides, the Company have upon their road the blood of one human victim, as the result of that reckless policy which has created such an embittered state of public feeling along the whole line. His blood is on their track, and they cannot wash it away; and more will be there unless something be done, just as sure as the sun rises and sets. . . . It is said the Company cannot be driven. This should not be desired or expected. But there are injured persons who resort to violence because they know no other way. They write—they get no answer, and if any, it is, 'You are the trespassers, keep your cattle off the track.' I have little hope that any reason or argument which is not addressed to its cupidity, will induce a moneyed corporation to change its course. The history of the past warrants this conclusion. I gave it as my opinion to Mr. Brooks more than two years ago, that the Company would find themselves precipitated upon such a state of things as now exists, if they changed from the policy of the state in paying for damage done to that of non-payment. I have no predictions to make, but I give it as my deliberate judgment, that if the Company persists in their present policy, they will sooner or later arouse such a spirit and energy of purpose along the whole line that they will be wholly unable either to gainsay or resist it. And it is clear to me that no such powers could have been granted to the Company as seem to be claimed. The Legislature has no authority to create a body corporate within the limits of the state and confer upon it rights, the exercise of which would bring them into daily collision and conflict with its citizens. No Legislature could have been so utterly regardless of private rights and the public peace. Some-

thing must be done—the honor of the state,—its good name, the reputation of our citizens, and the interests of the Company, all conspire to demand it. The road must be fenced—in the meantime something near the value of property destroyed must be paid. It is an outrage, and evidences utter recklessness of life and limb of both man and beast that the Company should run trains over an unfenced road, where all cattle are by law free commoners, at the rate of thirty miles per hour. Even since I took up my pen a man west of this has been instantly killed and a family left without a protector! That this communication may be taken for what it is worth and no more, I subscribe my name to it in full. JOHN D. PIERCE."

The story is told that Mr. Pierce in championing the cause of a poor widow who had had a yoke of oxen killed by a train, exasperated Mr. Brooks, the president of the road, to such an extent that he sent word to Marshall: "Tell that parson out there he'd better stick to preaching." Mr. Pierce's reply was an instance of militant Christianity, to the effect that if the railroad company did not reimburse the woman, he would see to it that every mile of track in Calhoun county was torn up. Mr. Brooks paid.

As member of the Constitutional Convention of 1850, Mr. Pierce succeeded in getting his homestead exemption law incorporated in the constitution of the state, where as Art. XVI. it has since remained.

The act to establish a normal school in Michigan became a law in 1849, but it was not till the 5th of October, 1852, that the first of such schools was formally opened at Ypsilanti. Among the many distinguished guests present on that occasion were Gen. I. E. Crary, President of the Board of Education, and Mr. Pierce. Accompanied by their wives, these gentlemen had journeyed over from Marshall,—Mr. Crary to dedicate the building, and Mr. Pierce to deliver an address.[1] It is with Mr. Pierce's words that we are chiefly concerned, for they were almost his last formal utterance on education to the people of

[1] *Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction.* 1853, p. 56.

GRAVE OF GEN. ISAAC E. CRARY
MARSHALL CEMETERY

the state. Fifteen years before he had laid the foundation of our school system, having had even then in mind a place in the structure for just such an institution as the one whose dedication he was now attending. In a decade and a half such progress had been made that it is no wonder he was in an exultant mood, and disposed to speak on the theme, "The Perfect School System," with some degree of assurance. The address was philosophical, but at the same time highly pedagogical. It exploited no chimeras or extravagant notions, but dealt with fundamentals and essentials. The concluding sentiments were full of encouragement, prophecy, and benediction:—

"The fruits of this institution must appear in after times. Under good management and wise culture they may entirely be anticipated. The assemblage here is a good omen, and is evidence of increasing interest in the subject of education. Combined effort is highly important. Individuals can do something —much in maturing plans; but to produce the greatest amount of good requires the active energies of a whole people. Sustained by the public, the institution must flourish. Here the wisdom and experience of the day will be exhibited, and the best helps to facilitate progress near at hand. Assembled from almost every section of the State, teachers and others will bring together theories and practices of variously trained and constituted minds. These theories and diverse practices will be committed to one common crucible, and submitted to the test of experiment. Opinions will doubtless be rectified, error detected, truth elicited, darkness dispelled, and new light thrown upon every mind. To pour in light upon the understanding is the grand object of instruction. When light is clear, objects are distinct and visible, and easily seen. . . . . What our teachers need is more light; and it is the high purpose of this institution to furnish it in all its beauty and splendor. How many gems now lie concealed which would shine with utmost brilliancy could they be brought to light? With equal propriety it may be asked, how many minds of the first order that would do honor to the race could they be enlightened and cultivated? Light is hence to be reflected. When, therefore, those who assemble here return to

their homes and their duties, they will go with increased qualifications and confidence for more extended usefulness.

"To the guardians of this institution I would say, Go on, then, in the noble work; falter not in the good cause; persevere, that teachers may be qualified to train up the young spirits of our country to high and elevated sentiments; to form noble purposes; to act on fair and honorable ground; leading them onward and upward to virtue, and the full enjoyment of the chief good—the *To-Kalon* of the ancient Greeks; that ineffable good which Christianity has fully revealed, and promised to the pure in heart and in life. In this clear and pleasant light, all may see and not walk in darkness. Let all remember this noble sentiment addresses itself to each and every one: SHOW THYSELF A MAN. Let there be coöperation and concert, and united effort. Education is common ground. All parties can here meet; all sects here unite. If we cannot meet on this ground, and join our efforts as citizens of one commonwealth to promote a common good, we can meet and coöperate nowhere this side of the grave. . . . . It is required of stewards that they be found faithful. Such are you; be faithful to the end. And then at the winding-up of the great drama of human affairs—at the final consummation of all things—when the Son of Man, the judge of quick and dead, shall award the destinies of the universe, the grateful plaudit shall be, 'Yours, as of all the true and virtuous of every age and clime—Well done, good and faithful servants, Heaven and its mansions are yours.' "

CHAPTER XV.

LAST YEARS

(IN PART PERSONAL REMINISCENSES BY DR. DANIEL PUTNAM.)

During the sessions of the Constitutional Convention of 1850, Mr. Pierce was taken seriously ill at Lansing, and it was owing to the untiring efforts of his friend, Dr. Denton, of Ann Arbor, that he recovered. For some years afterward his health remained impaired,—it seemed as if the exposures of frontier life were now levying a belated toll on his ordinarily vigorous frame. At Marshall, bereavement and financial reverses had come to sadden the associations of his residence there, and he longed for new surroundings. Accordingly, in 1853, he removed to a farm just outside the city limits of Ypsilanti, where the recent founding of the Normal School offered good opportunities for educating his children. Thereafter, for almost thirty years, Ypsilanti was his home.

Compared with the strenuous activity of the former periods of his life, his residence in Ypsilanti was uneventful and tranquil. He devoted himself to the interests of his farm, now and then, however, accepting an invitation to preach either at home or in neighboring towns. For some six months one year he supplied the pulpit of the Presbyterian Church in Ypsilanti. This leisurely life gave him opportunity to pursue again many lines of reading and study, particularly in theology, which the duties of earlier years had interrupted.

It was at this time that he became very much impressed with the force of millenarian doctrines, and was greatly interested in the interpretation of the Scriptures from that standpoint. He enjoyed very friendly relations with Dr. John Lord, a prominent divine in the East, and it is reported that at one time he was offered an editorial position on some publication conducted by Mr. Lord, but he could not see his way clear to accept it. He

continued, nevertheless, to be an enthusiastic reader and admirer of Mr. Lord, seeing in him a scholar who argued, like himself, for a reconciliation of science and theology. Mr. Pierce occupied no advanced position in his standards of Biblical criticism. Though he had tastes for many lines of scientific investigation —among others geology—he never cherished any doubt concerning the absolute reliability of the Scriptures, and accepted them in all their literalness, in spite of the queries which science, fifty years ago, even, was beginning to raise, touching many things of religion and faith.

We have seen that as a boy John Pierce was religious—deeply so. And as a man he did not change. But his piety was of the staunch, unyielding type of the Calvinist, rather than of the emotional and evangelistic spirit of Wesley or John Bunyan. With him a religious life was the postulate of common sense, not the product of feeling or occasion, and he cultivated it as one goes about a business. When a young man he wrote out in a little book, 528 "Questions on Theology," with arguments that remind one of Johnathan Edwards. It is interesting as showing how rational his religious life was. But in spite of all of this, he was not unkind or unsympathetic toward others who did not see as he did—his tolerance and benevolence were too broad for that. He had endured trouble and adversity,—that was bond enough between him and his fellow men.

At the close of the Civil War, the course of which he had followed with dire forebodings, he removed from his farm into the city of Ypsilanti. His only surviving son, Augustus, upon whom he was coming to lean more and more as the years slipped by, died about this time. The loss was a cruel blow to the rapidly ageing man, who had been no stranger to the havoc of death. In December, 1865, thinking a change of climate might prove of benefit to his health, he went to Florida, but all the advantages of temperature in the South were nothing compared with the undeveloped and backward conditions prevailing there. The next spring he returned in disappointment, and bought the home in Ypsilanti in which he continued to reside as long as he remained in Michigan.

In town he still kept up his interest in public affairs, and for a time was president of the local school board. He was a regular attendant during those years upon institutes and teachers' meetings, and entered heartily into discussions of educational problems. He was getting old, but getting old gracefully and sweetly, and no matter whether attending some debate among the young men of the Normal School, or sitting as an honored guest at the right hand of the President of the University at a banquet, he was the same simple, delightful, gracious old gentleman.

Various attempts had been made by his party—he was a staunch Democrat—to draw him again into public life, and more than once after his removal to Ypsilanti, his name had appeared on a state ticket. But the party was weak in the years immediately following the war, and he always met defeat along with other nominees. Nevertheless, for two years in the 60's he served as Superintendent of Schools for Washtenaw county, and did all his work with energy and effectiveness, such as had characterized him in an earlier period. In his trips over the county his daughter Sarah, [1] a very accomplished young woman, usually accompanied him, and proved herself to be a very able assistant.

His educational work at this time will be best appreciated from the following "Personal Reminiscences," kindly contributed by Dr. Daniel Putnam, of the Normal College.

"During the first years of my life in Michigan, I met Mr. Pierce occasionally at the meetings of the State Teachers' Association and elsewhere. Of his work in the organization of the school system of the state, I had at that time only a very indefinite and general knowledge.

"In the year 1867 the law creating the office of county superintendent of schools was enacted, and under this law Mr. Pierce was elected Superintendent in Washtenaw county, as I was in Kalamazoo. The progressive school men of the state were exceedingly anxious that the county superintendency should prove successful. It had been secured after long and strenuous effort, and a considerable number of prominent teachers had

[1] Married John Graham, of Owosso, in 1873; died 1878.

allowed themselves to be candidates for the office on account of their interest in the appointment.

"Very soon after the election, State Superintendent Hosford called a meeting of the newly elected superintendents at Jackson. This meeting was held on the 15th and 16th days of May, 1867. Superintendent Pierce was made chairman of the temporary organization, and served until a more formal and permanent organization was effected at the next meeting of the State Teachers' Association. My real acquaintance with Superintendent Pierce commenced at this Jackson meeting.

"In September of the next year, 1868, I became a member of the Faculty of the State Normal School, and removed from Kalamazoo to Ypsilanti. From that time on I was a neighbor of Mr. Pierce, and had opportunities of becoming acquainted with him, with the work which he was then doing, and with something of the work which he had done at an earlier period in the organization and establishment of the Michigan public school system.

"When this acquaintance began, Mr. Pierce had passed his seventieth year. The hardships and exposures of early pioneer life had left their marks upon his originally vigorous and stalwart frame. But his mental strength and acumen were unimpaired, and his interest in educational affairs continued unabated. He believed in the excellency and superiority of the public school of the state, and was naturally jealous of its honor. He was not, however, blind to the defects and shortcomings of the schools, especially of the common rural schools. He entered zealously and intelligently into the work of the county superintendency. He saw the possibilities of the system, and also the dangers to which it was exposed.

"The character of his work and some of his opinions upon educational affairs will be best comprehended by reference to the reports of what he did and saw in Washtenaw county. I make a few excerpts from his report for 1867. He says:—'I have held the past season two County Teachers' Institutes. I have visited eighty-one districts in the eastern part of the county, and fifteen rooms of graded schools. I have held thirty-eight examinations at different times and places; 207 applicants have been examined,

and 183 certificates of all grade given.' These items show the zeal and energy with which he entered upon the duties of his office, and his interest in the progress of education in the county.

"As was not unnatural at this period of his life, Mr. Pierce was inclined to what most people called conservatism; he believed in progress, in improvement in means and methods of teaching, and of school management; especially he believed in the necessity of securing a higher grade of qualification in teachers of the rural schools. If he ever lost patience it was when he saw the work of incompetent teachers. In this report he wrote:—'How preposterous, and even cruel and wicked, to put into the schoolroom incompetent teachers! It must not be done. The waste of money is not to be compared with the loss of time to the rising generation.'

"In the matter of methods of teaching, Mr. Pierce was not always hospitable to strangers without credentials. He wrote:—'I have heard a vast deal the past twenty years, of progress and new methods of teaching, and accordingly have been greatly surprised to find such lamentable deficiency among so many of our teachers.' He gave several amusing samples of the answers written by teachers in his examinations, to illustrate the woeful ignorance and lack of preparation on the part of candidates for positions in the schools. The greatest deficiency he found was in spelling; he insisted that the pupils of to-day were more deficient in spelling than those of twenty-five or fifty years ago. Some vigorous discussions upon this matter took place in the meetings of teachers at which Mr. Pierce was present, the younger school men being disposed to resent the imputation upon the character of the present spelling.

"Upon the matter of hobbies, generally, Mr. Pierce had very decided views, and was very outspoken in expressing them. He said: 'Is not this a day of hobbies? We have the grammar hobby, with a set of new illogical terms; the defining hobby; the object lesson hobby; the drawing and map-drawing hobby, and various others. And now we have a new one coming into vogue, and it, too, must have its run. I may add that the peculiarity of

the leading hobby-riders is—they all have books to sell. These things have a relative importance, but they should not be allowed to crowd out weightier matters.'

"Possibly these brief extracts from his report will leave an impression that Mr. Pierce, at this period of his life, was disposed to cling somewhat too firmly to the old, and to oppose the introduction of the new. A statement in this form would do him injustice; he recognized fully the deficiencies of the old schools, and the possibility of improvements; but he did not sympathize with the idea that a device or method was worthless because it was old, or that a device or method was good, simply because it was new. One who takes this view is liable to be misunderstood and classed with 'back numbers' and 'old fogies.' Mr. Pierce was never a 'back number' or a 'fogy.' He consistently believed in testing, or 'proving all things,' and holding fast to that which was proved to be good.

"During the second year of his superintendency, in addition to the regular work which devolved upon him, and was more than enough to tax severely his physical strength, he delivered at Marshall a lecture upon 'Early Times in the Territory and State,' and published an 'Address to Parents,' and another to 'Teachers in the Primary Schools' of Washtenaw county, His old-time zeal in educational work still possessed him, and his services were of great value both to schools and teachers.

"After the close of his term as County Superintendent, he still retained his interest in school affairs, attending with considerable regularity the meetings of Teachers' Associations, and frequently visiting exercises and classes in the Normal School. He had delivered the principal address at the dedication of the first building of the school, and till the close of his life in Michigan, maintained a peculiar regard for that institution. When the school received what he believed to be unjust criticism, he was always ready to defend it with voice and pen. He thought of it as in some sense a child of his own, and took pride in its prosperity.

"In closing these brief reminiscenses, I quote from an address given by Mr. Pierce to the county superintendents at a meeting in

July, 1868, to show the sound, practical common sense and good judgment which he brought to the solution of the problems presented to him, and also the tone and temper of his mind. In speaking of his work in the organization of the school system of the state, and of the fact that some things which he very much desired could not be secured at that early time, he said:—'In this connection allow me to suggest that the question with the statesman is, not what I may *like* to do—what I may *wish* to accomplish, but how much *can* I accomplish? This includes an appreciation of all the circumstances with which he is surrounded. So with the teacher when he enters the school room. What he *wishes* to do is one thing, what he may be *able* to do is another and a very different thing. He must examine his materials, measure and weigh them, before he can decide what and how much he can do.'

"In closing his address, Mr. Pierce said: 'I have thus given you a mere outline of the past of Michigan, so far as its educational interests are concerned. No state ever started into being with so many warm and devoted friends as our state. Five of the best years of my life I gave to the work. In it I travelled by night and by day—on one occasion five whole nights out of eight —not in railroad palaces, but in lumber wagons and stage coaches, through rain, mud, frost, and storm. But I can truly say I feel myself fully compensated. I have had my day, or nearly so. My work is nearly done. If I am spared to go through my present term it is all that I can expect. You and each of you will have your day, and your work. But of all work on this living earth, there is none to compare with teaching children and youth. Gentlemen, the land is before you. Go in and possess it. The field is broad and promising; cultivate it;—a rich harvest is in the future. The guardianship of hundreds of thousands of children and youth is committed to you.'

"These utterances were, in some sense, the final benediction of the founder and father of the public school system of the state, addressed to his associate superintendents, and through them to the great army of Michigan teachers. One may be glad to remember that he listened to them."

The last ten years of life in the state, from 1870 to 1880, were passed in the peaceful quiet in his town home. His health, which had not been good for twenty years, began to fail now more and more. But his mind was as sturdy and vigorous as ever. By the close of the decade he had grown so feeble that it seemed best for him and Mrs. Pierce to give up their home in Ypsilanti, and go to live with the last of their children, Mrs. M. A. Emerson, of Meadford, Mass. And so in 1880, after a residence in Michigan of almost fifty years, Mr. Pierce returned to New England. For a time his health was improved by the change, but he was not quite happy; Massachusetts was too rough and barren,—he missed the fields and fertility of the West.

In 1881 his health began to fail again from aggravation of asthma, from which he had long been a sufferer. Some six weeks before his death, at the earnest solicitation of the many Michigan people in the East, he attended a reunion of the alumni of Michigan University at the Vendome, in Boston. He was honored with every attention on this occasion, and expressed his appreciation of the kind reception in a few well chosen words. After his return he grew rapidly worse, and on the 5th of April, [1] 1882, passed away.

Mr. Pierce had long been prepared for death, but even when broken in body he had cherished no undue desire to quit the world. He loved life and living with a consuming zest,—he had seen so much, and helped create so much, in our civilization, that he took delight in what this civilization meant, and he watched it in its unfolding with all the interest of a man in the prime of life. Michigan was dear to him, and when at last he knew the hour had come, he could not die content till he had exacted a promise that he should be buried in the cemetery at Marshall, among those whom he had loved and labored with in pioneer days. This was granted. After funeral services at Medford, the body was brought to Marshall, where services were again held, in charge of the Masonic order, in the Presbyterian Church. A throng had assembled to do honor to his memory,

[1] The date, April 6, on the monument in Marshall is incorrect, the mistake being due to the undertaker's certificate.

GRAVE OF JOHN D. PIERCE
MARSHALL, MICH.

and a long line of carriages followed the remains to the grave. On the simple monument where he rests, one may read:—

REV. JOHN D. PIERCE

DIED

APR. 6, 1882

AGED 85 YEARS.

FOUNDER OF MICHIGAN'S

SCHOOL SYSTEM.

ERECTED BY TEACHERS

AND PUPILS OF THE

PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF MICHIGAN.

John Davis Pierce lived a long and useful life, and that is no mean heritage to posterity. But he was able, beyond the power of most men, to influence the cultural development of a great state, and for that reason he deserves to be remembered. He was a great man, viewed from any angle of human perspective,—great in physical vigor and endurance, great in ability to cope with huge problems, great in mind and soul, He was great, too, in his simplicity, a noble type of real democracy. Says Professor Joseph Estabrook, himself a man among men, in a letter of condolence to Mr. Pierce's daughter[1]—"I have learned to love and respect him, as I have loved but few men of my acquaintance. I never heard him speak without being instructed by what he said. He was unostentatious, modest, and pure minded. Few men have done more for the glory and prosperity of Michigan than your father; and very few in coming time will be remembered with greater respect. Among the last things he said to me after returning from Commencement two years ago, was: 'My work is done. It is my last visit to the University. Others must build on foundations that I have laid with much conflict and strong

[1] Dated from Olivet, Mich., Apr. 14, 1882.

opposition.' He further said: 'Tell the people when I am gone, that I have an unwavering faith in God's Word. I believe it all from Genesis to Revelation. All my hope for the future rests upon the Saviour there revealed.'"

No history of education in America will be complete that does not give a large place to the work of John D. Pierce. He belongs in the list of great educators. In the past such a position has not been accorded him, more from ignorance and indifference, we think, than from intent. There is, alas! as yet, no well-defined sentiment in our state and nation to rear monuments to great men,—not even monuments of appreciation in the story of our progress. Two men above others in the United States—Horace Mann, and Henry Barnard, have been given, justly so, great distinction in American education. They have been regarded as pioneers, as path-finders, in the development of public instruction, and their fame has been deserved. But John D. Pierce is equally worthy of honor and remembrance, for he, too, was a pioneer in the great work of schooling a nation. As President Angell says,[1] "Henry Barnard did not do more for the schools of Rhode Island, nor Horace Mann for those of Massachusetts, than John D. Pierce did for those of Michigan." Nor must it be forgotten that Henry Barnard and Horace Mann did their work in New England, the home of culture and intelligence, where education had been a cherished tradition for two centuries, and public opinion a powerful agent in reform for at least two generations. John D. Pierce had as a background for his efforts, the wilderness, and in the midst of chaotic and undeveloped conditions, among struggling and impoverished settlers, he did his work. The school system he devised and put in operation was a complete one—so complete, indeed, that it might almost be regarded as a new product. Surely it was vastly different from a graft on an old trunk which stood deeply rooted in a fertile soil. We are proud of our system of public education which John D. Pierce inaugurated; it is the crowning glory of our commonwealth.

[1] Oration delivered at the Semi-Centennial of the University of Michigan, 1887.

There are some who, while ready in general to acknowledge the ability and achievements of Mr. Pierce, pronounce him only a skilful imitator of the two famous New England educators. But it is out of the question that he should have borrowed ideas from Henry Barnard who did not become school commissioner of Rhode Island till 1843. And as to being an imitator of Horace Mann—the reverse is much more likely to have been the case. Mr. Pierce's appointment to office preceded Mr. Mann's by almost a year; and the report in which he outlined his proposed system of education for the state was issued two years before Mr. Mann's first annual report. He also began the publication of *The Journal of Education* almost a year before the appearance of *The Common School Journal* in Massachusetts.

No, John D. Pierce was not an imitator; he was an *originator*, independent in strength of mind and soul, and gifted with a vision keen enough to discern the future of western culture and civilization. And we can do no better than live up to his ideals.

CHAPTER XVI.

QUOTATIONS FROM MR. PIERCE'S EDUCATIONAL WRITINGS

The following terse expressions from the pen of Mr. Pierce will not only serve to illustrate the character of the man, but will give the reader a deeper insight into his broad and comprehensive views upon education and life:—

"None of the rich treasures of learning are gained by inheritance; there is no such thing as innate, inbred, hereditary knowledge."

"If a people have any rights, the right of revolution is one of them."

"Every human being has a right to a good education."

"It ought to be borne in mind that the education of a child is far less expensive than the support of an aged criminal."

"Ignorance is a fearful foe to freedom; but knowledge without virtue is certain death to the republic."

"We must educate, or forge bars, bolts and chains."

"He that provideth not for his own hath denied the faith and is worse than an infidel."

"The blood of the hard-handed laborer is just as royal as that of the king on his throne."

"It is a radical error to contemplate human beings merely in the mass."

"The neglect of one individual may lead to the neglect of many individuals."

"So long as the principles of humanity, a love of justice and equity, reign in the hearts of the majority, we, as individuals, are free and safe."

"Education is the great business of human life."

"'Tis education that makes the state and exalts the empire."

"No schools are so expensive as private schools."

"Nothing more is wanting to put our schools on high and prominent ground, than the general coöperation of the public and a full supply of well qualified teachers."

"Progress is the great law of human existence."

"There are chords in every human heart that may be touched, and vibrate as they are touched. And it is the business of the teacher to do it."

"A perfect school system must have a living soul and the teachers are its life and vital energy, its prevading, animating spirit."

"A thoroughly trained and skilful teacher, with the most ordinary books, will do vastly more for his school than an incompetent teacher can with the best books ever written."

"I would make it imperative that the English language should be taught."

"A child old enough to know what addition is and how to perform the process, is just as capable of understanding the reason why one is carried for every ten as any teacher."

"Nothing can compensate for the want of purity and simplicity in the language of a book designed for the youthful mind."

"No person can ever be a good teacher and be successful, who cannot throw himself back upon the days of his childhood and youth, and call up a vivid recollection of his own history in the acquisition of knowledge."

"Many a child has been called dull and stupid because he could not apprehend the meaning of a proposition made of abstract terms. The stupidity and dullness were the teacher's own."

"The reason why children read large portions of the Bible with interest, is because they understand the language. In this regard it exceeds all other books."

"Children do not learn the meaning of words from books.

This is done in the home and in the open field, in connection with nature."

"Chiding or flogging will not cure the uneasy child."

"Give a free recess after each hour of work."

"The people have a right to expect and demand that every institution created by law and sustained by them, should do its duty."

"I am in favor of free schools and I hope, before I pass off the stage, that I shall find this state the first in the Union in the cause of education, and that every child will be able to read and write and to feel that by education he is a man."

"Primary schools are the main dependence in the attainment of the ideal government of the people by the people."

"The time of every man is his property and cannot, either justly or constitutionally, be taken and given to the public without remuneration."

"The Prussian System originated with the people. The government arranged the material already existing into one harmonious whole and extended the benefits of the system to all parts of the kingdom."

"No education can be regarded as complete without a knowledge of agriculture."

"Children, as well as men, love improvement."

"Liberal laws and institutions constitute the glory of a state."

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