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TEACHING THE VALUES OF THE DIVINE-RIGHT PHILOSOPHY:
A STUDY OF THE METHODS OF JACQUES-BÉNIGNE BOSSUET

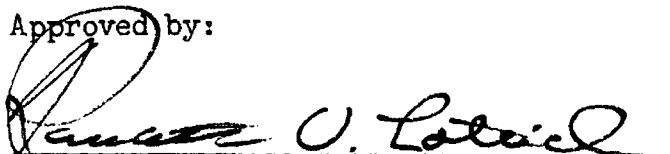
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B. A. Stanford University, 1962

Presented in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts

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1967

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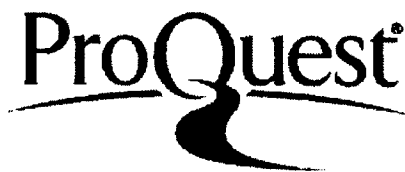


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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Throughout history, educational theorists have tended to align themselves in support of one of two major points of view with regard to the role which the individual ought to play in shaping his own educational goals. In the opinion of the educational authoritarians, educational outcomes should be ". . . determined in all important respects by influences outside of the individual. . . ." ¹ Apologists for the educational laissez-faire point of view, on the other hand, have held that educational outcomes must be ". . . determined in all important respects by factors inherent within individuals themselves. . . ." ²

Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet, as he is revealed to us in the extant letters, documents, and books which he produced during the time he tutored the son of Louis XIV, stands as a proponent of educational authoritarianism. While in many respects the attitudes of the two men are far apart, Bossuet would have agreed with William James on the occasion when the famed psychologist wrote, "Education, in short, cannot be better described than by calling it the organization of acquired habits of conduct and tendencies to behavior." ³ Bossuet, himself, noted that ". . . the

¹John P. Wynne, Philosophies of Education (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1947), p. 4.

²Ibid., p. 5.

³William James, Talks to Teachers on Psychology: and to Students on some of Life's Ideals (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1916), p. 29.

force of custom is sweet, and when habit takes over, one is no longer in need of being advised of his duty."⁴

Bossuet was particularly interested in teaching his young charge those moral values which, in the view of the prelate, would enable him to reign, in the future, as a divine-right monarch whose deportment would be pleasing to the Almighty.

This study is undertaken not in the belief that Bossuet's value system is relevant to the world of the twentieth century educator, but rather in the conviction that the instructional devices used by Bossuet to teach morality, as he saw it, to the son of Louis XIV might be of interest to contemporary students of educational methodology.

I. BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

Many educators have expressed the opinion that the study of the history of education promotes understanding of self and of culture. Charles Burgess has noted that ". . . in the observation that each human being is himself a historical phenomenon, resides support for the judgment that all knowledge - - - and ignorance - - - is historical."⁵ (sic)

H. G. Good has indicated that "the history of education is the history of man become civilized and enlightened and of the institutions which he has created and propagated to preserve and to advance those

⁴Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet, "On the Instruction of Monseigneur the Dauphin," (Vol. XIII of Oeuvres Complètes de Bossuet, ed. F. Lachat. 31 vols.; Paris: Librairie de Louis Vives, 1864), p. 19.

⁵Charles Burgess, "History of Education," Review of Educational Research, XXXVII (February, 1967), 21.

features of civilized life which he has learned to prize."⁶

The need for insights which can result from an appreciation of the history of education is particularly acute at the present time. Erven Brundage has suggested that the most persistent characteristic of American educators today is their commitment to change.⁷ This spirit of change has made it necessary for educators to make choices from among a multiplicity of alternatives. David Tyack has urged educators to equip themselves to make wise choices by consulting the historical precedents for their decisions; for, as he points out, "learning to think historically through imaginative projection, teachers may turn, with a new perspective and new awareness, to the uncertainties and difficult choices of today."⁸

A study of the history of education, which is undertaken with a view toward better equipping the educator to make prudent decisions, ought to include, among other things, a review of early teaching methods. Such a review should enable the educator to determine which, if any, of these methods might be usefully employed in a modern school setting. The presentation here of methods used by Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet in instructing the son of a seventeenth century king should be of interest to those interested in evaluating all previous methods of instruction. It is

⁶H. G. Good, A History of Western Education (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1960), p. 3.

⁷Erven Brundage, "Our Love Affair with Change," Theory into Practice, V (April, 1966), 91.

⁸David Tyack, "The History of Education and the Preparation of Teachers. A Reappraisal," The Journal of Teacher Education, XVI (December, 1965), 431.

hoped that this presentation may be of value to those individuals who would challenge Tyack's assertion that "no institution in our society is more restricted by unexamined tradition and unconscious ritual than the school."⁹

II. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

This study proposes to investigate the instructional program devised by Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet at the time he was acting as tutor to the eldest legitimate son of Louis XIV. The study proposes to consider the aims of this instruction and the methods according to which Bossuet hoped to achieve those educational objectives which he considered important.

It is hoped that the survey of instructional devices which Bossuet employed in his program of instruction may be of some value to contemporary educators in an attempt to find material pertinent to their own instructional situations.

III. ASSUMPTIONS OF THE STUDY

It is assumed that the various materials which have been attributed to the authorship of Bossuet were, indeed, written by him. Further, it is assumed that the opinions found in Bossuet's writings which relate to education and to his own particular system of values represent his true feelings on those matters.

⁹Ibid., p. 430.

IV. LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet wrote in the seventeenth century. The frames of reference of a seventeenth century ecclesiastic and a twentieth century student of education are by no means parallel. The writer of this thesis recognizes his inability to purge himself of his own value orientation. Though every effort is to be taken to make the study an objective one, the writer concedes that the picture of Bossuet which is to be delineated here will be an image born of twentieth century eyes and may well be different from the view of Bossuet held by his seventeenth century peers in France.

The number of original writings undertaken by Bossuet in which he addressed himself to education is not great. The writer recognizes that Bossuet quite possibly held additional views to those which he committed to writing. This thesis is limited to a discussion of those opinions which Bossuet expressed in his various letters, books, and other written materials and to evaluations made of those materials by other persons.

V. DELIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet was an intellectual giant who had a formidable range of interests. This study is concerned only with Bossuet's work in the area of education. More particularly, this thesis involves a discussion of the materials and the instructional techniques used by Bossuet in teaching a particular moral system to the Crown Prince of France.

VI. DEFINITION OF TERMS

Absolutism. The doctrine of unconditional power exercised by rulers bound neither by the laws of nature nor by any kind of moral or legal institutions.¹⁰

Aims. The purpose of a course of action or a belief; an objective.

Crown Prince. A term used in this study to designate the eldest legitimate son of Louis XIV of France. He lived from 1661 to 1711. During his lifetime, he was the heir apparent to the throne of France.

Dauphin. Another term used to describe the "Crown Prince."

Divine right. The right of a king to rule as set forth by the theory of government that his right to govern came directly from God, that he could do no wrong, and that neither he nor his heirs could forfeit their right to the throne and to the obedience of the people.¹¹

Jansenism. The teachings of Cornelius Jansen (1585-1638), Bishop of Ypres, which flourished in France in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; advocated moral rigorism and maintained the doctrines of total depravity, irresistible grace, loss of free will, and limited atonement; repeatedly condemned by popes, kings, and governments.¹²

Monarch. A person who reigns over a major territorial unit (as a kingdom or empire) usually for life and by hereditary succession.
. . .¹³

Monarchy. A territorial unit having a monarch as chief of state.¹⁴

Moral and spiritual values. Those principles and standards which, if accepted by the individual and applied in human behavior, exalt life

¹⁰Carter V. Good, ed., Dictionary of Education (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1959), p. 3.

¹¹Philip Babcock Gove, ed., Webster's Third New International Dictionary (Springfield, Massachusetts: G. and E. Merriam, 1961), p. 663.

¹²Carter V. Good, ed., Dictionary of Education (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1959), p. 302.

¹³Gove, op. cit., p. 1457.

¹⁴Ibid.

and bring it into accord with approved levels of conduct.¹⁵

Morality. A system of principles (or a code) of right and wrong conduct, actual or idealized, as in democratic morality, Christian morality, etc.¹⁶

Morals. In the individual, the virtues or other elements which make up morality.¹⁷

Objective. Aim, end in view, or purpose of a course of action or a belief.¹⁸

Prince. Another term used to describe the "Crown Prince."

Quietism. A seventeenth century Christian mysticism that stressed passive self-annihilation through religious meditation and complete absorption in the contemplation of God and ethical antinomianism based on the view that in the state of perfect surrender the soul is indifferent to the demands of sense, desire, virtue, or morality.¹⁹

Social values. Aspects of human interactions that are regarded as being worthy, important, or significant for the proper functioning of group life; aspects that the members of society seek to conserve or promote.²⁰

Teaching technique. A specific way of presenting instructional material or conducting instructional activities.²¹

Tutor. A person charged with the instruction and guidance of another.²²

¹⁵Carter V. Good. ed., Dictionary of Education (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1959), p. 595.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 352.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 353.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 371.

¹⁹Gove, op. cit., p. 1865.

²⁰Carter V. Good, ed., Dictionary of Education (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1959), p. 595.

²¹Ibid., p. 554.

²²Gove, op. cit., p. 2470.

Value system. "An inclusive set of deep-lying attitudes and beliefs that tend to direct the person's habitual responses in various situations."²³

VII. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Writers in the area of educational history have paid little attention to the work of Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet. Frederick Eby in his The Development of Education notes that Bossuet articulated the doctrine of absolutism, but he makes no comment whatever upon Bossuet's instruction of the Dauphin.²⁴ Frank Graves in his A History of Education remarks that Bossuet stands as an outstanding product of seventeenth century Jesuit education, but like Eby, he makes no mention of Bossuet's teaching activities.²⁵

Eby and Graves are unusual in that they at least mention the name of Bossuet in their books. More typically, authors of standard works in the area of educational history have made no mention of Bossuet whatsoever. Among those authors who do not take any note of Bossuet are William Boyd in his The History of Western Education, Freeman Butts in his The Development of Modern Education, Frederick Mayer in his A History of Educational Thought, Mehdi Nakosteen in his The History and Philosophy of Education, Robert Ulich in his History of Educational Thought, and Elmer Wilds and Kenneth Lottich in their The Foundations of Modern

²³Carter V. Good, ed., Dictionary of Education (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1959), p. 595.

²⁴Frederick Eby, The Development of Modern Education (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1952), p. 310.

²⁵Frank Graves, A History of Education (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1918), p. 221.

Education.²⁶ Bossuet's work in the area of education has been considered obliquely in a few books which have been basically oriented toward the presentation of an overview of French social life or a general treatment of seventeenth century ecclesiastics. A serious exposition devoted primarily to an investigation of Bossuet's contributions to education has not yet been undertaken by well-known authorities in the field of educational history.

A good general picture of seventeenth century French education is found in Cecile Hugan's Social France in the Seventeenth Century.²⁷ In a work containing more specific references to Bossuet, Paul Janet in his Life and Works of Fénelon comments directly upon the instruction of the Dauphin.²⁸

Charles Guignebert's A Short History of the French People contains invaluable material relating to Bossuet's value system.²⁹ Guignebert assigns to Bossuet a very important role in shaping the divine-right

²⁶William Boyd, The History of Western Education (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1965); Freeman R. Butts, A Cultural History of Western Civilization (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1955); Frederick Mayer, A History of Educational Thought (Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill, 1960); Mehdi Nakosteen, The History and Philosophy of Education (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1965); Robert Ulich, History of Educational Thought (New York: American Book Company, 1945); and Elmer H. Wilds and Kenneth V. Lottich, The Foundations of Modern Education (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1964).

²⁷Cecile Hugan, Social France in the Seventeenth Century, (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1911).

²⁸Paul Janet, Life and Works of Fénelon, trans. Victor Leuliette (London: Sir Isaac Pitman and Sons Limited, 1914).

²⁹Charles Guignebert, A Short History of the French People, trans. F. G. Richmond (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1930).

philosophy. C. K. Adams develops this same line of thinking in his Democracy and Monarchy in France.³⁰

A number of biographies of Louis XIV touch upon Bossuet's instruction of the Crown Prince. Among these are Hilarie Belloc's Louis XIV and Nancy Mitford's The Sun King.³¹

An invaluable source of material for this study has been E. E. Reynolds' Bossuet.³² This sympathetic biography includes an entire chapter devoted to Bossuet and the education of the Dauphin. Much of the material in this chapter concerns the political intrigues behind Bossuet's appointment as tutor; yet, there are many useful passages relating to Bossuet's actual teaching procedures. In other sections of the work, Reynolds presents material concerning the books which were written by Bossuet for his pupil. Reynolds' book stands as the outstanding secondary source for materials relating to Bossuet and his educational practices.

Because the treatments of Bossuet's contributions to education are few, it is necessary for the investigator to rely heavily upon primary source materials. There are several complete editions of Bossuet's works available in French. A comprehensive collection of Bossuet's writings is the Oeuvres Complètes de Bossuet in thirty-one volumes.³³ This collection

³⁰C. K. Adams, Democracy and Monarchy in France (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1874).

³¹Hilarie Belloc, Louis XIV (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1938); and Nancy Mitford, The Sun King (New York: Harper and Row, 1966).

³²E. E. Reynolds, Bossuet (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, 1963).

³³F. Lachat (ed), Oeuvres Complètes de Bossuet, 31 vols. (Paris: Librairie de Louis Vives, 1864).

includes nearly all the material relating to education which was written by Bossuet.

A shorter collection of Bossuet's works is the five-volume set entitled, Oeuvres Choies de Bossuet.³⁴ This set, too, contains nearly all of the material pertinent to an investigation of Bossuet's work in the area of education.

A few partial translations of Bossuet's works exist. Regrettably, many of these were printed before 1800 and are not readily available. For practical purposes, the student attempting an investigation of Bossuet's activities in the area of education must rely primarily upon source materials written in the French language.

The present study is based, for the most part, on letters, articles, and books written in French. The most valuable of the primary source materials is Bossuet's letter of 1679 to Pope Innocent XI entitled, "On the Instruction of Monsiegnur the Dauphin."³⁵ This letter has been translated by the writer of this thesis and is included in an appendix. Most of the titles of Bossuet's works and all of the quotations taken from original French sources have been translated into English. These translations, too, are the work and the responsibility of this writer.

³⁴J. B. Bossuet, Oeuvres Choies de Bossuet, 5 vols. (Paris: Librairie Hachette et Cie., 1912).

³⁵Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet, "On the Instruction of Monseigneur the Dauphin," (Vol. XXIII of Oeuvres Complètes de Bossuet, ed. F. Lachat. 31 vols.; Paris: Librairie de Louis Vives, 1864), pp. 15-29.

CHAPTER II

BOSSUET AND THE BASIC VALUES OF
THE DIVINE-RIGHT MONARCH

The name of Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet is not widely known today. Certain students in Jesuit institutions concern themselves with his writings undertaken in opposition to Jansenism and quietism. Students of French literature are exposed to his masterful funeral orations which, even after three centuries, stand as genuine ornaments to the French language. Yet, to most people, his work in other areas, including education, is unfamiliar.

In his own time, Bossuet enjoyed an enormous prestige. He moved with the inner circle at the glittering court of Louis XIV. His character, his genuine religious convictions, and his superlative rhetoric were universally admired. Of him, Samuel Johnson said, "Bossuet I hold to be one of the first luminaries of religion and literature. If there are those who do not read him, it is full time they should begin."¹ Saint Beuve described Bossuet as "the last great Theologian."²

Bossuet was convinced that divine-right monarchy was a heaven-sent form of government. Much of his writing was undertaken in support of this point of view. The decline in popular adherence to the divine-right theory has contributed greatly to the decline in interest in

¹E. E. Reynolds, Bossuet, (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, 1963), p. 3.

²Ibid., p. 11.

Bossuet's writings since his own day. In explaining Bossuet's conception of divine right, it will be necessary, as a preliminary, to devote some time to his relationship to his own monarch, Louis XIV, the "Sun King."

I. LOUIS XIV

Louis became king in 1643, at which time he was a few months short of being five years old. According to a long established custom, the widowed mother of the new king, Anne of Austria, became regent during Louis' minority. Until his death in 1661, Anne's lover, Cardinal Mazarin, the First Minister and successor of Richelieu, controlled the affairs of state.

The period from 1643 to 1653 was a very unstable one in France. The disturbances of this time, known to history as the Fronde, resulted from efforts of some of the high nobility, who detested the influence of the Italian Mazarin and who had little sense of loyalty to the central French government, to seize control for themselves and to distribute the fruits of power to their underlings. At one point during these upheavals, Louis and the Queen Mother were forced to flee from Paris. Reynolds has suggested that this flight served to convince Louis of the need for a strong central authority.³

When the period of the Fronde came to an end in 1654, Louis was further conditioned to a belief in the necessity for strong central leadership by Cardinal Mazarin, who undertook the political education of the king. Mazarin told Louis to make the task of governing the main

³Ibid., p. 13.

function of his life. "Take no Prime Minister Let the politician be a servant, never a master," Louis was advised.⁴ When Mazarin died in 1661, the young king, then in his early twenties, gave evidence that he had learned well the lessons of his master. When he was asked by leading officials of the court to whom they should refer for future orders, Louis, without hesitation, replied, "To me."⁵

While Louis has been criticized for his ostentatious display of wealth and his loose sexual morality, hardly anyone would deny that, as a political leader, he was an outstanding individual. Upon assuming power, Louis worked very hard to assure that the upper nobility should never again disturb the state as had happened during the time of the Fronde. Of Louis' consolidation of power, Adams has written:

Nothing corresponding to a constitution now remained in the state. . . . The nobility and the clergy still retained privileges, but only such as had no influence upon the conduct of public affairs. Every real function of government was completely under the king's control and could be shaped or modified as he pleased. The king was the state, whether Louis ever uttered the exact phrase or not.⁶

Louis cultivated the idea that his authority to govern was derived directly from God. As he expressed it, "God's will is that whoever is born the king's subject must obey him without question."⁷ Louis' unique position manifested itself in the arrangements for worship. "In his chapel he worshipped God; and the courtiers, their backs turned to the

⁴Hilarie Belloc, Louis XIV (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1938), p. 54.

⁵Ibid., p. 74.

⁶George Burton Adams, The Growth of the French Nation (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1922), p. 233.

⁷Reynolds, op. cit., p. 15.

altar, worshipped him. They treated him like a God, a father, a mistress. . . .⁸

Louis' conception of himself as a divinely-commissioned arbiter of affairs required an official stamp of approval by men of the church in order to ensure maximum marketability for that view. What Louis required was someone who could quote scriptural chapter and verse in support of the philosophy of divine-right monarchy. Louis found such a man in Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet.

II. THE RISE OF BOSSUET

Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet, fifteen years older than Louis XIV, was born in Dijon in 1627. He was not of noble birth, but rather sprang from good upper-bourgeois stock. As a young man, Bossuet was sent to the College of Navarre in Paris. He qualified for his license in theology in 1652 and was designated a Doctor of Theology in the same year.⁹ About this time, Bossuet became acquainted with Saint Vincent de Paul, and it is said that it was from Saint Vincent that Bossuet learned the importance of delivering sermons in a language simple and clear enough to be understood by his listeners.¹⁰ In 1654, Bossuet was appointed Archdeacon of Metz. He remained more or less permanently at Metz for about ten years. During this time his reputation as a learned Doctor and a masterful preacher of funeral orations became widespread.

⁸Nancy Mitford, The Sun King (New York: Harper and Row, 1966), p. 99.

⁹Reynolds, op. cit., p. 28.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 29.

Bossuet's involvement with the immediate royal family of France began in 1669, at which time he was called upon to deliver the funeral oration for Queen Henrietta of England. Queen Henrietta, of the royal house of France, had been the wife of Charles I of England. She had returned to France after Charles had been beheaded. Bossuet's funeral oration for Henrietta ranks as one of the most moving speeches ever delivered in the French language. The daughter of Henrietta, who was married to the brother of Louis XIV, requested that the speech be published. This publication spread the fame of Bossuet throughout France.

The funeral oration for Henrietta revealed Bossuet as a real genius who was as well founded in the study of history and politics as in religion. More importantly, in the view of Louis XIV, the speech revealed Bossuet as a proponent of "correct" political and historical viewpoints. Louis saw Bossuet as an ideal individual to lend theological integrity to his belief that he was an intercessor of heaven here on earth. It was not surprising, therefore, that on September 13, 1670 Bossuet was named as tutor to Louis's son, the Dauphin. What better man, Louis reasoned, could be found to impose the value system of divine-right monarchy upon the future king of France?

III. BOSSUET AND ABSOLUTISM

While Bossuet most certainly was convinced that his monarch held his position because of the will of God, it would be a mistake to assume that he was merely a foil for Louis XIV. While Louis wanted Bossuet because the prelate found scriptural support for divine-right monarchy, Bossuet by no means saw Louis XIV as the personification of the ideal divine-right monarch.

In his writings, Bossuet marshalled support for an ideal divine-right monarch and monarchy as he perceived the monarch and the monarchy to be described in the Holy Scriptures. In some respects, the regime of Louis fit conveniently into the scriptural schema, but in others it was hopelessly at odds. In working with his young pupil, Bossuet was interested in promoting practices which would be acceptable in the ideal divine-right monarchy. Many of these practices certainly were not characteristic of Louis' gay court. Bossuet, for example, in no way whatever approved the sexual promiscuity of the king, and he went to great pains to point out to his young charge the virtues of chastity.

We shall reserve for a later consideration a discussion of the methods used by Bossuet to impose the values which he considered important upon the young Prince. We will content ourselves here with an account of the arguments used by Bossuet in promoting the view that kings rule according to a heaven-given charter of authority.

Bossuet's most important contributions to the body of thought supporting divine-right monarchy were made during the time he served as a tutor to the Crown Prince. During this period, he wrote several books for his pupil. These books include arguments basic to the divine-right theory. They are rather sophisticated works, and Bossuet was somewhat disappointed that his young pupil did not take readily to the works. In general, the Dauphin proved to be rather a slow pupil, and he occasionally showed a "distinct aversion to study."¹¹

¹¹Norman Sykes, "Bossuet," The Social and Political Ideas of Some Great French Thinkers of the Age of Reason, F.J.C. Hearnshaw, editor (London: George G. Harrap and Company, Ltd., 1930), p. 42.

The work of Bossuet which best illustrates his conviction that monarchy is a God-given form of government is his Politics Drawn from the Very Words of the Sacred Scripture. C. K. Adams describes the Politics as ". . . the Catechism of absolutism and the testament of the age of Louis XIV."¹² Charles Guignebert says of the same work that it "has commonly been considered as the classical presentation of the doctrine of divine-right kings."¹³ In support of his position, Bossuet in the Politics wrote that:

Thus, we have found that according to the order of divine providence the constitution of this kingdom was from its inception the most comfortable to the will of God as declared by the Scriptures. . . . Since we are writing in a monarchical state, and for a prince who is to succeed to the leadership of so great a kingdom, we will henceforward apply all of the instructions we get from the Scriptures to the form of government under which we live.¹⁴

For Bossuet, monarchy was a God-given form of government. Since the Holy Scriptures represented the word of God, it was, in the view of Bossuet, only necessary to read them correctly to learn in what fashion the leader of an ideal divine-right monarchy ought to comport himself. Bossuet believed that it was very necessary for the king to fully understand the nature of his position, for, in the ideal monarchy, he is a very powerful figure. Bossuet noted:

¹²C. K. Adams, Democracy and Monarchy in France (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1874), p. 116.

¹³Charles Guignebert, A Short History of the French People, trans. F. G. Richards (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1930), p. 90

¹⁴J. B. Bossuet, Politics Drawn from the Very Words of the Sacred Scripture (Vol. XXIII of Oeuvres Complètes de Bossuet, ed. F. Lachat. 31 vols.; Paris: Librairie de Louis Vives, 1864), p. 532.

God has made kings and princes his lieutenants here on earth for the purpose of making their authority inviolable. . . . All that we have seen for the purpose of showing that the power of kings is sacred confirms the truth of what we say here, which is that there is nothing better founded upon the word of God than that obedience which is due according to the principle of religion and conscience to legitimate authorities.¹⁵

Louis XIV probably accepted the idea of obligatory obedience on the part of his subjects without any qualification. Bossuet, however, recognized that the unique station of kings placed them in a position of responsibility as well as of privilege. In his letter to Pope Innocent XI describing the instruction of the Dauphin, Bossuet made the point that the more honors God has seen fit to bestow upon kings, "the more their subjection to Him grows, and that it pleases God to make them serve as examples. . . ."16

Bossuet pointed out that the king has an obligation to his fellow men, noting that ". . . the person who is pious towards God is also good towards the men God has created in His own image and which He regards as His children."¹⁷ Bossuet was speaking here of the ideal monarch, not of Louis XIV. Louis' concern for the welfare of the common man was minimal.

Bossuet's conception of a spiritually-ordained, divine-right monarchy rested on the assumption of mutual obligations between God and monarch. God, for his part, gave to the king his authority and a subject

¹⁵J. B. Bossuet, Politics Drawn from the Very Words of the Sacred Scripture (Vol. XXIV of Oeuvres Complètes de Bossuet, ed. F. Lachat. 31 vols.; Paris: Librairie de Louis Vives, 1864), pp. 8, 9.

¹⁶J. B. Bossuet, "On the Instruction of Monseigneur the Dauphin," (Vol. XXIII of Oeuvres Complètes de Bossuet, ed. F. Lachat. 31 vols.; Paris: Librairie de Louis Vives, 1864), p. 19.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 17.

population which was supposed to recognize the king as the designated representative of the Almighty. The king, in return, was obliged to be God's foremost champion here on earth. The monarch was expected to be a defender of the faith and to lead a blameless life in keeping with God's word as delineated in the Holy Scriptures.

Bossuet, in his capacity as tutor to the Dauphin was especially concerned that the young man learn his kingly obligations. In this connection, Bossuet summed his convictions in his letter to Pope Innocent XI, when he wrote, "... . His studies have no other object than that of making him capable of acquitting himself easily in the performance of all his duties."¹⁸

¹⁸Ibid.

CHAPTER III

BOSSUET AND THE INSTRUCTION OF THE DAUPHIN:

SUBJECTS AND PROCEDURES

Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet served as tutor to the Dauphin from September 1670 to March 1681, at which time the Prince married.¹ At the request of Pope Innocent XI, Bossuet in 1679 sent a letter to the Holy See in which he related the objectives, materials, and procedures he had been using in instructing his student.²

Bossuet's program called for instruction seven days a week.³ Rigorous as this program might seem, the prelate was very much concerned about the problem of keeping the interest of his student on his work over so long a period of time. To ameliorate this problem, Bossuet interspersed serious study periods with recreation time "so as to maintain the spirit of the Crown Prince in an agreeable disposition and so as not to permit study to appear to him under a sad and hideous face as might dishearten him."⁴

Bossuet evidenced an amazing sensitivity to the relationship between maturation and capacity to learn. Bossuet wrote that:

¹E. E. Reynolds, Bossuet (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, 1963), pp. 71; 94.

²Ibid., p. 74.

³J. B. Bossuet, "On the Instruction of Monseigneur the Dauphin," (Vol. XXIII of Oeuvres Complètes de Bossuet, ed. F. Lachat. 31 vols.; Paris: Librairie de Louis Vives, 1864), pp. 15-16.

⁴Ibid.

We contented ourselves with introducing him to the most essential things in accordance to his capacity to learn; and we reserved, for a time when he would be more mature, those things which seemed either too profound or too difficult for a child.⁵

In a later section dealing with the manner in which his charge was introduced to mathematical principles, Bossuet noted that:

. . . Our principal care has been that they be given to him properly, and each thing at the right time, that he might digest them more easily and in such a fashion that they turn into nourishment.⁶

Bossuet's thoughts on maturity and learning, which were set down in 1679, bear a striking resemblance to R. J. Havighurst's observation, written in 1953, that:

When the body is ripe, and society requires, and the self is ready to achieve a certain task, the teachable moment has come.⁷

Throughout this period of instruction, Bossuet strove constantly to make his young charge think of learning as a pleasurable activity. In his letter to Pope Innocent XI, he claimed especial success in this area with respect to the study of the Gospels. The Dauphin, according to Bossuet, very much enjoyed reading the Gospels. When Bossuet would notice, on occasion, that the young man was not giving the reading the serious concentration it merited, he would take away the book. As a result of this policy, "The Prince, who regarded as a punishment the

⁵Ibid., p. 17.

⁶Ibid., p. 27.

⁷R. J. Havighurst, Human Development and Education (New York: Longmans, 1953), p. 5.

denial of this reading, learned to read devoutly the little he read and to think about what he had read very much."⁸

Bossuet believed that the best way to teach a child right and wrong, good and evil, and piety and impiety was to show him examples, whether living or dead, of people whose actions could be categorized as right or wrong, good or evil, pious or impious. Bossuet applied the principle of teaching by example to nearly every one of the subjects to which his young student was exposed. There were, however, distinctive differences in approach to the way in which these examples were presented. These differences were largely molded by the peculiar characteristics of the individual subjects to which the Dauphin was introduced. It may be useful, therefore, to examine individually the several subject-matter areas taught to the Dauphin with respect to the goals of instruction and methods of presentation unique to each. In addition, a brief description of some of the textbooks prepared by Bossuet for his student may provide an insight into both his educational procedures and his conception of educational priorities with respect to subject matter.

I. SUBJECTS AND PROCEDURES

Religion. It is not surprising to find that the good Jesuit Bossuet, the staunch defender of a scripturally-based divine-right monarchy philosophy, should have considered religion the most important of the subjects to be presented to the heir of Louis XIV. Bossuet undertook

⁸J. B. Bossuet, "On the Instruction of Monseigneur the Dauphin," (Vol. XXIII of Oeuvres Complètes de Bossuet, ed. F. Lachat. 31 vols.; Paris: Librairie de Louis Vives, 1864), p. 18.

to show the Dauphin that God had decreed, through the medium of the Holy Scriptures, that every human being had his own role to play in this world, and that the Dauphin, as a future king, could not fail to learn the duties which had been assigned to him by heaven without committing serious errors.⁹

Bossuet pointed out to his student that the duties of a king could be summarized in the three words, "piety," "kindness," and "justice." The Dauphin was required to commit these words to memory as well as interpretations as to their interrelationships which were provided by Bossuet.¹⁰

In teaching the principles of religion which he wished his young charge to assume as his own, Bossuet relied very heavily on teaching by example. Bossuet read sections from the Bible in which God was seen as favoring pious princes and working against the interests of impious princes. When he was old enough to comprehend the Gospels, the Dauphin read them under the watchful eye of his mentor. Bossuet wanted the young man to note from the Gospels how Jesus had comported himself here on earth. From the Acts of the Apostles, the Dauphin learned how the Apostles had governed the early church wisely according to the wishes of Jesus Christ.¹¹ From this reading, he was supposed to see how a king, a kind of latter-day heavenly deputy, should act in accordance with the desires of the Almighty.

⁹Ibid., p. 17.

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹Ibid. pp. 17, 18.

The Virgin Mary was cited by Bossuet as an outstanding example of the virtue of chastity.¹² Bossuet was particularly concerned that his student appreciate the importance of this trait since Louis XIV had been somewhat less than outstanding in his devotion to this virtue.

The Dauphin's study of the Old Testament centered around those passages dealing with kings. Bossuet pointed out that God gave special status to kings and that, because of this very special status, kings were more subject to God's will than any other class of people. Bossuet's student learned that kings are meant to stand as earthly representatives of heaven.¹³

The New Testament was studied after the Old Testament. The emphasis here was to point out to the Dauphin that many of the prophecies which had been made in the Old Testament had been fulfilled in the New Testament. The purpose of this study was to convince him that there was a certainty of those things which God has promised coming to pass.¹⁴

In addition to Biblical materials, the Dauphin studied the lives of the saints.¹⁵ These lives were exemplary ones, such as Bossuet would have liked to see emulated by his student. The study of the lives of the saints stands as another instance of Bossuet's technique of teaching through example.

¹²Ibid., p. 18.

¹³Ibid., p. 19.

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵Ibid.

Grammar and literature. Grammar was not taught as an independent discipline. It was studied as an adjunct to the study of literature. In terms of goals, Bossuet hoped to ". . . make the Prince understand first of all the propriety, and next, the elegance of the Latin and French languages."¹⁶

The study of literature had a basically religious end. Bossuet's pupil was shown the evil which comes to people who follow their own devices rather than those principles set forth by God.

Those books which the Dauphin studied were read in their entirety. Bossuet was convinced that selections from a book did not represent an accurate sample of the whole and that to get a true appreciation for the genius of the author the entire book must be read and digested.¹⁷ Possibly, Bossuet was looking ahead to a future time when his student would have to make decisions. The prelate, doubtless, would have liked those decisions to be made on the basis of complete information rather than on the basis of fragmentary information. In requiring his student to read entire books, Bossuet may have thought himself to be inculcating the virtue of thoroughness.

In his letter to Pope Innocent XI, Bossuet noted that the favorite poets of his pupil were Vergil and Terence. In Terence, those passages in which the poet spoke of the serenity which comes to one through the

¹⁶Ibid.

¹⁷J. B. Bossuet, "On the Instruction of Monseigneur the Dauphin," (Vol. XXIII of Oeuvres Complètes de Bossuet, ed. F. Lachat. 31 vols.; Paris: Librairie de Louis Vives, 1864), p. 20.

performance of his duty were emphasized.¹⁸ Not all of the works of Terence were read by the Dauphin. Bossuet kept back from him those sections of his works in which the poet was judged to have written in a licentious manner.¹⁹

Among the favorite historians of the Dauphin were Sallust and Caesar. Caesar was presented as an outstanding man of action. Bossuet noted that the Dauphin saw Caesar ". . . as a man about whom a person must know if he wishes to know about making war."²⁰ Bossuet and his student spent a great deal of time discussing all of Caesar's military campaigns.

Much attention was given also to the works of Cicero. Bossuet concerned himself primarily with a presentation of Cicero's philosophical discourses and orations.²¹

In general, the study of literature involved a process of selection by Bossuet of those materials which best served to illustrate to his student the advantages to be enjoyed by the man who sees his duty clearly and who carries it to fulfillment with distinction.

History. Bossuet saw history as "the great mistress of human life and of politics."²² The history of France was emphasized in his program

¹⁸Ibid., p. 21.

¹⁹Ibid., pp. 21, 22.

²⁰Ibid., p. 20.

²¹Ibid., p. 21.

²²Ibid., p. 22.

of instruction. With a few exceptions, the Dauphin generally did not read history books. Bossuet, himself, worked with the source materials and from them took those parts which he believed would best enable his charge to see the sequence of events.²³

Bossuet's approach to history seems to conflict with his approach to the study of literature. In the area of literature, Bossuet required his pupil to read books in their entirety, whereas, in the area of history few books were read and the program consisted primarily of a presentation of materials selected by the prelate. Not too much should be made of this apparent inconsistency. In the area of literature, although books were read in their entirety, there was a process of selection at work, because Bossuet decided just what books would be read by his student. Bossuet appears to have felt that no existent history book was adequate to the tasks of properly teaching the sequence of historical events and developing critical historical judgment in the Dauphin. This attitude was evidenced in Bossuet's decision to begin writing a comprehensive history of the world during the time he was serving as tutor.

Bossuet taught history by reciting the information he had gathered from the sources and presenting them to the Prince in the form of a lecture. The lecture was repeated until the Dauphin was able to deliver it himself. As soon as he was able to perform this task to Bossuet's satisfaction, he was asked to transcribe the lecture in French. In this manner, the history lesson also became a lesson in composition. As soon as the lesson was written in French, the Dauphin was required to translate

²³Ibid.

it into Latin. Thus the history and the composition lesson also became a lesson in translation.²⁴

The French compositions were kept by the Dauphin and, every Saturday, he read over what he had read during the week. The growing work was eventually divided into books, which the Dauphin re-read from time to time. After the death of Bossuet, these manuscripts were gathered together and published under the title of L'Histoire de France par le Dauphin.

Reynolds asserts that the History of the Dauphin was not just Bossuet's work masquerading under the name of his famous pupil. He observes that the style of the work is bare compared to that of Bossuet and that it lacks polish.²⁵ The publication of the book may have been due more to the high station of the author than to its intrinsic merits.

Bossuet used history to introduce his student to the variety of experiences which he might expect to meet in life. By making him familiar with unexpected occurrences in the past, Bossuet hoped to make him capable of meeting any future eventuality with confidence.

Bossuet employed the medium of history to demonstrate the relationship he saw between success on earth and commitment to the tenets of the church. Bossuet taught that France had been allowed to flourish because her kings had been steadfast in their devotion to God and the Holy

²⁴Ibid., p. 22.

²⁵E. E. Reynolds, Bossuet (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, 1963), p. 75.

See. Heresy was shown to have a debilitating effect on a kingdom.²⁶
 From these studies, Bossuet hoped his student would see the utility of doing God's will.

History was also a vehicle for demonstrating the proper procedures to be followed in making a decision. Bossuet would give to the Dauphin a set of actual historical circumstances requiring a decision. After evaluating the circumstances, he would announce his decision.²⁷ Bossuet would then reveal what had actually been decided in the historical instance and whether the decision taken had been a good one. From this activity, Bossuet hoped to enable his student to formulate and execute wise plans.

Geography. Geography was taught as a kind of a game. Bossuet and his student would take imaginary voyages. Bossuet described his procedure as follows:

At one time, we followed the courses of the rivers, at another, we hugged the shores of the ocean, going country to country, then suddenly we sailed the high seas and traveled in the lands. We saw the ports and the cities, not running through them as is done by travelers without curiosity, but examining everything, researching the customs, especially those of France.²⁸

There was a two-fold purpose to the teaching of geography. First, Bossuet wished to impress upon the Dauphin the vast number and the varying characteristics of the people of France. Second, the prelate wanted his

²⁶J. B. Bossuet, "On the Instruction of Monseigneur the Dauphin," (Vol. XXIII of Oeuvres Complètes de Bossuet, ed. F. Lachat. 31 vols.; Paris: Librairie de Louis Vives, 1864), pp. 22, 23.

²⁷Ibid., p. 23.

²⁸Ibid., p. 21.

charge to gain some awareness of the large physical dimensions of his future domain. Because of the vastness of the land and the variety of people within the land, Bossuet taught that the ruler of France could achieve success only through the exercise of a profound wisdom.

Mathematics. Mathematics was not taught to the Dauphin by Bossuet. For this subject, Bossuet brought in a master who had a greater competency in the area than he did himself. Although Bossuet noted that mathematics serves ". . . the exactness of reason . . .," the actual program of instruction was remarkably free from consideration of abstractions and was concerned rather with practical decisions which might have to be made by a military commander.²⁹

The mathematics curriculum consisted of exercises designed to teach the student to attack an enemy, fortify armed positions, make encampments, build forts according to his own plans, and organize and direct a march of an entire army.³⁰

In the more traditional realm, the Dauphin was taught certain principles of mechanics, weights of liquids and solids, and some of the first books of Euclid. He proved to be especially adept at acquiring a working knowledge of Euclid's propositions.³¹

Logic, rhetoric, and morals. The works of Plato and Aristotle were those used most frequently by Bossuet to teach basic principles of

²⁹Ibid., p. 27.

³⁰Ibid.

³¹Ibid.

logic. Bossuet believed that logic was a necessary part of the curriculum because, in his view, it could be used to teach the skill of making sound judgments.³² Aristotle and Plato were believed by Bossuet to be especially noteworthy exemplars of solid reasoning.

Bossuet felt that the Dauphin ought to understand the nature of the sequence of arguments which, because of their arrangement, makes a whole proposition stronger than any of its constituent parts. To teach the principles of rhetoric, Bossuet drew upon the best precepts of Aristotle, Cicero, Quintilian, and other figures from antiquity.³³ However, Bossuet much preferred to rely upon examples rather than principles. He made a practice of reading aloud orations which he edited in such a fashion that all figures of speech and other rhetorical devices were removed. By this process, he hoped to leave nothing intact except the arguments themselves. From these presentations, Bossuet hoped his student would see what part logic played in these speeches and what role rhetoric played.³⁴

Bossuet relied heavily on the Holy Scriptures in teaching morals. While Bossuet believed the Scriptures to be the most important source of instructional material in this area, he did supplement his presentations with some passages from the Morals of Aristotle and some doctrine of Socrates. The end in consulting these non-scriptural sources was that of finding material supportive of Christian morals. An example of how

³²Ibid., p. 25.

³³Ibid.

³⁴Ibid., p. 26.

Bossuet drew on diverse sources to support this standard is seen in the following:

We did, nevertheless, stop to consider and explain the Morals of Aristototle, to which we added the admirable doctrine of Socrates, which was truly sublime for the time when it was written, which can be used to give the faith to unbelievers and to make even the hardest cases blush.³⁵

Bossuet concluded that, after all moral systems had been considered, " . . . it was necessary to admit that philosophy, as serious as it appeared, was in its pure infancy compared to the wisdom of the Gospels."³⁶

Philosophy. The purpose of instruction in philosophy was to enable the Dauphin to see the wisdom of certain basic Christian beliefs. Bossuet was especially concerned that his student perceive the difference between his physical self and his spiritual self.³⁷ To facilitate the learning of this distinction, Bossuet wrote a book entitled, Treatise on the Knowledge of God and Oneself. Bossuet, in this work explained that the soul governs the body much as God governs the universe. The Dauphin was enjoined to encourage his soul to govern his body in accordance with the will of God.

In addition to philosophy as it related to fundamentals of religion, Bossuet also introduced other areas of philosophical inquiry. Philosophical arguments were divided into two broad categories. The

³⁵Ibid.

³⁶Ibid.

³⁷Ibid., p. 24.

first of these included those disputes which had been settled beyond a question of a doubt. The second included those disputes which were still subject to intense debate. Bossuet taught that the Dauphin, as future king, ought not to become involved as an active partisan in philosophical discussions of the second, or unresolved type. Rather, it was his duty to listen with equal attention to the proponents of each point of view and to protect the right of each to express his opinion. Bossuet emphasized that active participation in quarrels was below the station of a king, for, as the prelate noted, "one who has been born for leadership must learn to judge and not to argue."³⁸

Models of kings. In his program of instruction, Bossuet emphasized the lives of two kings as models worthy of the emulation of his student. The first choice of Bossuet as an example of an outstanding king was Louis IX, better known to history as Saint Louis. Saint Louis was a thirteenth century French monarch outstanding for his piety and his courage. Bossuet was especially concerned that the Dauphin learn that St. Louis; in addition to being a very religious man, was also very capable in the management of the affairs of state.³⁹ For Bossuet, St. Louis was an ideal divine-right monarch who remained steadfast in his commitment to religion, managed his government and army with imagination and skill, and was duly rewarded by the Almighty for adhering so rigidly to the divine will.

³⁸Ibid.

³⁹Ibid., p. 23.

One must be a little skeptical of Bossuet's choice of his own monarch, Louis XIV, as the second model king. Bossuet certainly could not have been blind to Louis' dallings with the ladies of the court and certain of his other activities which did not run parallel to Bossuet's own reading of the scripturally-delineated deportment for the ideal divine-right monarch. Bossuet's lack of consistency may be attributed to his appreciation of the reality of his own situation. The prelate owed his position at court to the good offices of Louis, and it might have appeared an insult to the king had he not been included among those monarchs deemed worthy of emulation. In spite of this bouquet to Louis, one can hardly but admire Bossuet's courage in promoting elsewhere in his educational schema a rigid moral deportment which in no way characterized Louis XIV. In his letter to Pope Innocent XI, Bossuet devoted only a few lines to Louis as an exemplary monarch, whereas a great deal of space was given in praise of the Virgin Mary and the virtue of chastity. The reference to Louis XIV reveals Bossuet as sensitive to the political climate of his time, but the general tenor of the entire letter reveals him to be supremely a man of immutable personal conviction.

Other subjects. Subjects other than those already described were included in Bossuet's program of instruction. Generally, these topics were described in a somewhat sketchy manner by Bossuet, and it is not possible to discuss, in detail, the goals of the instruction, the materials used, or the procedures followed.

Some time was devoted to the study of physical development and the human body. In accordance with the precepts of Aristotle, Bossuet

arranged for the Dauphin to learn about the things of nature. Bossuet's purpose was to enable his student to observe the power of God working behind the power of nature.⁴⁰

The Dauphin was introduced to the Roman Law. This study seems to have been primarily of a practical nature with an emphasis on those aspects of the legal system with which a reigning monarch might have to contend.⁴¹

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 26.

⁴¹Ibid.

CHAPTER IV

BOSSUET'S TEXTBOOKS

During Bossuet's period as tutor to the Crown Prince, he wrote three books, Discourse on Universal History, Politics Drawn from the Very Words of the Sacred Scripture, and Treatise on the Knowledge of God and Oneself. Not all of these books were published until after Bossuet had completed his period of tutorship. However, the instruction of the Dauphin was his inspiration to write the books, and it is likely that the prelate drew from the materials he was preparing in constructing daily lessons. We know that Bossuet, at least, intended to use the books in his work with the Dauphin because, in many passages in these works, he addressed himself directly to his student.

In glancing through these materials, one is struck by the sophisticated level of the writing and the arguments. Although Bossuet elsewhere demonstrated an awareness of the relationship between maturity and capacity to learn, he seemed to forget that connection in preparing these books for his student. It is unlikely that any but a mature mind could successfully cope with the materials presented in these works. They are interesting, nevertheless, because they reveal clearly the system of values which Bossuet hoped to impose upon his student.

Discourse on Universal History. The Discourse on Universal History was written with a view toward demonstrating to the Dauphin the manner of development of human institutions, the sequence of historical events, and, more importantly, the paramount role played by divine

providence in determining the course of human affairs.¹ In terms of time, the Universal History covers the period from Adam and the creation of the world to the triumph of the Empire of Charlemagne.

The Universal History is divided into three books. The first of these is further separated into twelve "epochs," or stages. The following list of the individual titles of the twelve "epochs" gives some idea of the nature of the material presented in the first of the three books:

Epoch 1	"Adam, or The Creation"
Epoch 2	"Noah, or The Flood"
Epoch 3	"The Vocation of Abraham, or the Beginning of the People of God and of the Alliance"
Epoch 4	"Moses, or the Written Law"
Epoch 5	"The Seizure of Troy"
Epoch 6	"Solomon, or the Completed Temple"
Epoch 7	"Romulus, or the Founding of Rome"
Epoch 8	"Cyrus, or the Re-establishment of the Jews"
Epoch 9	"Scipio, or the Defeat of Carthage"
Epoch 10	"The Birth of Jesus Christ"
Epoch 11	"Constantine, or the Peace of the Church"
Epoch 12	"Charlemagne, or the Establishment of the New Empire" ²

The second book of the Universal History is concerned with the development of the Christian religion.³ The book is divided into thirty-one chapters. Early chapters deal with the creation of the world and with such early-day religious figures as Abraham, Moses, Solomon, and David. Later chapters concentrate on the triumph of the church and the teachings of Jesus Christ.

The third and final book of the Universal History is concerned with

¹J. B. Bossuet, Discourse on Universal History (Vol. I of Oeuvres Choisies de Bossuet, 5 vols.; Paris: Librairie Hachette et Cie., 1912), pp. 159-430.

²Ibid., pp. 162-233.

³Ibid., pp. 234-272.

the rise and fall of empires.⁴ The flowering or decaying of empires was attributed by Bossuet to the will of God. Bossuet wrote in this connection, "But remember . . . that the long series of particular causes which make and unmake empires depend on the secret orders of divine providence."⁵

Bossuet's conviction that the study of religion exceeded in importance the consideration of other areas, as Reynolds has pointed out, is revealed in the fact that the second book of the Universal History, the section dealing primarily with Christianity, is nearly as long as the other two books combined.⁶ The make-up of the Universal History suggests that Bossuet intended his student to learn from the examples of the past.

The most common criticism launched against the Universal History was that it failed to take note of China, India, and other civilizations of the East. A critic who took this line about a century after the book was written was Voltaire. He wrote that, of the ancient nations:

China . . . and India are the oldest of those which still exist today; they possess the vastest and finest countries and had invented almost all the arts before we had learned even a few of them. Yet these same people have always been omitted, up to the present day from our so-called universal histories.⁷

In his own time, Bossuet defended himself against his critics by pointing out that, except for the tales of a few travelers, very little was known about eastern civilization.⁸

⁴Ibid., pp. 162-233.

⁵Ibid., pp. 372-430.

⁶E. E. Reynolds, Bossuet (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, 1963), p. 97.

⁷François Voltaire, The Age of Louis XIV, trans. J. H. Brumfitt (New York: Twayne Publishers, Inc., 1963), p. 314.

⁸Reynolds, op. cit., p. 97.

The Universal History, in its day, filled a genuine need for a comprehensive history of the world. During the two centuries following Bossuet's death, the Universal History, or adaptations of the work, went through nearly two hundred editions.⁹ Because of the discovery of new source material and the development of more sophisticated research procedures, much of what is contained in the book will not bear up under the close scrutiny of the modern historian. Yet, for a number of years the book had a great deal of influence, and though the intrinsic merits of the contents are doubtful, the work would be of great interest to persons involved in an examination of the development of textbooks.

Politics Drawn from the Very Words of the Sacred Scripture. The Politics was the vehicle used by Bossuet to convey to the Dauphin his belief in the divine-right monarchy philosophy.¹⁰ The text of the Politics is preceded by a short foreword entitled "To Monseigneur the Dauphin." In this brief section, addressing himself directly to his student, Bossuet wrote:

God is the king of kings. To Him falls the responsibility for instructing them and for ruling them like His ministers. Hear then . . . the lessons which He gives in His Scriptures and learn from Him the rules and examples according to which kings must form their conduct.¹¹

The Politics is divided into ten chapters. Each chapter is

⁹Ibid., p. 95.

¹⁰J. B. Bossuet, Politics Drawn from the Very Words of the Sacred Scripture (Vol. II of Oeuvres Choisies de Bossuet, 5 vols.; Paris: Librairie Hachette et Cie., 1912), pp. 1-289.

¹¹Ibid., p. 1.

further broken down into general statements and specific propositions offered in defense of those general statements. The book is a long and rather tedious one, and it is remarkable that Bossuet should ever have considered it suitable reading material for his young charge.

The main thrust of the book is that monarchy is the form of government preferred by God. Kings are said to be God's representatives here on earth. Because of the unique status of kings, the populations of the countries over which monarchs rule have a religious obligation to obey their rulers. At the same time, because of the special privileges which they enjoy, kings are expected to lead blameless lives in accordance with the word of God from whom they derive all of their authority.

As a classic exposition of the divine right theory, the Politics is an interesting curiosaity, but it addresses itself to the prejudices of another age, and it seems strangely anachronistic at a time when people find it difficult to imagine that there was an epoch when learned men defended autocracy as the gift of the Almighty.

Treatise on the Knowledge of God and Oneself. The Treatise was written by Bossuet for the purpose of reinforcing the Dauphin's belief in God.¹² Bossuet contended that self understanding was the key to appreciating the nature of the Almighty. Bossuet wrote that "wisdom consists in knowing God and in knowing oneself. The knowledge of ourselves raises us up to the knowledge of God."¹³

¹²J. B. Bossuet, Treatise on the Knowledge of God and Oneself, (Vol. I of Oeuvres Choisies de Bossuet, 5 vols.; Paris: Librairie Hachette et Cie., 1912), pp. 18-158.

¹³Ibid., p. 18.

Bossuet argued in the Treatise that, for the individual to truly understand himself, he must first of all be able to distinguish between the soul and the body. Bossuet described the soul as a kind of a center of sense and feeling. The body was seen simply as a physical mass which acted in accordance to the directives of the soul. Bossuet pointed out to the Dauphin that the soul governed the activity of the human body in much the same fashion that God controlled the operation of the universe.

The Treatise is a very long, complex book. The first chapter is concerned with a discussion of the nature of the soul. Bossuet noted that the presence of the soul can be detected by recognizing two general types of its operations. These are sensory operations and intellectual operations. Sensory operations include the sensations of sight, touch, hearing, taste, and smell. The intellectual operations involve the thought processes.¹⁴

In the second chapter, Bossuet wrote about the body. He emphasized the ways in which the characteristics of the body differ from the basic features of the human soul. Chapter three is concerned with an exposition of the relationship between the body and the soul.

Bossuet, in chapter four, wrote of the special relationship between God and both the body and the soul. God is portrayed as being responsible for the life which develops out of the union of body and soul. In his final chapter, Bossuet considered the basic differences between human beings and animals.

The highly philosophical Treatise seems hopelessly beyond the capabilities of the student for whose eyes it was allegedly written.

¹⁴Ibid.

Indeed, there seems to be a general inconsistency between what Bossuet did with the Dauphin on a day-to-day instructional basis and what he wrote for him by way of textbooks. In the classroom, Bossuet appears to have been well aware of the relationship between maturity and ability to absorb new materials. Yet, in his books, the prelate seems to have operated on the assumption that the Dauphin already possessed a mature intellect. It is difficult to account for this apparent dichotomy, but possibly, while nominally directing the Treatise, the Universal History, and the Politics to the attention of his student, Bossuet may have been looking ahead to a future time when those works would be read by a wider, adult audience.

CHAPTER V

OBSERVATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

FOR FURTHER STUDY

It is not possible to assess Bossuet's program of instruction in terms of its applicability to a typical, classroom teaching situation. Even if one were able to measure in some kind of meaningful way the progress made by the Dauphin towards a total acceptance of those values promoted by Bossuet, the one-to-one teacher/student relationship would render impossible the drawing of reliable inferences concerning the success of Bossuet's program in a different setting. For this reason, it will be possible to evaluate Bossuet's teaching only in terms of the development of his student, the Dauphin.

I. OBSERVATIONS

Had Bossuet's program of instruction been a great success, one might have expected the Dauphin to be a resolute, self-confident man, quick to evaluate difficult situations and positive that he was doing the bidding of the Almighty. In fact, quite a different picture of him has come down to us. In general, the mature Dauphin is depicted as a rather dull, lazy individual who added next to nothing to the luster of Louis' court at Versailles.

As an adult, the former student of Bossuet, rather than joining actively into the politics and gay social life of the court, developed an acute distaste for much of the activity at Versailles. He developed

an interest in outdoor diversions, and " . . . best of all he liked riding to the hounds."¹

Perhaps the Dauphin felt more comfortable away from the court where he was regarded as something of a curiosity. In an age which admired beauty, he confounded everyone by displaying an interest in the most ordinary of women. In spite of his position as heir apparent to the throne, he was not the object of romantic intrigues by the leading ladies of the court. Madame de la Fayette refers to a party at which the Dauphin appeared, noting that he "as a lover is so little dangerous that he was not even talked about."² Not to be "talked about" at the court of Louis XIV was tantamount to being a nobody. In that society, petty gossip was a staff of life.

The Dauphin was known to prefer the company of people who did not move in the inner circle at Versailles. At dances, it was his "pleasure . . . to change his clothes frequently, for the mere joy of being unrecognized, and of talking to unimportant people."³ The Dauphin was passionately attached to masked balls. Indeed, so far as activities at the court were concerned, it was said that "he cared for no other form of amusement."⁴

¹Nancy Mitford, The Sun King (New York: Harper and Row, 1966), p. 106.

²Madame de la Fayette, The Secret History of Henrietta, Princess of England, trans. J. M. Shelmerdine (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company 1929), p. 199.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid., p. 200.

The Dauphin's love of hunting, an activity which took him away from the activity of the court, and of masked balls, social events which enabled him to mingle freely without being expected to measure up to any standard of conduct, suggests that he was very uncomfortable in the presence of the nobility. Hunting and masked balls can be viewed as activities which enabled him to escape face-to-face associations with people whose attitudes and activities he found disconcerting. This withdrawal from the life of the court, while certainly not a mode of behavior which would have been desired by Bossuet, may be a strange kind of a tribute to the effectiveness of the prelate's program of instruction.

Bossuet, as a tutor, had attempted to have the Dauphin take on all of the characteristics of the divine-right monarch. Bossuet was an idealist. The monarch he described and the mode of life he delineated existed in no real situation; both were creations of his own mind which he derived from his own distillation of materials carefully selected from the Holy Scriptures. While instructing the Dauphin, Bossuet faced the decision of compromising his own convictions or modifying them to parallel more closely the prevailing attitudes of the court. He chose to remain true to his own values, although he was not unaware of the problem he was creating for his student in teaching a moral system which was so patently at odds with that embraced by Louis and the upper nobility. Bossuet recognized his predicament when he wrote to a friend, "But the world! The world! The pleasures, the bad counsels, the bad examples."⁵

⁵E. E. Reynolds, Bossuet (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, 1963), p. 79.

In spite of the dichotomy between the ideal and the practice, Bossuet chose to remain constant to his beliefs in the hope that with the eventual accession of the Dauphin to the throne a better moral climate might come to prevail in France.

Bossuet would have liked his student, on his own, to make sufficient adaptations to the value system of the court that he would be able to move comfortably among his associates and gradually work as a force to modify those many aspects of court life which deviated from practices which would fit conveniently into the value structure of the ideal divine-right monarchy. Bossuet, perhaps, erred in assuming that the Dauphin could make these accommodations on his own volition, without the necessity of any special instruction. What seems to have happened, on the contrary, is that Bossuet's student completed his education with a set of values paralleling those of his master, but without the ability to make an adjustment to the real world.

When the Dauphin came into contact with the life of the court of Louis XIV, he was confronted with a society whose moral values in no way mirrored the code he had acquired from Bossuet. The king's disdain for the poor, the lavish display of wealth at Versailles, and the lack of sexual restraint among the nobility were shockingly at odds with his own system of values. Because of his inability to make an accommodation to this reality, the Dauphin probably found it impossible to communicate meaningfully with the denizens of the court. Lacking a rapport with those people with whom he was supposed to associate, the Dauphin's withdrawal from active participation in the life of the court cannot be considered surprising.

The Dauphin's strangeness and his inability to mix easily with his noble peers is mentioned frequently in accounts written by luminaries of the court. Many pointed to his allegedly low intelligence in accounting for his unusual deportment. Madame de Montespan claimed to detect an inferior intellect in the Dauphin even as a child. She wrote:

And thus the little Dauphin showed none of those signs of intelligence which the most ordinary commonplace children usually display. When the Queen heard courtiers repeat some of the droll, witty sayings of the Comte de Vexin, or the Duc du Maine, she reddened with jealousy, and remarked: 'Everyone goes into ecstasies about those children; while Monseigneur the Dauphin is never mentioned.'⁶

Another seventeenth century contemporary, Saint-Simon, in assessing the character of the Dauphin, had few good words to offer. He wrote that the Dauphin was totally lacking in character and ambition. He was described as a:

. . . ball moving at haphazard by the impulsion of others; obstinate and little to excess in everything; amazingly credulous and accessible to prejudice, keeping himself always, in the most pernicious hands, yet incapable of seeing his position or of changing it; absorbed in his fat and his ignorance; so that without any desire to do ill he would have made a pernicious king.⁷

Despite the pronouncements of Madame de Montespan and Saint-Simon, the Dauphin cannot be condemned as an inadequate human being and his education pilloried as inappropriate. The characters of both Madame de Montespan and Saint-Simon were of such a nature that one hesitates to use them as standards against which to measure deportment. Madame de

⁶Madame la Marquise de Montespan, Secret Memoirs of the Courts of Europe, trans. P. E. P. (Philadelphia: George Barrie and Sons, 1900?), pp. 248-249.

⁷Duke of Saint-Simon, Memoirs of Louis XIV and his Court and of The Regency (New York: P. F. Collier and Son, 1910), p. 692.

Montespan was a mistress of Louis XIV, and it is scarcely surprising that she would find little to say by way of flattery of the Dauphin, who was the legitimate issue of the marriage of Louis and Maria Theresa of Spain. Saint-Simon, on the other hand, was a supreme snob who dedicated himself to measuring actions of every kind against the system of values which was accepted by Louis and most of his court. It is, therefore, not unusual to find that both Madame de Montespan and Saint-Simon should feel a little uncomfortable in the presence of the Dauphin, who, perhaps, as an exemplar of the value system of Bossuet, represented something of a threat to their styles of life.

For all of their shortcomings, Madame de Montespan and Saint-Simon were basically typical members of Louis' court circle. Bossuet could not have been unaware that the Dauphin would have to deal with such people. Further, the prelate could not possibly have been so lacking in perception that he felt such types would be readily amenable to a moral pattern of living such as he had outlined to the Dauphin. The question then arises as to why Bossuet failed to provide his student with an appreciation of the necessity of living and working with the people of the court even though they subscribed to a system of values other than his own.

Considering Bossuet's mental acuity, it is highly unlikely that he was unaware of the problem of the Dauphin. However, in his writings, we find no references to any effort on his part to make the Dauphin see the necessity of working with the people of the court. Certainly, the prelate must have made an attempt to do this, because he, himself, had made a similar adjustment. Bossuet at all times managed to work with

Louis and other members of his circle in an atmosphere of mutual respect. He was fully capable of promoting the acceptance of what he believed to be a better standard, while at the same time, accepting the presence of a real life situation in which those values he held dear were openly flaunted.

If Bossuet's aim were to impose his set of values on the Dauphin, his program of instruction, in terms of his one student, must be regarded as a success. If, however, he wished, in addition, to make of the Dauphin a dynamic and influential leader of the court, his program was a failure. In a different setting with a different pupil, Bossuet's program of instruction might have produced someone who was both accepting of his values and capable of leadership. But, in the case of the Dauphin, Bossuet would have done well to spend more time explaining the necessity of working with a society which did not share his values. Bossuet was an idealist, but one who had learned to live with the world. The Dauphin became an idealist, but he was unable to make his peace with his own society. Consequently, for all of Bossuet's labors, the Dauphin became not a model attracting the attention and the emulation of the court at Versailles, but rather a somewhat pathetic figure whose presence was merely tolerated, and at that, as an amusing oddity.

II. SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

The study of Bossuet and his instruction of the Dauphin raises a series of questions with regard to the teaching of values. These questions center around the internal conflict which rages within the individual who is an idealist, and yet, must deal with the complexities of the

so-called real world. An investigation into this area might consider such questions as the following:

1. What can the idealist do to protect himself from compromising his system of values?
2. How is the idealist to live in a world which does not accept his system of values?
3. Which, if any, values of the idealist should be modified in order to permit existence in a non-idealist world?
4. How should the idealist pass his values from one generation to another?
5. How can the idealist make his system of values meaningful to a society which does not accept that system?

The present study, in a more specific sense, suggests the possibility of comparative studies undertaken with a view to evaluating Bossuet's approach to the problem of teaching a system of values and that taken by one of his seventeenth century contemporaries. In this connection, an inquiry into the activities of François de Salignac de la Mothe-Fénelon would be fruitful.

Fénelon's book entitled, Treatise on the Education of Girls, which has been cited in discussions of the development of education for women, is rather well-known. However, the work of Fénelon which would be pertinent to a comparative study of Bossuet involves his activity during the time he served as tutor to the Duke of Bourgogne. The Duke of Bourgogne was the son of the Dauphin. A useful study might result from an examination of the contrasting teaching techniques used by Bossuet and Fénelon.

Bossuet and Fénelon might be examined in terms of their own value systems. Bossuet throughout his life refused to compromise his principles, remaining ever the solid, orthodox Jesuit. Fénelon, on the other

hand, was something of a maverick, and, for a time, he flirted with quietism. Among materials suitable for a study of Bossuet's and Fénelon's positions of the question of quietism are the many letters and articles exchanged by the two men written in refutation of the positions taken by one another on this issue.

Another useful comparative study might involve an investigation of the results of Bossuet's instruction of the Dauphin and Fénelon's instruction of the Duke of Bourgogne. Abundant source materials for such an inquiry exist in the form of comments by seventeenth century contemporaries of the characters of the two students, both as young men and as adults. Such a study might reveal interesting insights into the problem of identifying those characteristics which were valued by upper-class society in the seventeenth century. An interesting comparison might be made between those traits valued by noble society and those traits which were esteemed by Bossuet and Fénelon.

A student of textbooks could develop an intriguing study by comparing the textbooks written by Bossuet with those written by Fénelon. Bossuet's Universal History and Fénelon's Telemachus would be works appropriate to such an undertaking. In Telemachus, a character named Mentor attempts to teach the hero, Telemachus, the son of Ulysses, how to rule as a good king. This problem parallels that of Bossuet in preparing the Dauphin for the responsibilities of leadership.

In conclusion, the whole vast area of seventeenth century French education has not received a great deal of attention from American scholars working in the area of educational history. Seventeenth century France, considered in isolation, is little relevant to the complexities

of life in the twentieth century. Yet, considered on the broad historical continuum, the values, ideas, and practices which characterized French society in that day played a role in stimulating the development of presently-accepted values, ideas, and practices. For this reason, the culture of seventeenth century France, and more appropriately the means by which that culture was passed from generation to generation, merits the serious consideration of scholars.

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APPENDIX A

ON THE INSTRUCTION OF
MONSEIGNEUR THE DAUPHIN¹

Most Holy Father, we have often heard it said to the king that he ought to be very much concerned about the Crown Prince, who is the only child he has, the only support of so august a family, and the only hope of so great a kingdom. Indeed, with all his tenderness, the king has wished for him a life in which he performs actions worthy of his ancestors and of the position which he is to fill, and that he, in the end, would rather not have a son than to see him idle and without virtue.

That is why, since God gave him this prince, he resolved to educate him to work and virtue at an early age so as not to abandon him to that flabby condition which comes necessarily to a child who hears only talk of games and who is left too long to languish among the caresses of women and the amusements of early childhood. He wished that, from the earliest age, that is to say from the cradle, he learn the fear of God who is the support of human life and which assures to the kings themselves their power and majesty, and that he next learn all the sciences suitable for so great a prince; that is to say those which can serve the government and maintain a kingdom and even those which can, in whatever manner possible, perfect the spirit, instil good manners, attract the esteem of learned men so that His Royal Highness the Crown Prince can

¹A free translation by David G. Armstrong from Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet, "De L'Instruction de Monseigneur le Dauphin," (Vol. XXIII of *Oeuvres Complètes de Bossuet*, ed. F. Lachat. 31 vols.; Paris: Librairie de Louis Vives, 1864), pp. 15-29.

serve as a model for youth, as a protector for men of good will, and, in a word, to show himself to be a son worthy of so great a king.

I. THE RULE ON STUDIES GIVEN BY THE KING

The law which the king imposed in regard to the studies of the Prince was that he was to pass no day without studying. He recognizes that there is indeed a difference between spending an entire day without working and in taking some diversion to refresh the spirit. It is necessary that a child play and that he enjoy himself - - - that stimulates him. But, it is not necessary to so abandon him to games and pleasure that one does not call him back each day to things of a more serious nature, the study of which would be tiring if interrupted for a longer period. Since the entire life of princes is busy, and none of their days is free from great cares, it is good to drill them from childhood in serious things and to make them apply themselves to such matters during several hours each day so that their spirits might be broken to work and that they might be accustomed to serious matters when people come to tell them their business. This drill comprises a part of the pleasantness which is so useful in forming young minds; for the force of custom is sweet, and when habit takes over, one is no longer in need of being advised of his duty.

These reasons led the king to designate certain hours of each day for study, which, however, he believed ought to be intermingled with amusements so as to maintain the spirit of the Crown Prince in an agreeable disposition and so as not to permit study to appear to him under a sad and hideous face such as might dishearten him. In this supposition the king was not deceived; for, in following this method, it happened that the Prince, conditioned by habit, returned gaily and in a state of

enjoyment to his ordinary exercises which were for him, in effect, only a new kind of game when he wished to put his mind to them.

But, the principal factor in the success of this enterprise was the appointment as Governor of the Prince, Monsieur the Duke of Montausier, well-known in war and in letters, but more illustrious still for his piety. In a word, he is one who seems to have been born to raise the son of a hero. Since the time of his appointment, the Prince has constantly been under his eyes. He has not ceased working at the business of educating him and is always watching to keep at a distance those who might be able to corrupt his innocence either by bad examples or by licentious discourse. He exhorts him constantly to embrace all the virtues, principally piety. He has given to the Prince in his own person a perfect model, pressing forward and following through on his work with an unconquerable attention and constancy. He has forgotten nothing which might be useful to the Prince in giving to him all the strength of body and spirit that he needs. We consider ourselves to have been fortunate in always being in agreement with a man who is so excellent, not only in things pertaining to literature. He has not only helped us execute our plans, but he has inspired us to complete them successfully.

II. RELIGION

The study periods each day, both morning and evening, commenced with a consideration of sacred things. The Prince, who remained alert throughout the course of each lesson, heard them with a great deal of respect.

When we explained the catechism, which he knew by heart, we often advised him that in addition to the common obligations of Christian life there are specific obligations for each profession. We informed him that princes, like other people, had certain specific duties which they could not fail to perform without committing grievous faults. We contented ourselves with introducing him to the most essential things in accordance to his capacity to learn; and we reserved, for a time, when he would be more mature, those things which seemed either too profound or too difficult for a child.

By means of repetition, we made certain that the words "piety," "kindness," and "justice" remained in his mind with a realization of their interrelationship. So that he might see that all of Christian life and all of the duties of kings were contained in these three words, we said that the person who was pious towards God was good also towards the men that God had created in His own image and which He regarded as His children. Next, we remarked that he who wishes good things to everyone gives to all that which he owns, prevents evil persons from oppressing good people, punishes evil actions, and represses violence so as to maintain public tranquility. From this we inferred that a good prince was pious, charitable by nature to all, and never angry at anyone if he had not been compelled to be so by crime and by rebellion. It is to these principles that we have related all the precepts we have since given him. He has seen that everything relates back to these fundamentals, and that his studies have no other object than that of making him capable of acquitting himself easily in the performance of all his duties.

He, knew, consequently, all the stories of the Old Testament and the New Testament. He recited them often. We made him take note of the favors which God had made to pious princes and how many of his judgments had been terrible against impious persons or against those who had rebelled against his orders.

When a little older, the Prince read the gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, and about the beginnings of the church. From this reading, he learned to love Jesus Christ, to embrace His teachings in his childhood and to believe, so to speak, with Him while obeying his parents, while making himself agreeable to God and to men, and in giving each day new testimony to wisdom. After he heard Jesus's sermons, he was enthralled by His miracles. The Prince admired the kindness He displayed in doing good to everyone, the fact that after dying He did not leave him. The Prince, after obtaining grace, was to follow Him into heaven. In the Acts of the Apostles, he learned to love and honor the church which, though humble and patient, has ever been left by the world in humble repose, but which, tested by severe torments, has ever emerged victorious. He saw the Apostles governing the church according to the orders of Jesus Christ and shaping its nature more by their examples than by their words. He saw Saint Peter exercising the supreme authority and holding the place of supremacy. He learned of Christians submitting to the decrees of the Apostles without suffering at all since they were giving themselves freely to God. Finally, we made him take note of all that which can establish the faith, excite hope, and stir one to charity. The reading of the gospels served us also in inspiring him to a particular devotion to the Sacred Virgin, who, as he saw, interested herself in the affairs

of men and spoke on their behalf to her Son as their advocate and showed them, at the same time, that it is not only in obeying Jesus Christ that one can obtain grace. We urged him to think often upon the marvelous reward that she had for her chastity and her humility in the precious pledge she had received from heaven when she became Mother of God and when a sacred alliance was made between her and the eternal father. We made him note how many of the mysteries of religion involved purity. He noted that Jesus Christ was meant to be pure, and that it could have been given to none other than a virgin to be His mother, and that it followed from this that chastity ought to be the foundation of devotion towards Mary who owed to this virtue all of her grandeur and even all of her fertility.

If, while reading the gospel, the Prince appeared to dream of something else or did not have all the attention and respect that this reading merits, we took away the book so that he would note that it was to be read only with reverence. The Prince, who regarded as a punishment the denial of this reading, learned to read devoutly the little that he read and to think about what he had read very much. We explained to him clearly and simply the passages. We marked for him those passages which serve to convince heretics and those which heretics have maliciously distorted from their true meanings. We warned him often that there were things in this book which transcended human understanding and that these were there to destroy human pride and to urge people to practise their faith, that mankind not be permitted to believe in his own judgment, but that rather it was necessary to explain everything according to ancient tradition and the decrees of the church. We noted

that all innovators are infallibly lost, and that those who deviate from this rule have only a false piety and, at that, one full of pretense.

After having read the gospel many times, we read the stories of the Old Testament. We concerned ourselves principally with those sections about kings where we remarked that God exercises His most terrible vengeance upon kings, that the higher the pinnacle of honors which God has permitted them in granting to them their sovereign power the more their subjection to Him grows, and that it pleases God to make them serve as examples, as much as this is possible for human beings, when help from above is lacking.

As for the Epistles of the Apostles, we chose from among them some passages which served to form Christian morals. We have also made the Prince see in the Prophets with what authority and majesty God speaks to proud kings, how with a breath He dissipates the armies, overthrows empires, and reduces the conquerors to the fate of the conquered in making them perish as the vanquished. When we found in the gospels prophecies regarding Jesus Christ, we took care to show to the Prince, in the prophecies themselves, the places from which those regarding Jesus were drawn. He admired the relationship between the Old and the New Testament. The fulfillment of these prophecies served us as a certain proof for establishing the age to come. We showed that God, always truthful and who had performed before our eyes so many things predicted so long ago, would not accomplish any less faithfully that which He made us still wait for; so that there was nothing more certain than the good things He promised us and the evils with which He menaces us after this life. To this reading, we often added the Lives of the Saints, tales of

the most illustrious acts of the martyrs, and religious history in order to amuse the Prince while, at the same time, instructing him. That is what was done with regard to religion.

III. GRAMMAR - THE LATIN AUTHORS - AND GEOGRAPHY

We will not stop to speak about the study of grammar. Our principle here has been to make the Prince understand first of all the propriety, and next, the elegance of the Latin and the French language. So as to sweeten the boredom of this study, we made him see the utility of it, and so much as his age permitted of it, we joined the study of words to the study of things.

By this method, it happened that, while young, the Prince heard very easy the best Latin authors. He searched in them even the most hidden meanings, and he hardly faltered when he came to want to think a little about them. He learned by heart the most agreeable and most useful passages of these authors, especially of the poets. He recited them often and, on certain occasions, he applied them properly to subjects which presented themselves.

While reading these authors, we were never turned away from our principal design, which was to make all of his studies serve to make him acquire all together piety, the knowledge of morals, and the knowledge of politics. We made him understand the deep shadows into which men remain sunken by following their own guiding lights by referring to the abominable rites of the gentiles and by stories of their theology. He saw that the most civilized and able nations in all those things relating to the civil life such as the Egyptians, the Greeks, and the Romans were in such

a profound state of ignorance with regard to divine things that they adored the most monstrous creatures in nature and that they were pulled out of this abyss only when Jesus Christ began to lead them. From these things, it was easy for the Prince to conclude that true religion was a gift of grace. We made him realize, also, that the gentiles, while they were deceived in the nature of their religion, nevertheless had a profound respect for the things they believed to be sacred, persuaded as they were that religion was the support of states. The examples of moderation and justice which we found in their histories served us to confound any Christian who would not have the courage to practise virtue after God Himself had apprised him of it. We made these observations most often not like lessons, but like familiar topics of conversation. This technique made these things enter more agreeably into his mind, so that on his own he often made similar reflections. I recall that having one day praised Alexander for having undertaken with so much courage the defense of all of Greece against the Persians that the Prince did not fail to remark that it would have been considerably more glorious for a Christian prince to push back and defeat the common enemy of Christianity which menaces it and presses it from every quarter.

We did not judge it appropriate to make him read the works of authors in small fragments, that is to say to take one book from the Aeneid, for example, or from Caesar, separated from the others. We made him read each work entirely in succession and as if he were taking them all in in one breath. He accustomed himself, little by little, not to consider each thing in particular, but to discover all in one view the principal end of a work and the sequence of its parts, being certain

that each passage, alone, never expresses itself clearly and appears with all of its beauty only as one has regarded the whole work much as one regards a building and from it understands the whole design and the whole idea.

Among the poets, those which are most pleasing to the Crown Prince are Vergil and Terence. Among the historians, he likes best Sallust and Caesar. He admired the latter as an excellent master both for doing things and for writing about them. He regarded him as a man about whom a person must know if he wishes to know about making war. We followed this great captain on all of his marches. We saw him make his camps and put his troops in battle. We were with him as he conceived and executed his plans and praised and punished his soldiers. We observed him drill his men to work, to raise their hearts through hope, to hold them in suspense, to conduct a powerful army without doing great damage to the country. We observed him retain his troops in duty through discipline, maintain his allies by faith and protection, change his manner according to the enemies he had in mind, to go sometimes slowly, but to use most often such a great haste that the enemy, surprised and pressed hard, had neither time to deliberate or to flee. We saw him pardon the conquered, put down revolts, govern the subjected peoples with skill, and to make them thus find his victory sweet, acting his best to assure them.

A person is scarcely able to relate how much the Prince was agreeably and usefully amused in Terence and how many live images of human life passed before his eyes while reading it. He saw the deceitful beginnings of sensual pleasures and of women, the blind rages of a youth who was started on a difficult and slippery road by intrigues and

flattery and who did not know what was to become of him, realizing only that love tormented him, who got out of difficulty only because of a kind of miracle, and who found repose only when he returned to his duty. In this work, the Prince took note of the manners and the character of each age and of each passion described by this admirable craftsman, including all the traits suitable to each personage, natural sentiments, and finally that grace and propriety demanded by works of this nature. We did not, however, sanction everything written by this most diverse poet; rather, we held back passages in which he wrote too licentiously. Yet, at the same time, we were astonished that many of our authors had written for the theater with much less discretion, and we condemned a way of writing so improper as to be injurious to good morals.

It would be necessary to create a thick volume to set down all the remarks which we made upon each author, and principally on Cicero, whom we admired in his philosophical discourses, in his orations, and even when he bantered freely and agreeably with his friends.

We saw geography while playing and as if making voyage. At one time, we followed the courses of the rivers, at another, we hugged the shores of the ocean going country-to-country, then suddenly we sailed the high seas and traveled in the lands. We saw the ports and the cities, not running through them as is done by travelers without curiosity, but examining everything, researching the customs, especially those of France. We stopped at the most famous cities of France so as to understand the differing characteristics of so many of the diverse peoples which comprise this bellicose and restless nation, in addition to which we noted

that the vastness of this kingdom make it evident that it can be led only with profound wisdom.

IV. THE HISTORY OF FRANCE COMPOSED BY THE CROWN PRINCE
IN LATIN AND IN FRENCH

Next, we taught him history. Since it is the great mistress of human life and of politics, we did it with a great exactitude. We particularly took care to teach him the history of France, which is his own. We did not make him go to the trouble of leafing through books; and, with the exception of several national authors such as Philippes de Commines and du Bellay, from whose works we had him read the finest passages, we ourselves worked with the sources and took from the most approved authors those parts which would best serve to make him understand the sequence of events. We recited these sections aloud for as many times as necessary for him to retain what had been said. We then made him repeat it. He wrote it down then in French, and then he put it into Latin. This served as a composition exercise, and we corrected his French as carefully as his Latin. On Saturdays, he read the entirety of what he had composed during the week. We had him divide the growing work into books which we made him re-read very often.

The assiduity with which he pursued this work brought him up to the time of the most recent reigns, as a result of which endeavor we had nearly all of French history in Latin and in French in the style of and from the hand of the Prince. After some time, after we saw that he knew enough Latin, we had him stop writing the history in that language. We continued it in French with the same care; and we arranged it so that

the work grew in proportion to the will of the Prince to work on in. We saw his judgment developing as he recited in a few words that which concerns much earlier times and developed more exactly that which concerns those events which occurred in times approaching our own. We by no means concerned ourselves with too much detail about small things which are mere oddities; but, we took note of the good and bad manners of the nation, the ancient customs, the fundamental laws, the unexpected events, so as to accustom the mind of the Prince to them and prepare him for everything. We emphasized the faults of the kings and the calamities which have followed them, the faith the kings have conserved for the great period of time which has passed between that of Clovis and our own day, the steadfastness in defending the Catholic religion, and all together the profound respect they have always had for the Holy See, which they have obeyed, proud to be the most obedient children. We showed him that it was this inviolable attachment to religion and to the church which had enabled the kingdom to subsist for so many centuries. It was easy for us to make him see this by the terrible disturbances that heresy has caused all parts of a state in enfeebling the power and the royal majesty and in reducing nearly to the final extremity a flourishing kingdom, which has regained its vital force only after putting down heresy.

So that the Prince would learn from history the manner of conducting affairs, we had a custom in examining passages in which the affairs of state seemed in peril of exposing the situation of the state with regard to these affairs and thoroughly examining all related circumstances so as to decide as one might do in a council just what the Prince might have done on these occasions. We ask him his opinion, and

when he has explained himself, we follow the narrative for him to learn the actual outcome of the events. We note the faults, we praise that which has been done well, and, led by experience, we establish the manner of forming plans and of executing them.

V. SAINT LOUIS - MODEL OF A PERFECT KING

If, from the history of all our kings, we take some examples for life and for morals, we propose only Saint Louis as the model of the perfect king. No one contests the glory of his sanctity, but after having made him appear valiant, resolute, just, magnificent, great in peace and in war, we point out, while discovering the motives for his actions and plans, that he had been very capable in the management of affairs. It is from him that we take the greatest glory of the august house of France whose principal honor is to find itself descended from the one to whom it owes its origin, a perfect model for morals, an excellent master for teaching his descendants to rule, and an assured intercessor next to God.

VI. THE EXAMPLE OF THE KING

After Saint Louis, we propose to the Prince the actions of Louis the Great and this living history which is happening before his eyes. The state grows strong because of good laws. The finances are well organized. All the frauds attempted have been discovered. Military discipline has been established with as much prudence as with authority. New methods of laying seige and of conducting armies in all seasons have been adopted. The invincible courage of leaders and of soldiers

and the natural impetuosity of the nation sustain a resoluteness and an extraordinary constancy. All Frenchmen have the firm belief that nothing is impossible for them under such a great king. Finally, the king himself is worth a great army. The force, the consequences, the impenetrable secret of his counsels and those hidden competencies whose guile shows itself only in the results of actions which always surprise everyone are remarkable. The enemies are confused and in terror. The allies are faithfully defended, and peace has been given to Europe under equitable conditions after our certain victory. Finally, he has an unbelievably firm commitment to defend religion. This desire grows on him. He struggles continually to arrive at all that which is great and good. That is what we point out about the father, and that is what we are recommending that the son emulate with all of his capability.

VII. PHILOSOPHY - TREATISE ON THE KNOWLEDGE OF GOD AND ONESELF

Those things relating to philosophy we have separated in such a way that those which are beyond doubt and useful in life should be shown to him seriously and in all the certainty of their principles. As for those things which are only opinion and which are in dispute, we contented ourselves to report them to him as a simple recital of the arguments, judging that it was part of his high station to listen to the two points of view and to protect the proponents of each without entering into their quarrels. One who has been born for leadership must learn to judge and not to argue.

After having considered that philosophy consists principally in relating the spirit to oneself so as to firmly raise oneself up to God by sure degrees, we commenced from this point of departure a research of the easiest kind, which at the same time was the most sound and most useful that a person might propose. For, to become a perfect philosopher, man has need to study only himself. It is not necessary to leaf through so many books, to make laborious memoranda on that which has been said by philosophers. Neither is it necessary to search far for experiences. Simply by noticing what he had within him, the Prince recognized the author of his own being. Thus, since the earliest years we have cast the seeds of such a beautiful and useful philosophy. We have employed all sorts of methods so that the Prince might learn to distinguish the soul from the body, that is to say the part that commands within us from the part which obeys, that the soul commanding in the body represents God commanding the whole world, including the soul of the Prince. When noting him more advanced in age, we believed that it was time to teach him philosophy methodically. We formed a plan based on this precept of the gospel, "But take heed to yourselves," and this work of David, "O Lord, I have drawn of myself a marvelous knowledge of that which Thou art." Based on these two passages, we have made a Treatise on the Knowledge of God and Oneself in which we explain the structure of the nature of the soul. We show that the man who knows how to understand himself finds God more present than anything else since, without him, he would have neither movement, nor soul, nor life, nor reason. According to this truly philosophic word of the Apostle preaching at Athens, that is to say at a place where philosophy was as if in its own castle, "Yet, He is not

far from each one of us, for in Him we live and move and have our being;" and further, "Since He Himself gives to all men life, and breath, and everything."

According to the example of Saint Paul, who used this truth as known to the philosophers to lead them farther along, we undertook to excite in ourselves by the single consideration of ourselves this sentiment of divinity that nature put into our souls when they were being formed; so that those who do not wish in any way to recognize that which they have above the beasts are all together the most blind, the most wicked, and the most impertinent of men.

VIII. LOGIC, RHETORIC, AND MORALS

From here, we passed on to logic and to morals so as to cultivate these two principal parts which we have taken note of in our spirit, that is to say the faculty of listening and that of wanting. For the study of logic we took sections from Plato and Aristotle, not for the purpose of making use of vain disputes about words, but to form judgment by exposure to solid reasoning. We dealt with primarily those parts which concerned likely arguments, because these are those that people employ in real discussions. We explained how it is necessary to tie one part of an argument to another so that however feeble each individual part of the argument might be, it becomes invincible because of the manner in which the parts are put together. From the same sources, we took materials on rhetoric so as to give to the assembled pieces some semblance of order and not just so many scattered nerves, bones, parts of flesh, movements, and spirits. Thus, we have not made of the Prince a simple woman

speechifier for whom words are only sounds. We have not made his discourse inflated and devoid of substance, but rather sane and vigorous. We have not distinguished him with make-up, but rather we have given him a natural tint and a lively color so that his speeches have the ring of truth itself. To accomplish this feat, we have drawn upon the best precepts of Aristotle, Cicero, Quintilian, and others. But we have used examples much more than principles, and we had the practice, while reading speeches which moved us, of removing from them the figures of speech and all other rhetorical devices, which are rather like the flesh or skin, so that nothing was left but this assemblage of bones and nerves of which we just spoke, that is to say the arguments alone. In such a way it was easy to see what part logic played in these speeches and what part rhetoric added to it.

As for the doctrine of morals, we believed that it was necessary to draw from no other sources than the scriptures and some maxims from the gospels. Our feeling here was why go to small feeder streams for an idea when one can draw water from the center of the river. We did, nevertheless, stop to consider and explain the Morals of Aristotle, to which we added the admirable doctrine of Socrates, which was truly sublime for the time when it was written, which can be used to give the faith to unbelievers and to make even the hardest cases blush. We noticed at the same time those parts of Socrates and Aristotle which the Christian faith condemned, that which it added to their work, and that which it approved. We pointed out the authority with which the church confirmed true dogmas and how the church raised them up. In sum,

it was necessary to admit that philosophy, as serious as it appeared, was in its pure infancy compared to the wisdom of the gospels.

IX. THE PRINCIPLES OF JURISPRUDENCE

We believed that it would be good to give to the Prince a smattering of the Roman Law, while making him see, by example, that which is the law, how many types of laws there are, the condition of persons, the division of things and other information concerning contracts, wills, successions, the power of magistrates, the authority of judgments, and other principles of civil life.

X. OTHER PARTS OF PHILOSOPHY

We will say nothing here of metaphysics because that has been dealt with in the preceding materials. We have mixed in much about physics in explaining the human body. For other things which relate to this study, in accordance to our plan, we have looked at this area more in terms of its development than dogmatically. We have not forgotten what Aristotle said, and so as to have the Prince experience natural things, we have had him confronted with the most necessary and the most beautiful natural things. These things are no less diverting than profitable. They have made him understand human industry and the human spirit, the beautiful inventions in the arts, either for helping to discover the secrets of nature or to embellish or aid it. What is more considerable, the Prince has discovered the art of nature itself, or rather the providence of God which is at once so visible and so hidden.

XI. MATHEMATICS

Mathematics which serve the exactness of reason the most have been shown to the Prince by an excellent master, who has not been content as is ordinarily the case to teach him to fortify armed positions, to attack the enemy, and to make encampments; rather, in addition, he has taught him to construct forts, to plan them with his own hand, to place an entire army in battle and to make it march. He has taught him mechanics, the weights of liquids and solids, the different systems in use in the world, and the first books of Euclid, which he learned about in such a short time that those who saw him were very surprised about it.

Next, all these things have been taught to him only little by little, each one in its proper place. And our principal care has been that they be given to him properly, and each thing at the right time, that he might digest them more easily and in such a fashion that they turn into nourishment.

XII. THE FIRST WORK: A UNIVERSAL HISTORY TO EXPLAIN
THE CONTINUATION OF RELIGION AND THE CHANGES OF EMPIRE

Now that the course of his studies is nearly ended, we have believed it necessary to work principally upon three things.

The first of these is a Universal History which has two parts. The first part began with the origin of the world, and continued to the fall of the ancient Roman Empire and the coronation of Charlemagne. The second part began with the new empire established by the Franks. We composed it some time ago, and we have even had it read to the Prince,

but we are going over it now and we have added new reflections which include all the continuation of religion through the ages, the changings of empires, including their serious causes which we have taken from their points of origin. In this work, one sees religion appearing always firm and steadfast since the beginning of the world. The relationship between the two testaments gives it this force, and the gospel which one observes establishing itself upon the fundamentals of the law shows a stoutness capable of meeting any trial. One sees truth always victorious, heresies undone, the church founded upon Peter beating them down by the single weight of an authority so well established and grown firm with age. During this time, on the contrary, one sees the most flourishing empires not only enfeebled by the unrolling of the years, but coming mutually undone and falling one upon the other. We show, on the one hand, a firm constancy, and on the other, a constant state of change and inevitable ruin. This latter research occasioned us to explain in a few words the laws and the customs of the Egyptians, the Assyrians, the Persians, the Greeks, the Romans, and latter day peoples, and in particular, that which each had in itself which proved fatal to others and to itself and the examples that their progress or their decadence has given to future centuries. Thus, we take two fruits from the Universal History. The first is to make visible all together the authority and the sanctity of religion, which results from its own stability and its perpetual duration. Second is that, knowing that which has caused the ruin of each empire, we can from these examples find methods of maintaining states, so fragile by their very nature, without forgetting that these supports themselves are subject to the common law of mortality which attaches

itself to all human institutions and that it is necessary to carry one's hope higher.

XIII. SECOND WORK: POLITICAL POLICY DRAWN
FROM THE VERY WORDS OF THE SACRED SCRIPTURE

In this second work, we discover the secrets of politics, maxims of government, and sources of law in the doctrine and in the examples of the sacred scripture. One sees there not only with what piety kings must serve God or what supplications they must offer up after having offended Him; the zeal with which they are required to defend the faith of the church; to maintain its rights; to choose its pastors; but, also, the origin of civil life; how men commenced to form society; how it is necessary to manage one's spirit. We also concern ourselves with how it is necessary to make a plan of conduct for a war, admonishing that war should not be undertaken without good cause; to make a good peace; to support authority; and to make laws and to rule a state. This all makes clear that the sacred scripture surpasses as much in prudence as in authority all the other books which give precepts for civil life and that a person will see in no other place maxims as sound for government.

XIV. THIRD WORK: THE STATE OF THE KINGDOM AND OF ALL EUROPE

The third work comprises the laws and the particular customs of the kingdom of France. In comparing this kingdom with all others, the Prince was exposed to the entire state of Christianity as well as to all of Europe.

We will complete all these plans as soon as the time and our industry will permit of it. And, when the king will ask back from us this son so dear who we have endeavored, by his command and under his orders, to instruct in all the fine arts, we are ready to place him back in his hands for the purpose of making more necessary studies under better masters, who are the king himself and the customs of the world and practical affairs.

That is, Very Holy Father, what we have done by way of acquitting ourselves of our duty. We have planted, we have watered; now may it please God to give him growth. Now, since Him whom you represent here on earth has inspired you among so many cares to place a paternal regard on our endeavors, we are using the authority of Your Holiness to lead the Prince to virtue. And we feel with joy that the exhortations that we made to him on your behalf made an impression on his mind. How happy we are, Most Holy Father, to be succoured in a work so great by a pope so distinguished in whom we see living again Saint Leo, Saint Gregory, and even Saint Peter!

Saint Germain-en-Laye,
March 8, 1679

The very obedient and
most devout son,

J. BÉNIGNE, former Bishop
of Condom