

right hand way or the left ; whether to build up again the ruined institutions of France, strengthen the throne on which he had resolved to take his seat by an alliance with the altar ; and in restoring to the kingdom all that it was possible to restore while he retained the sovereignty to himself, engraft upon the new dynasty those principles which had given to the old its surest strength when it was strongest, and a splendour, of which no change of fortune could deprive it. Two parties would be equally opposed to this, the Jacobines and the Royalists. The latter it was impossible to conciliate : they would have stood by the crown even if it were hanging upon a bush ; but their allegiance being founded upon principle and feeling, . . upon the sense of honour and of duty, . . would not follow the crown when it was transferred by violence and injustice from one head to another. He found the Jacobines more practicable. They indeed had many sympathies with Buonaparte : he favoured that irreligion to which they were fanatically attached, because it at once flattered their vanity and indulged their vices ; his schemes of conquest offered a wide field for their ambition and their avarice : and what fitter agents could he desire than men who were troubled with no scruples of conscience or of honour ; whom no turpitude could make ashamed ; who shrunk from no crimes, and were shocked by no atrocities ? Thus Buonaparte judged concerning them, and he reasoned rightly. The Jacobines both at home and abroad became his most devoted and obsequious adherents : they served him in England as partizans and advocates, denying or extenuating his crimes, justifying his measures, magnifying his power, and reviling his opponents ; on the Continent they co-operated with him by secret or open treason, as occasion offered ; in France they laid aside in his behalf that hatred to monarchy which they had not only pro-

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CHAP. fessed but sworn, and swearing allegiance to a military despotism, gave that despotism their willing and zealous support.

I.
A system of
education
necessary
for his
views.

Such persons were still a minority in France; but their activity, their arts, and their audacity supplied the want of numbers. It was essential to his views that a succession of such men should be provided, and that the French nation should by the sure process of education be moulded to his will, and made to receive the stamp of his iron institutions. Many of the clergy, when the proscription which had driven them from their country was removed, had opened schools on their return from exile, as the readiest means of obtaining a maintenance for themselves and of performing their Christian duties. Their success was incompatible with Buonaparte's policy: he wanted not a moral and a religious*, but a military people. After some preparatory attempts, all tending to the same object, the Imperial University was established; .. a name which, it was admitted, had altogether a different signification from what it bore under the old order of things. The legitimate principle was proclaimed, that the direction of public education belongs to the state; the intolerant one was deduced and put in practice, that therefore a monopoly of education should be vested in the new establishment.

Imperial
University.

At the head of this University there was a Grand Master, for whom Buonaparte, indulging in such things his own taste as well as that of the French people, appointed a splendid

* He is reported to have said, *Les prêtres ne considèrent ce monde que comme une diligence pour conduire à l'autre. Je veux qu'on remplisse la diligence de bons soldats pour mes armées.* The speech seems to authenticate itself; but whether it be authentic or not, this was the spirit and the declared object of his institutions.

costume; his civil-list was 150,000 francs, and he had the power of nominating to all the inferior appointments, . . . an enormous influence, if it had been intended that he should be any thing more than the mere organ of the Emperor's will. There were under him a chancellor, a treasurer, with salaries of 15,000 francs each; ten counsellors for life, twenty counsellors in ordinary, the former with salaries of 10, the latter of 6,000 francs; and thirty inspectors general, whose salary was 6000 also, and whose travelling expenses were paid. Next in rank were the Rectors of Academies: this too was an old word with a new signification. There were to be as many Academies in the empire as there were courts of appeal. Each Rector had an establishment for his inferior jurisdiction analogous to that of the Grand Master; his salary was 6000 francs, with 3000 for his official expenses, and the additional emolument which he derived as Dean of the Faculties. He ranked with the Bishop of the diocese; and the rivalry which this pretension occasioned was in no degree mitigated by the spirit in which the Imperial University was founded and administered. The Faculties, or Schools of Theology, Jurisprudence, Medicine, Physical Sciences, and Literature, were under the Rector's authority, as were the Lyceums, Colleges, *Institutions*, *Pensions*, and even the Primary Schools, which were not considered as beneath the cognizance of the University, although the government had taken care that even these should not be under the direction of the clergy, having committed them to the superintendence of a certain number of inhabitants, among whom the parochial priest had only a single voice. All seminaries, therefore, of every kind belonged to the University, and contributed in no small degree to its revenues. For it was not only required that every person who opened a *Pension* or *Institution* must be a graduate, but also that he must take out a brevet from the

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CHAP. Grand Master, the price of which varied from 200 to 600 francs,
 I. and which was to be renewed at the same cost every ten years. Besides these decennial droits, a fourth part of the same sum was exacted annually; and a tax was levied upon the pupils of five per cent upon what they paid to the master. It was the purpose of the government to discourage these schools, which, as being mostly in the hands of the clergy, were nowise congenial with the principles and views of Buonaparte: therefore they were thus heavily taxed; and lest they should be supported in spite of all discouragement, a decree was issued, declaring that the Lyceums might at any time fill up their numbers by taking from the nearest *Pensions* or *Institutions* as many pupils above the age of nine as would complete their complement. The precise effect of this iniquitous decree was, that exactly in proportion as any particular Lyceum was known to be ill conducted, and as parents were unwilling to entrust their children there, it became impossible for any better seminary to exist in its neighbourhood.

*Communal
Colleges.*

There were two other kind of seminaries which it was in like manner the intention of the Imperial government to destroy by indirect means, . . . the Communal Colleges and the Ecclesiastical Schools. More than four hundred of the former had been founded at the expense of their respective *communes*, as soon as any hope appeared that a settled order of things might be maintained in France. But because every thing far and near was regulated by the new despotism, the money which they levied upon themselves for this purpose went, like other imposts, to the capital: and was thrown into a common fund, from whence an allowance to each particular college was made, not according to its necessary expenditure, but according to the pleasure of the minister to whom the distribution was confided. Thus the design of starving the colleges, and rendering

the *communes* weary of a voluntary tax from which no benefit was derived, was in most cases easily effected; and where the inhabitants of a town, being more desirous of supporting such an establishment, supplied the deficiency of the fund by fresh subscriptions, the University interfered, to harass and disgust them by means contradictory in appearance, but tending to the same end. Being vested with authority over the Regents, it appointed and superseded them at pleasure, removing to the Lyceums those who had deserved the confidence of the neighbourhood, and supplying their place by incompetent and worthless adventurers; it forced upon the colleges professors of sciences which were not taught there, or it forbade them to pursue the same branches of education if they were teaching them with success. Very few of these establishments, and those only in the remotest provinces, escaped the effects of this insidious hostility. The Ecclesiastical Schools had been instituted as seminaries for the priesthood by the Bishops, and were founded and supported by contributions. Some were placed in cities where they were under the Bishop's immediate inspection, and became especial objects of his care: others were fixed in the country, that they might be removed from the corruption of great towns. The children of the poor who appeared by their talents and disposition to be fit subjects for the ministry, were educated there gratuitously; those of the wealthy for a moderate payment. The Romish clergy have always understood that where religious feeling exists, money is never wanting for religious purposes. Poor as Buonaparte had left the Gallican church, large buildings were now bought or erected for these seminaries, and furnished and supported with a liberality which manifested that in the provinces at least there was more religion than suited the wishes of the Imperial government.

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Ecclesiastical Schools.

CHAP. I. Effectual means therefore were pursued for degrading and destroying them. It was decreed that not more than one should be allowed in a department, and that that one must be in a large town where there should be a Lyceum: all others were to be shut up within a fortnight after the promulgation of the law, and their property, moveable and immoveable, applied to the use of the University. The pupils were compelled to attend the Lyceums, and go through the same course of mathematical studies as if they had been designed for the army; they were not allowed to keep the church festivals as holidays, although they wore the habit of ecclesiastical students, and their masters were ranked below those of the meanest boarding-school. The object of the government in thus mortifying the teachers would be defeated by the wise policy of the Romish church, which has taught its ministers to regard every act of humiliation as adding to their stock of merits; the design of disgusting the students with their profession, by the contempt to which they were exposed in what were essentially military academies, and of unfitting them for their intended profession by an intercourse with military pupils, was likely to be more successful.

Lyceums.

It was through the Lyceums more than any other of his institutions that Buonaparte expected to perpetuate the new order of things: in these academies it was, that, by a system such as a Jesuit might have devised for the use of a Mamaluke Bey, he trained up the youth of France to become men after his own heart. It was laid down as a maxim by the government that all public education ought to be regulated upon the principles of military discipline, not on those of civil or ecclesiastical police. In the Lyceums, therefore, the pupils were distributed not in forms, or classes, but in companies, each

having its serjeant and its corporal; and an officer-instructor, as he was called, taught the use of arms to all above twelve years of age, and drilled them in military manœuvres. He was present to superintend all their movements, which were so many evolutions, or marches. The punishments in use were arrest and imprisonment; and for their meals, their studies, their lessons, their sports, prayers, mass, going to bed, and getting up, signal was given by beat of drum. The youth who were thus trained up in military habits had been taught, in their first catechism, that they owed to their Emperor Napoleon love, respect, obedience, fidelity, military services, and the contributions required for the preservation and defence of the empire, and of his throne: that God, who creates empires and disposes of them according to his will, had, by endowing Napoleon with a profusion of gifts as well in peace as in war, made him the minister of his power, and his image upon earth: to honour and serve the Emperor was therefore the same thing as to honour and serve God; and they who violated their duty towards him, would resist the order which God himself had established, and render themselves worthy of eternal damnation. The religious sanction which was thus given to his authority had its full effect in childhood, and when this feeling lost its influence, devotion to the Emperor had become a habit which every thing around them contributed to confirm and strengthen. There were 150 exhibitions, or burses, appointed for every Lyceum: twenty were of sufficient amount to cover the whole expense of the boys' education and maintenance; the others were called half or three-quarter burses, and the relatives of those who obtained them made up the sum which was deficient. The money for these foundations was of course drawn from the public taxes: a third part was even raised by an extra and

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First catechism.

CHAP. specific impost upon the respective *communes*. But in the eyes
 I. of the pupils every thing flowed from the Emperor himself: he
 was their immediate benefactor, as well as their future and sure
 patron; and they looked to him with gratitude and hope at
 an age when these generous feelings are the strongest. Two
 hundred and fifty chosen youths were transferred every year to
 the special military academies, where they were supported by
 the state; and from whence the army was supplied with a suc-
 cession of young men, thoroughly educated for their profession,
 and thoroughly attached to the Emperor Napoleon. Others
 were appointed to such civil offices as they seemed best qualified
 to fill, and they carried with them the same attachment to revo-
 lutionary principles, and to the person of Buonaparte. This
 was not all. Buonaparte, far-sighted when not blinded by
 vanity, or dazzled by ambition, made use of the Lyceums to
 assist in securing his conquests. Two thousand four hundred
 youths, chosen from the foreign territories which had been
 annexed to France, were educated in these academies at the
 public expense. This measure, said Fourcroy (by whom the
 scheme of the University was framed), was so congenial with
 the times, that its advantages would be perceived by all who
 were capable of understanding the existing circumstances. The
 inhabitants, he said, who spake a language of their own, and
 were accustomed to their own institutions, must relinquish their
 old usages, and adopt those of their new country: they had not
 the means at home of giving their children the education, the
 manners, and the character, which were to identify them with
 the French. What more advantageous destiny could be pre-
 pared for them than that which the new system offered? and
 what more efficacious resource could be given to the govern-
 ment, which had nothing more at heart than to bind these new

*Special
 military
 academies.*

*Youths
 from the
 conquered
 countries.*

citizens to the French empire?.. Bound to it, indeed, they would thus be; the youths by the effect of the education which they received; the parents because the children were hostages for their forced allegiance.

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Thus was the scheme of the Lyceums well suited both to the foreign and domestic policy of Buonaparte. The tone of morals which prevailed in these academies is said to have been not less congenial to his purposes. If, indeed, in happier countries, and where the intention is that better principles should be carefully inculcated, schools still are places where good dispositions incur some danger of contamination, and where evil ones have their worst propensities nurtured, and forced as if in a hot-bed, what was to be expected from a system of education planned and directed by men who had grown up during the revolution, or who had taken part in it, and gone through the course of its crimes, .. its agents, or its creatures? A thorough corruption, under the appearance of that regularity which military order produced; a cold irreligion, with which the youths went through the external practices of devotion as they went through the drill; a calculating spirit of insubordination, never breaking out but in concerted movements; speculating selfishness, premature ambition, ferocious manners; .. these were to be expected, and by these, it is said, the Lyceums were characterised.

*Moral effect
of the Ly-
ceums.*

*Genie de la
F. evolution.
T. 1. 392.*

The *Proviseurs* (or masters), the censors, and the teachers in the Lyceums and Colleges (which latter were regarded as secondary schools), were bound to celibacy: the professors might marry, but in that case they were not allowed to lodge within the precincts, nor might any woman enter there. Every academy had one or two inspectors, whose business it was from time to time to visit all the Lyceums and inferior schools within

*System of
inspection.*

CHAP. I. their respective districts, and see that the rules of the University were strictly observed; and lest this examination should be carelessly or unfaithfully performed, there were from twenty to thirty general inspectors. The members of the University were bound each to inform the grand master and his officers of any thing contrary to the rules, which might occur within their knowledge: they were bound to obey him in whatever he might command for the Emperor's service; and whosoever was expelled, or left the University without a letter of dimission, became thereby incapable of holding any civil employment. The pupils were not permitted to correspond with any persons except their parents, or persons acting for their parents; and all letters which they received or wrote passed through the hands of the censor.

*Uniformity
of educa-
tion.*

The University was one of Buonaparte's favourite plans: it well exemplifies his precipitate temper and his thorough despotism. In the edict which erected it, the Napoleonic dynasty was styled the conservator of the liberal ideas which the French constitutions had announced; . . . that very edict was an act for enforcing uniformity of education throughout the empire! All persons who were previously employed in tuition were by this act incorporated as members of the University, without their consent, and bound to all its regulations: they were compelled to change the course of instruction to which they had been accustomed, and to follow a prescribed form, whether they approved it or not: they were subjected to the inquisitorial visits of the inspectors, and to the arbitrary power of the Grand Master: they were heavily taxed for the support of this system, and ultimately were to be sacrificed to it; for it was the declared intention of government gradually to diminish the number of their schools till they should all be shut up, for

the purpose of multiplying the Lyceums. The insolent injustice of such a measure would produce disgust and consequent neglect in many instances, the suddenness of the change would occasion disorder and confusion in all ; and the itinerant inspectors were less likely to amend what was amiss, than to act in a vexatious spirit of interference, or with corrupt connivance, according as the views and temper of the individual inclined him to the one abuse or to the other. Except the miserable schoolmasters who were pressed into the University, its other members were taken from such persons hanging loose upon society as had interest enough to obtain the better appointments, or were forlorn enough to accept the worst. Yet from some thousands of men, not prepared by previous habitudes and studies, not selected for the fitness of their acquirements, their talents, or their disposition to the course of life in which they were to be placed, but brought together by the drag-net of despotism, Buonaparte expected and demanded that singleness of purpose, that totality of interests, that subserviency of all the parts to the whole, that disciplined unanimity which had existed among the Jesuits, and was the perfection of their consummate system. But the great object of his policy was answered ; the youth of France were brought up in military habits ; they were taught from their earliest boyhood to look to him for patronage, and to consider their own advancement as connected with the prosperity and permanence of his empire : if the moral and religious part of their education was worse than neglected, it mattered not, or rather it accorded with his views and wishes ; they were then fitter instruments for the work in which they were to be employed.

The revolution had seared the feelings and hardened the hearts of a light-minded people : this was the natural effect of

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I.

*Effects of
the revo-
lution upon
morals.*