

FENELON THE TEACHER

5 //

A Thesis

Presented to

The Department of Foreign Languages
Kansas State Teachers College of Emporia

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Science

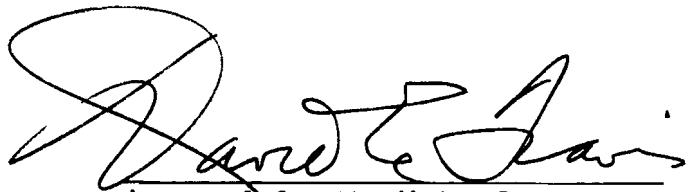
by

Kathryn Elizabeth McBurney

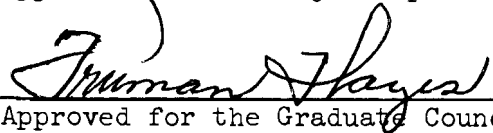
August 1969

TH

11

A large, stylized handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "David E. Davis".

Approved for the Major Department

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Truman Hayes".

Approved for the Graduate Council

288298³

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The writer wishes to thank Dr. David E. Travis, Head of the Department of Foreign Languages at the Kansas State Teachers College of Emporia, for his wise counsel and generous assistance in the preparation of this thesis.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. FENELON'S LIFE	1
II. FENELON'S PEDAGOGIC THEORY	9
III. EDUCATION OF WOMEN	26
IV. THE EDUCATION OF THE DUC DE BOURGOGNE.	38
V. CONCLUSIONS.	60
BIBLIOGRAPHY	65

PREFACE

Of the many aspects of the literary works of François de Salignac de la Mothe-Fénelon the writer has chosen to discuss the writings which deal with his interests in education. Being a churchman who rose to the position of archbishop he was naturally concerned with the development of the student's inner self, his values and virtues. On the practical side, however, he dealt constantly with the economical problems and the need to prepare young people for their roles in society.

The two basic areas in which Fénelon devoted himself to the theory and practice of education are his Traité de l'Education des filles and the works written for the Duc de Bourgogne, the eldest son of the Dauphin, for whom Bossuet was the tutor. His works composed for the Duke and the Duke's brothers were in response to his appointment as tutor to the grandsons of Louis XIV.

The first work to be treated here, l'Education des filles, was not the first attempt to deal with this subject, previous studies having been made by St. Jerome, Vives and Erasmus;¹ but Fénelon was the first to make a systematic study of their education as a whole. For centuries there had been little interest in the education of women but, with the Renaissance, there was a renewed interest in the position of women in society. Almost all studies in this field were concerned

¹H.C. Barnard, Fenelon on Education (Cambridge: University Press, 1966), p. xxxi.

with the daughters of upper-class families and Fénelon, too, treats sparingly the problems of popular education for all classes. In a very brief section of Télémaque concerning the kingdom of Salente, his tutor, Mentor, relates the necessity of public education and what should be taught there. The only previous systems of mass education were those studies made by Luther and Comenius.²

During the seventeenth century, women had aroused a great deal of attention through the salons and their influence in society and politics was becoming stronger. Girls of the upper-class were educated either in convents or by governesses. There was a wide variety of curriculum and quality of intellectual achievement in the convents, and the governesses were often uneducated themselves. The outstanding women of the century received the major part of their education through their conversations and social intercourse in the salons. Although Fénelon did not believe the functions of women in society to be the same as those of men, he nevertheless did not regard them as inferior beings. He believed they should be given more than a formal religious training and a minimum of literary and social arts.

Fénelon could not separate moral and intellectual education and although he rejected training in the classics and language for women, he believed they should be literate, able in the mathematics

² Ibid.

necessary to household affairs, have enough knowledge of economics to manage an estate, and exercise sound reasoning.

The second area which will be treated in this thesis is the collection of works written for the education of the princes. As tutor to the Duc de Bourgogne and his brothers Fénelon was able to adapt and expand his educational principles to the more detailed needs of boys and in particular to the one who was to be king. Although there is no detailed account of the methods employed in the education of the princes, there are two letters written to the Abbé Fleury and a memorandum of their education by the Marquis de Louville, who was gentilhomme de la manche of the Duc d'Anjou, second son of the Dauphin and later King of Spain (1700-1746). The major works treated here will be the Fables, written for the princes while they were very young, followed by the Dialogues des Morts and finally Télémaque. In each work Fénelon used interesting and varied stories which would not bore the pupils and would point out a moral lesson. The earlier works dealt primarily with the moral instruction of his pupil, in the later work, Fénelon expressed his political convictions and gave the knowledge of economics needed of a ruler.

After his banishment from Versailles Fénelon continued to instruct the Duke through letters, written directly to the Duke or to his new tutor the Abby Fleury, who carried out his instructions in teaching his charge.

CHAPTER I

FENELON'S LIFE

The physical appearance of Fénelon reflected his life, character and genius: serious, gay, gallant, noble, thoughtful, and witty. Saint-Simon concluded his description of Fénelon saying; "Il falloit* effort pour cesser de le regarder".³ He was tall and thin and considered quite handsome. His family was from an old and illustrious line of statesmen and heroes who traced their origins to the tenth century.

His father, Pons de Fénelon, married twice and François was the second child of the second marriage born August 6, 1651. Since his health was delicate he spent his early years in the Château of his birth at Périgord in southeast France.⁴ Although the family was noble it was very large and quite poor. The young Fénelon learned from these early years the simple and austere life which he taught and practiced so well in his adult life. There is little known of this early period of his life except that he was tutored in the classics which gave him, at a very early age, a profound knowledge of the Greek

* Wherever applicable the spelling, accents and punctuation of the seventeenth century have been preserved.

³Louis de Rouvroy, Duc de Saint-Simon, Mémoires, ed. MM. Cheruel et Ad. Regnier fils (Paris: Librairie Hachette et Cie, 1886), XI, 58.

⁴Félix Hémon, Cours de Littérature (Paris: Librairie Ch. Delagrave, n.d.), XIV, 1.

and Latin languages and ancient writings.⁵

After the death of his father he spent two years, 1663 to 1665, at the Jesuit college of Cahors, south of Paris, where he followed a course of study in the humanities and in philosophy. From Cahors he went to the College de Plessis in Paris where, at the age of fifteen, he preached his first sermon.⁶

In 1668 his uncle the Marquis Antoine de Fénelon made it possible for him to enter the seminary of Saint-Sulpice in Paris where he continued his education under the direction of Monsieur Tronson. His studies at Saint-Sulpice with Tronson had a deep and lasting influence on Fénelon.⁷ He was initiated into the religious life under the guidance of this pious and wise master. Fénelon was ordained priest at the age of twenty-three while he was at Saint-Sulpice. He dreamed of becoming a missionary as had one of his older brothers who was already in Canada. Nevertheless, in deference to the wishes of his family and Tronson he remained at Saint-Sulpice and abandoned his wish for a mission to Asia or Greece.⁸

Fénelon received an important appointment by the Archbishop of

⁵Gabriel Compayré, Fénelon et l'Education attrayante (Paris: Librairie Paul Delaplane, 1910), p. 11.

⁶L. Petit de Julleville, Histoire de la langue et de la littérature française des origines à 1900 (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1913), V, 436

⁷Paul Janet, Fénelon (Fifth edition; Paris: Librairie Hachette, n.d.), p. 8-9.

⁸Barnard, op. cit., p. x.

Paris, in 1678, as superior of a newly established institution in Paris, Les Nouvelles Catholiques. It was these girls, recently converted from Protestantism, whom he was to instruct and confirm in the Catholic faith. He remained at this post for twelve years and seems to have succeeded in this difficult task.⁹

It was during this period of his life that he made a deep and lasting friendship with the Duke and Duchess of Beauvilliers through his friendship with Monsieur Tronson.¹⁰ At the request of the Duke for advice on the education of his eight daughters Fénelon wrote his Traité de l'Education des filles to which a chapter of this thesis is devoted.

Shortly after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, in 1685, Fénelon was chosen to head a mission for the conversion of Protestants in Saintonge and Aunis near La Rochelle which was the center of French Protestantism.¹¹ The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes had taken away the freedom of worship from the Protestants. It forced conversion to Catholicism through persecution by the dragoons. Although Fénelon had not advocated the Revocation he did believe in it, but not in the methods used to force conversions.¹² His success in Poitou for the most part can be attributed to his simple and exact method of presenting

⁹Petit de Julleville, op. cit., p. 438.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 441.

¹¹Barnard, op. cit., p. xv.

¹²Ely Carcassonne, Fénelon, l'Homme et l'Oeuvre (Paris: Hatier-Boivin, 1946), p. 10.

religion to the masses who were too uneducated to comprehend the more difficult metaphysical points. However, he did not deceive himself by believing that all of his "conversions" were of the spirit.¹³ For the most part they were the results of the persecutions of the dragoons. He wrote to his friend Bossuet, the Bishop of Meaux: "Si on vouloit leur faire abjurer le christianisme et suivre l'Alcoran, il n'y auroit qu'à leur montrer des dragons".¹⁴ Later in his Examen de conscience sur les Devoirs de la Royauté written for the Duc de Bourgogne he wrote:

Sur toutes choses ... ne forcez jamais vos sujets à changer leur religion. Nulle puissance humaine ne peut forcer le retranchement impénétrable de la liberté du coeur. La force ne peut jamais persuader les hommes; elle ne fait que des hypocrites. Quand les rois se mêlent de religion, au lieu de la protéger, ils la mettent en servitude. Accordez à tous la tolérance civile, non en approuvant tout comme indifférent, mais en souffrant avec patience tout ce que Dieu souffre, et en tâchant de ramener les hommes par une douce persuasion (OC XXII, 273).

Fénelon's work in teaching became more involved as a result of his appointment as précepteur to the Duc de Bourgogne, eldest son of the Dauphin, in 1689. It was customary for the royal child to be reared by a governess until the age of seven at which time he was placed under the guidance of a tutor who was to be his constant attendant.¹⁵

¹³Ibid.

¹⁴Francois de Salignac de la Mothe-Fénelon, OEuvres complètes de Fénelon (Besançon: Chez Gauthier Frères, 1830; 28 volumes of which vol. XXVIII has the imprint Paris: Librairie d'Adrien le Clère, 1850), XXIII, 327. Hereafter, quotations from the OEuvres complètes de Fénelon will be referred to in parentheses in the body of the thesis by the initials OC with volume and page numbers.

¹⁵Barnard, op. cit., p. xix.

The tutor, who was always a courtier and a soldier, was, in the case of the Duc de Bourgogne, the Duc de Beauvilliers. In addition to the tutor the young prince was guided by a private tutor who was responsible for his religious, moral, and intellectual education. The choice of Fénelon was quite natural since he was a close friend of the Duc de Beauvilliers and was as important a churchman as had been Bossuet when he was appointed private tutor to the Dauphin.¹⁶ The Duke's younger brothers, the Duc d'Anjou and the Duc de Berry, also came under the care of Fénelon and the Duc de Beauvilliers in 1690 and 1693, respectively. The task of teaching the Duc de Bourgogne was extremely important and one of great difficulty.

Saint-Simon discusses this child who became the pupil of Fénelon:

Le duc de Bourgogne naquit terrible et dans sa première jeunesse fit trembler: dur, colère jusqu'aux derniers emportements, ... incapable de souffrir la moindre résistance ... sans entrer dans des fougues à faire craindre que tout ne se rompit dans son corps, ... opiniâtre à l'excès, passionné pour tous les plaisirs, la bonne chère, la chasse avec fureur, la musique avec une sorte de ravissement. . . .L'esprit, la pénétration brilloient en lui de toutes parts; ... ses réponses étonnoient; ses raisonnements tendoient toujours au juste et au profond; il se jouoit des connoissances les plus abstraites.¹⁷

Fénelon himself gives a description of the Duke in his Opuscules

Divers "Le Fantastique":

Quand il manque de prétexte pour attaquer les autres, il se tourne contre lui-même: il se blâme, il ne se trouve bon à rien, il se décourage; et ne peut supporter la solitude ... Quelquefois il ne peut s'empêcher d'être étonné de ses excès et de ses fougues. Malgré son chagrin, il sourit des paroles extravagantes qui lui ont échappé ... Dans sa fureur la plus bizarre et la plus insensée,

¹⁶Hemon, op. cit., XIV, 7.

¹⁷Saint-Simon, op. cit., IX, 209.

il est plaisant, éloquent, subtil, plein de tours nouveaux, quoiqu'il ne lui reste pas seulement une ombre de raison ... tout lui est égal pourvu qu'il se fâche, il diroit des injures à tout le monde. Il n'aime plus les gens, il n'en est point aimé; on le persécute, on le trahit; il ne doit rien à qui que ce soit. Mais attendez un moment, voici une autre scène. Il a besoin de tout le monde; il aime, on l'aime aussi; il flatte, il s'insinue, il ensorcelle tous ceux qui ne pouvoient plus le souffrir; il avoue son tort, il rit de ses bizarreries, il se contrefait; et vous croiriez que c'est lui-même dans ses accès d'emporement, tant il se contrefait bien (OC, XIX, 381-383).

In the few short years as tutor Fénelon made astounding strides in the spiritual development of his pupil.¹⁸ Fénelon was banished from Versailles when the Duke was only fifteen years old, his education still incomplete, but through a wise combination of firmness and tact he had won his respect, his affection and finally his devotion. Saint-Simon noted the changes in the young prince:

De cet abîme on vit sortir un prince affable, doux, humain, modéré, patient, modeste, pénitent, et, autant et quelquefois au-delà de ce que son état pouvoit comporter, humble et austère pour soi. Tout applique à ses devoirs, et les comprenant immenses, il ne pensa plus qu'à allier ses devoirs de fils et de sujet avec ceux auxquels il se voyoit destiné.¹⁹

After his exile to Cambrai the student and teacher kept a correspondence in which he gave the Duke sound advice sometimes even to the point of criticism of Louis XIV.

During the time that Fénelon held the position of tutor to

¹⁸ Georges R. Havens, The Age of Ideas (New York: Free Press, 1955), p. 53.

¹⁹ Saint-Simon, op. cit., IX, 211-212.

the grandson of Louis XIV he received two other great honors. In 1693 he was elected to the Académie Française and in 1695 he was named Archbishop of Cambrai, although it may have been just to get him away from Versailles.²⁰

The exile of Fénelon came after a long struggle between the Archbishop and the Church. It all started when he met Madame Guyon in 1688. Fénelon had given a great deal of aid and advice to Madame de Maintenon when she founded the school at Saint-Cyr, near Versailles, for the daughters of impoverished nobles.²¹ It was through Madame de Maintenon that he made the acquaintance of Madame Guyon who was a supporter of the doctrine of Quiétisme. This mystical movement stressed the inner spiritual life, which was fine, but at the same time it allowed an extremely dangerous possibility of misinterpretation by not offering any resistance to temptation.²² Fénelon expressed the teachings of Quiétisme in his Explication des maximes des Saints sur la vie intérieure. A bitter controversy developed between Fénelon and his old friend Bossuet. Fénelon's appeal to Rome resulted in a

²⁰Pierre-Georges Castex and Paul Surer, Manuel des Etudes littéraires françaises (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1954), XVIII siècle, 240.

²¹François de Salignac de la Mothe-Fénelon, De l'Education des filles, ed. Albert Cherel (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1920), pp. xiv-xv.

²²François de Salignac de la Mothe-Fénelon, Pages choisies des grands écrivains - Fénelon, ed. Moïse Cagnac, series, Lectures littéraires (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1911), introduction, pp. xxvi-xxxiv, passim.

formal condemnation of the work. He promptly bowed to the decision of the Pope but was, nevertheless, banished permanently from the court to Cambrai.²³ Although he could no longer spend his annual three months at Versailles as was his custom until his exile he continued to supervise the Duke's education through the Abby Fleury and personal correspondence.

In his exile Fénelon kept his natural dignity along with his modest and simple life, gaining the respect of the people of his diocese who had at first been extremely suspicious since he was not a native of Flanders.²⁴ The premature death of the Duc de Bourgogne in 1712 was a horrible blow to Fénelon as it voided his efforts and destroyed all his hopes for the political and moral reforms for which he had strived so ardently.

²³Havens, op. cit., p. 54.

²⁴Ibid., p. 56.

CHAPTER II

FENELON'S PEDAGOGIC THEORY

De l'Education des filles is definitely a turning point in education. Fénelon recognized the need to begin education at the earliest possible age. "Avant que les enfans sachent entièrement parler, on peut les préparer à l'instruction (OC, XVII, 9)." A child learns to cry or to be silent in order to obtain what he wants. As he learns to talk he must use his intelligence and reason to distinguish the different sounds. He repeats those sounds that mean something to others and discards those that get no comprehension. He is naturally interested in objects and quickly learns the sounds that are associated with them.

According to Fénelon the child learns to distinguish the various attitudes and mannerisms of the people around him. He is attracted by those who indulge him and dislikes those who restrict his actions. At this early age all his learning is accomplished by mimicking the actions of others. Here then is the basis for Fénelon's theories that education should begin in infancy and that example makes the most profound and lasting impression on the child.

He showed that one may impress upon the child many virtuous ideas by merely reacting in word, gesture and tone to the actions of the child or to those of others:

... ainsi vous pouvez encore, par les différens airs de votre visage et par le ton de votre voix, leur représenter avec horreur

les gens qu'ils ont vus en colère ou dans quelque autre dérèglement, et prendre les tons les plus doux avec le visage le plus serein, pour leur représenter avec admiration ce qu'ils ont vu faire de sage et de modeste (OC, XVII, 10).

Fénelon believed strongly in the importance of this early training because the proper foundations will enable the child to master more quickly new ideas of virtue. If this has been neglected later teaching will be all the more difficult because many things must then be unlearned, resulting in great waste of time.

At times this method seems idealistic or at least very difficult to maintain. However, he remarks several times on the importance of persevering along this line because this is, in the long run, the shortest and easiest route.

He advised strongly against allowing the child to develop superstitions:

... on leur fait craindre un prêtre vêtu de noir, on ne leur parle de la mort que pour les effrayer, on leur raconte que les morts reviennent la nuit sous des figures hideuses; tout cela n'aboutit qu'à rendre une âme foible et timide, et qu'à la préoccuper contre les meilleures choses (OC, XVII, 10).

This is a typical warning against ignoring the power that the child has to make such lasting impressions, which must later be painfully unlearned.

Fénelon discusses the importance of early training for the body. Although he does not dwell at length on the subject of health and hygiene, one understands the necessity that Fénelon feels for building a strong body. His ideas on food are not profound but quite remarkable in view of the fact that rarely does any other educator

of the seventeenth century mention food and recreation in his works. He advised simple food, regular hours for meals and no food between meals:

... c'est de régler ses repas, en sorte qu'il mange toujours à peu près aux mêmes heures; qu'il mange assez souvent à proportion de son besoin; qu'il ne mange point hors de son repas, parce que c'est surcharger l'estomac pendant que la digestion n'est pas finie; qu'il ne mange rien de haut goût qui l'excite à manger au-delà de son besoin et qui le dégoûte des alimens plus convenables à sa santé; qu'enfin on ne lui serve pas trop de choses différentes, car la variété des viandes qui viennent l'une après l'autre soutient l'appétit après que le vrai besoin de manger est fini.

Ce qu'il y a encore de très-important, c'est de laisser affermir les organes en ne pressant point l'instruction ... (OC, 11).

He seemed well-versed on the subject of bodily functions especially in view of the fact that his training was in the Church. The only other educator of the era to discuss this point was Locke, but one must remember that he, unlike Fénelon, was a doctor.²⁵

Fénelon loved children for their lively grace and spontaneity, but he had no illusions about them. He saw them neither as angels nor as monsters. He knew their sly tricks, their jealousies and capriciousness and their tyrannical ways when getting all they want, but he also saw their affection, quietness and confidence when some things are withheld without being domineering. He knew their imperfections as he knew the imperfections of adults. Fénelon observes the child carefully. He does not see children in general or the child as an abstract being but rather as a real, living, breathing human being who has faults and weaknesses, natural abilities and likes and dislikes.

²⁵Compayré, op. cit., p. 32.

Too often a teacher feels that all pupils should be treated alike.

Fénelon, however, opposes this idea explaining that each child is an individual with unique characteristics, problems and abilities; therefore, each child requires, to some degree, different, or at least modified, methods of instruction.

Fénelon emphasises the necessity of guiding the child's behavior in the earliest stages of life when he says:

Si peu que le naturel des enfans soit bon, on peut les rendre ainsi dociles, patiens, fermes, gais et tranquilles: au lieu que, si on néglige ce premier âge, ils y deviennent ardens et inquiets pour toute leur vie; leur sang se brûle; les habitudes se forment; le corps, encore tendre, et l'âme, qui n'a encore aucune pente vers aucun objet, se plie vers le mal; il se fait en eux une espèce de second péché originel, qui est la source de mille désordres quand ils sont plus grands (OC, XVII, 11).

As the child's powers of reasoning develop with age one must be extremely careful to offer only the best examples in order to inspire truth and virtue in character.

One of the innocent errors often made by parents is that of spoiling the child. One delights in a pretty child and is amused by his demonstrations of wit and intelligence, and occasionally by his little tricks. All these faults of the adult are harmful to the child because he makes a habit of speaking too much and without thinking.

According to Fénelon:

... il leur en reste toute leur vie l'habitude de juger avec précipitation, et de dire des choses dont ils n'ont point d'idées claires; ce qui fait un très mauvais caractère d'esprit (OC, XVII, 12).

One must be patient and allow the child to develop naturally.

"Il faut se contenter de suivre et d'aider la nature (OC, XVII, 13).

It is dangerous to try to force them to think on subjects for which they are not yet ready to understand. Their ability to reason must develop gradually. It is important to wait patiently for their questions; then, when the opportunity arrives, one may guide their thinking on the subject by giving comparisons and other questions to aid their reasoning. This theory may be accomplished by showing them the faults in judging when they know too little and by praising them when they have accurately thought out a problem. This is a good method to teach true modesty.

Fénelon's educational methods are often classified in French as l'éducation attrayante. He felt that the secret of good teaching is to combine truth and pleasure. Before Fénelon's time all pleasure was on one side and all work on the other. He would change the order of this for he felt that study must be pleasant, hidden by the ideas of freedom and pleasure. Everything the teacher requires of a child should seem to be a pleasant task. He disliked dull boring lessons and dogmatic teachers. The opposite method is the basis for all his educational theories. The lesson should be amusing, creative, and entertaining. This is a quite reasonable theory if one considers the natural behavior of a child:

Il faut considérer que les enfans ont la tête foible, que leur âge ne les rend encore sensibles qu'au plaisir, et qu'on leur demande souvent une exactitude et un sérieux dont ceux qui l'exigent seroient incapables (OC, XVII, 22).

The teacher should teach on the level of the children without requiring exactitude in minute details and let them be free to enjoy

their lessons. He wrote:

On fait même une dangereuse impression d'ennui et de tristesse sur leur tempérament, en leur parlant toujours des mots et des choses qu'ils n'entendent point: nulle liberté, nul enjouement; toujours leçon, silence, posture gênée, correction et menaces (OC, XVII, 22-23).

The child is usually incapable of accuracy and gravity. He is much more sensitive to enjoyment. Fénelon advocates a combination of pleasure and study:

Laisser donc jouer un enfant, et mêlez l'instruction avec le jeu; que la sagesse ne se montre à lui que par intervalle, et avec un visage riant; gardez-vous de le fatiguer par un exactitude indiscrete.

Si l'enfant se fait une idée triste et sombre de la vertu, si la liberté et le dérèglement se présentent à lui sous une figure agréable, tout est perdu, vous travaillez en vain (OC, XVII, 18).

A child's attention span is quite short, therefore the teacher should realize the pupil's need for diversion. It is not always necessary to plan the diversion because children are quite capable of providing it themselves. This combination of instruction and play will bring great profits when one realizes that the child becomes eager to learn. This thirst for knowledge can be increased by ending the lesson while the child is still interested. Fénelon well understood the short attention span of a child and he expressed his ideas in this manner:

Le cerveau des enfans est comme une bougie allumée dans un lieu exposé au vent: sa lumière vacille toujours. L'enfant vous fait une question; et, avant que vous répondiez, ses yeux s'enlèvent vers le plancher, il compte toutes les figures qui y sont peintes, ou tous les morceaux de vitres qui sont aux fenêtres: si vous voulez le ramener à son premier objet, vous le gênez comme si vous le teniez en prison (OC, XVII, 18).

Accordingly, he commented that these distractions are often good and

conducive to better study:

Laissons leur vue se promener un peu; permettons-leur même de temps en temps quelque digression ou quelque jeu, afin que leur esprit se mette au large; puis ramenons-les doucement au but (OC, XVII, 26).

He wished that the child feel that wisdom is a pleasant interval because a child's idea of virtue must be pleasant; if not, all is lost.

The imitative tendency of children is a very important consideration in Fénelon's plan for education. Since this tendency develops very early in children he felt that the parent or teacher should be conscious of the child's imitative facility. This aspect of the child's personality can be a powerful tool in developing virtuousness. However, if allowed to develop without restraint it can result in a multitude of bad habits. One should guard against letting the child mimic the actions of others because as this inclination increases the child learns to make fun of others:

Il faut aussi les empêcher de contrefaire les gens ridicules; car ces manières moqueuses et comédiennes ont quelque chose de bas et de contraire aux sentimens honnêtes: il est à craindre que les enfans ne les prennent parce que la chaleur de leur imagination et la souplesse de leur corps, jointes à leur enjouement, leur font aisément prendre toutes sortes de formes pour représenter ce qu'ils voient de ridicule (OC, XVII, 16).

However, if one gives him only the best examples and shows him the virtue and pleasure one derives from imitating the good people the child will develop a taste for good behavior. It is best to avoid those people who present bad impressions, but since this is not always possible one must show the results of these foolish and unrefined ways.

Fénelon thought it a wise step to warn the child of these people

in advance in order that he be prepared to recognize and avoid these evils:

Il ne faut laisser approcher d'eux que des gens dont les exemples soient utiles à suivre: mais comme il n'est pas possible qu'ils ne voient, malgré les précautions qu'on prend, beaucoup de choses irrégulières, il faut leur faire remarquer de bonne heure l'impertinence de certaines personnes vicieuses et déraisonnables, sur la réputation desquelles il n'y a rien à ménager: il faut leur montrer combien on est méprisé et digne de l'être, combien on est méprisable, quand on s'abandonne à ses passions, et qu'on ne cultive point sa raison (OC, XVII, 15).

When a child shows a tendency toward some bad habit he advised providing him with a good example. In this way one can guide the child toward the good rather than punish or reprimand him later for a fault which could have been avoided.

Fénelon believed strongly that proper motivation was one of the most important duties of a teacher. A child motivated only by fear or duty will never develop a real love for knowledge. His scholastic methods are quite similar to many of those used today which are considered the new methods in education. His ideas on teaching both the native and foreign languages were what are known today as the indirect method. He was most successful in teaching a foreign language by conversation. He never mentions using verb conjugations, noun declensions or parts of speech in language instruction so one would assume that these methods played a very small part in his lessons. He advocated good examples and frequent practical usage for teaching grammar and rhetoric. Writing, he felt, could be taught most effectively by employing subjects of everyday knowledge and interest. He disliked having the student write purposeless things

or copy pages of sentences which were too involved for the mind of a child. His system was to have the student express his thoughts or tell about something through informal essays. Often he asked the student to describe in a letter to a friend an event or a new idea or tell his ideas about an interesting story which he had read. He wrote:

Ecrivez-moi un billet, dira-t-on; mandez telle chose à votre frère ou à votre cousin: tout cela fait plaisir à l'enfant, pourvu qu'aucune image triste de leçon réglée ne le trouble (OC, XVII, 25).

As for reading, his method ran along the same lines as in other areas. What is significant, however, is how completely opposite it was from the customary method of teaching reading. During the seventeenth century children were taught to read in loud and boisterous voices. Most of the reading was in Latin and naturally a child became quite bored:

Les deux choses qui gâtent tout, c'est qu'on leur fait apprendre à lire d'abord en latin, ce qui leur ôte tout le plaisir de la lecture, et qu'on veut les accoutumer à lire avec un emphase forcée et ridicule (OC, XVII, 24).

Fénelon preferred stories. He advised learning the native language first and Latin later. An attractive book was important to his scheme. He wished that the child enjoy reading, and he felt that this could be accomplished only by presenting material that would be pleasing to the young mind:

Il faut leur donner un livre bien relié, doré même sur la tranche, avec de belles images et des caractères bien formés. Tout ce qui réjouit l'imagination facilite l'étude: il faut tâcher de choisir un livre plein d'histoires courtes et merveilles (OC, XVII, 25).

If the child enjoys a story he will soon want to learn to read well enough to be able to read more stories to himself. He knew that children respond favorably to pictures and to stories and felt that the teacher should take advantage of these interests.

Stories play a very important part in his system of education. First he uses stories by telling them to the child before he has learned to read:

Les enfans aiment avec passion les contes ridicules; on les voit tous les jours transportés de joie, ou versant des larmes, au récit des aventures qu'on leur raconte. Ne manquez pas de profiter de ce penchant. Quand vous les voyez disposés à vous entendre, racontez-leur quelque fable courte et jolie: mais choisissez quelques fables d'animaux qui soient ingénieuses et innocentes: donnez-les pour ce qu'elles sont; montrez-en le but sérieux (OC, XVII, 35).

At this level the stories would pertain to basic moral lessons, history and religion. Later the child will begin to read more advanced stories:

J'ai vu divers enfans qui ont appris à lire en se jouant: on n'a qu'à leur raconter les choses divertissantes qu'on tire d'un livre en leur présence et leur faire connoître insensiblement les lettres; après cela, ils souhaitent d'eux-mêmes de pouvoir aller à la source de ce qui leur a donné du plaisir (OC, XVII, 24).

The same topics can be used adding themes on politics, sciences or any other area which might benefit the child in his adult life.

The stories should always be kept interesting and, especially when the teacher tells them, they should be animated. The child will become involved in the drama. Stories can be connected easily, especially those of history and the Bible. They can be presented to

the student like a perpetually unfolding drama, each episode playing an important role. Again it is necessary to whet the child's appetite for more:

Quand vous aurez raconté une fable, attendez que l'enfant vous demande d'en dire d'autres; ainsi laissez-le toujours dans une espèce de faim d'en apprendre davantage. Ensuite, la curiosité étant excitée, racontez certaines histoires choisies, mais en peu de mots; liez-les ensemble, et remettez d'un jour à l'autre à dire la suite, pour tenir les enfans en suspens, et leur donner de l'impatience de voir la fin. Animez vos récits de tons vifs et familiers; faites parler tous vos personnages; les enfans, qui ont l'imagination vive, croiront les voir et les entendre (OC, XVII, 35).

If one presents the story in serial form the child never wishes the narrator to stop and looks forward to the next meeting when the tale can be continued. This method requires a teacher who is imaginative, skillful and extremely interested in the education of his charges.

Stories are a very important aid to the teacher because the child does not reason well. It is necessary to strike the imagination and make it seem real. To the child's mind pictures are so much more real than reasoning and theories.

The child, however, is capable of some reasoning, and the teacher must search for the words and illustrations to explain and reason on the child's level of development. The development of a child's reasoning power is an important endeavor because one of the objectives of education is to provide the adult with the ability to act from his own reasoning. He must become his own master and must understand the reasons for his own actions.

"Il faut les mener par la raison, autant qu'on peut (OC, XVII, 12)." Fénelon definitely advocated reasoning with the child. However, the last part of this quote shows his wisdom and his knowledge of the immature mind, "autant qu'on peut". A child is not always capable of reason and in these instances other means must be employed. An enraged child is not able to reason. He hears nothing and understands nothing. In this case Fénelon advises the use of force; however, not force in the usual sense. He would rarely condone striking the child. The method to be employed is to remove any dangerous objects which he might use to inflict harm on himself or on others and then to put the child to bed. This action must be used sparingly though for three reasons: first, the child learns nothing by this treatment; second, he soon becomes accustomed to it and it loses all meaning; and third, it may destroy his will which would make further educational endeavors futile. The will can only be formed by guiding it naturally by reason.

On the subject of discipline Fénelon's views were greatly in opposition to those of the seventeenth century. He saw little merit in a stern and severe attitude of a teacher. Although severity and constant discipline were common among educators Fénelon found little true teaching in using these methods:

Ne prenez jamais sans une extrême nécessité un air austère et impérieux, qui fait trembler les enfans. Souvent c'est affectation et pédanterie dans ceux qui gouvernent; car, pour les enfans, ils ne sont d'ordinaire que trop timides et honteux. Vous leur fermeriez le coeur, et leur ôteriez la confiance, sans laquelle il n'y a nul fruit à espérer de l'éducation. Faites-vous aimer d'eux; qu'ils soient libres avec vous, et qu'ils ne craignent point de vous laisser voir leurs défauts (OC, XVII, 20-21).

He would have the teacher avoid severity except in cases of absolute necessity. He could see the wisdom of choosing and sometimes of waiting for the right moment when the child would benefit from a reprimand:

Souvent il faut tolérer des choses qui auroient besoin d'être corrigées, et attendre le moment où l'esprit de l'enfant sera disposé à profiter de la correction (OC, XVII, 22).

He saw, too, the errors often committed by a teacher whose disciplinary method ends with the pointing out of a fault. According to Fénelon there is no merit in criticism alone other than the fact that it is the easiest method of dealing with the child's faults. Unless the teacher can provide the child with some means of correcting a fault or avoiding it in the future no worth can be found in any disciplinary action. He did not feel that this method would be easy but he knew well that the destructive method could never be an acceptable procedure:

Ne dites point à l'enfant son défaut, sans ajouter quelque moyen de le surmonter qui l'encourage à le faire; car il faut éviter le chagrin et le découragement que la correction inspire quand elle est sèche (OC, XVII, 22).

The better, although sometimes more difficult, role of the teacher is always to use constructive methods.

His opposition to punishment was not total and he remarks at length on the fact that reprimand is sometimes necessary:

Si le Sage a toujours recommandé aux parens de tenir la verge assidument levée sur les enfans, s'il a dit qu'un père qui se joue avec son fils pleurera dans la suite, ce n'est pas qu'il ait blâmé une éducation douce et patiente; il condamne seulement ces parens foibles et inconsidérés, qui flattent les passions de

leurs enfans, et qui ne cherchent qu'à s'en divertir pendant leur enfance, jusqu'à leur souffrir toutes sortes d'excès.

Ce qu'il en faut conclure, est que les parens doivent toujours conserver de l'autorité pour la correction, car il y a des naturels qu'il faut dompter par la crainte; mais, encore une fois, il ne faut le faire que quand on ne sauroit faire autrement (OC, XVII, 21).

However, he comments in detail on the situations where this might be proper and outlines the procedure for imposing any restrictions. In an extreme case when it is necessary to resort to authority Fénelon proposes a few guidelines for asserting this authority:

L'autorité ne laissera pas de trouver sa place, si la confiance et la persuasion ne sont pas assez fortes; mais il faut toujours commencer par une conduite ouverte, gaie, et familière sans bassesse, qui vous donne moyen de voir agir les enfans dans leur état naturel, et de les connoître à fond. Enfin, quand même vous les réduiriez par l'autorité à observer toutes vos règles, vous n'iriez pas à votre but; tout se tourneroit en formalités gênantes, et peut-être en hypocrisie; vous les dégoûteriez du bien, dont vous devez chercher uniquement de leur inspirer l'amour (OC, XVII, 21).

One sees again his dedication to the premise that if any education is to take place it will come only under pleasant conditions.

In Fénelon's opinion, a primary asset of an educator is the open affection and confidence of the child in his teacher. One should not force the child to do anything which might close his heart to his instructor:

Ne paroissez ni étonné ni irrité de leurs mauvaises inclinations: au contraire, compatissez à leurs foiblesses. Quelquefois il en arrivera cet inconvénient, qu'ils seront moins retenus par la crainte; mais, à tout prendre, la confiance et la sincérité leur sont plus utiles que l'autorité rigoureuse (OC, XVII, 21).

Fénelon saw fear as a last resort to be used only with the most incorrigible children. The teacher's efforts should be aimed at

avoiding the necessity for punishment rather than at searching for effective coercion:

Il faut toujours leur montrer un but solide et agréable qui les soutienne dans le travail, et ne prétendre jamais les assujettir par une autorité sèche et absolue (OC, XVII, 20).

He points out the dangers of using fear as a means of disciplining the child:

La crainte, est comme les remèdes violens qu'on emploie dans les maladies extrêmes; il purgent, mais ils altèrent le tempérament, et usent les organes: une âme menée par la crainte en est toujours plus foible (OC, XVII, 23).

When Fénelon finally remarks on the actual methods to be employed in punishing a child he never deviates from his original concept that education should be pleasant. Here, too, he would handle the situation in as agreeable a manner for the child as possible:

Pour les châtimens, la peine doit être aussi légère qu'il est possible, mais accompagnée de toutes les circonstances qui peuvent piquer l'enfant de honte et de remords: par exemple, montrez-lui tout ce que vous avez fait pour éviter cette extrémité; paraissez-lui-en affligé; parlez devant lui, avec d'autres personnes, du malheur de ceux qui manquent de raison et d'honneur jusqu'à se faire châtier; retranchez les marques d'amitié ordinaires, jusqu'à ce que vous voyiez qu'il ait besoin de consolation; rendez ce châtiment public ou secret, selon que vous jugerez qu'il sera plus utile à l'enfant, ou de lui causer une grande honte, ou de lui montrer qu'on la lui épargne; réservez cette honte publique pour servir de dernier remède; servez-vous quelquefois d'une personne raisonnable qui console l'enfant, qui lui dise ce que vous ne devez pas alors lui dire vous-même, qui le guérisse de la mauvaise honte, qui le dispose à revenir à vous, et auquel l'enfant, dans son émotion, puisse ouvrir son cœur plus librement qu'il n'oseroit le faire devant vous. Mais surtout qu'il ne paroisse jamais que vous demandiez de l'enfant que les soumissions nécessaires; tâchez de faire en sorte qu'il s'y condamne lui-même, qu'il s'exécute de bonne grâce, et qu'il ne vous reste qu'à adoucir la peine qu'il aura acceptée (OC, XVII, 23-24).

One recognizes many of the techniques of punishment advocated by

twentieth century child psychologists in the above paragraph written in the seventeenth century.

Fénelon took another rather astonishing position for the seventeenth century when he set down guidelines for the image of the teacher. At that time a teacher's image was one of omnipotence and infallibility. He saw the dangers of this since a child takes great pleasure, either secretly or openly, in observing an error in the teacher's information or in his character. Fénelon's wisdom on this point is:

Ne craignez point de parler des défauts qui sont visibles en vous, et des fautes qui vous auront échappé devant l'enfant. Si vous le voyez capable d'entendre raison là-dessus, dites-lui que vous voulez lui donner l'exemple de se corriger de ses défauts, en vous corrigeant des vôtres: par là, vous tirerez de vos imperfections mêmes de quoi instruire et édifier l'enfant, de quoi l'encourager pour sa correction; vous éviterez même le mépris et le dégoût que vos défauts pourroient lui donner pour votre personne (OC, XVII, 19-20).

Here again he stresses the necessity for a relationship between teacher and student which is amicable rather than that of master versus slave.

The most outstanding reforms advocated by Fénelon seem to be in his desire to make education a pleasant endeavor. He sums up this thought as follows:

Montrez-lui toujours l'utilité des choses que vous lui enseignez; faites-lui-en voir l'usage par rapport au commerce du monde et aux devoirs des conditions. Sans cela, l'étude lui paroît un travail abstrait, stérile et épineux. A quoi sert, disent-ils en eux-mêmes, d'apprendre toutes ces choses dont on ne parle point dans les conversations, et qui n'ont aucun rapport à tout ce qu'on est obligé de faire? Il faut donc leur rendre raison de tout ce qu'on leur enseigne: C'est, leur direz-vous, pour vous mettre en état de bien faire ce que vous ferez un jour; c'est pour vous former le jugement; c'est pour vous accoutumer à bien raisonner sur toutes les affaires de la vie (OC, XVII, 20).

Whether this system was a step in the right direction or in the wrong direction, it was certainly revolutionary in Fénelon's time.

CHAPTER III

EDUCATION OF WOMEN

The first work written by Fénelon was not intended for the public but rather for the Duke and Duchess of Beauvilliers. Being close friends of Fénelon and having a great deal of confidence in him the Beauvilliers sought his advice in educating their daughters. Although he touches briefly here and later in Télémaque on his ideas of a national system of education, the bulk of his efforts is aimed at a family rearing the children in the home with the aid of a governess. His Traité de l'Education des filles was composed to help the mother or governess in her duties of teaching; however, Fénelon goes much further. More than half of the Traité de l'Education des filles is readily applicable to the education of boys as well as girls.

Fénelon saw women as an important resource much in need of sound education which is shown in his opening statements. "Rien n'est plus négligé que l'éducation des filles (OC, XVII, 3)." He adds:

Ajoutez que la vertu n'est pas moins pour les femmes que pour les hommes: sans parler du bien ou du mal qu'elles peuvent faire au public, elles sont la moitié du genre humain, racheté du sang de Jésus-Christ et destiné à la vie éternelle (OC, XVII, 5).

Fénelon explained clearly his ideas of the functions of a woman. He did not advocate women in government, business, war or the ministry. Nevertheless, he saw the importance of women having knowledge in these areas:

Plus elles sont foibles, plus il est important de les fortifier. N'ont-elles pas des devoirs à remplir, mais des devoirs qui sont les fondements de toute la vie humaine? Ne sont-ce pas les femmes qui ruinent ou qui soutiennent les maisons, qui règlent tout le

détail des choses domestiques, et qui, par conséquent, décident de ce qui touche de plus près à tout le genre humain? Par-là, elles ont la principale part aux bonnes ou aux mauvaises moeurs de presque tout le monde. Une femme judicieuse, appliquée, et pleine de religion, est l'âme de toute une grande maison; elle y met l'ordre pour les biens temporels et pour le salut. Les hommes mêmes, qui ont toute l'autorité en public, ne peuvent par leurs délibérations établir aucun bien effectif, si les femmes ne leur aident à l'exécuter (OC, XVII, 4).

The education of boys is paramount in that they represent the future and progress of the world. For this reason, one must not neglect the education of the girls who will one day be charged with the earliest instruction of these future leaders.

Many educators before Fénelon felt that women were best left in a state of ignorance. Fénelon, however, warns against the hazards of this thinking: "L'ignorance d'une fille est la cause qu'elle s'ennuie et qu'elle ne sait à quoi s'occuper innocemment (OC, XVII, 6)." If they lack education or are poorly educated their imagination and curiosity allows their minds to wander frivolously.

Fénelon advocated also that the daughter be instructed at home if possible. Although he was a priest at the time, he warned of the dangers of girls being educated in the convents. He felt that convents were satisfactory only if the proper education were not available at home or if the girl were to remain in the convent her entire life. Most convents were not capable of providing a well-rounded education. The other major fault of the convent was that it too often, in trying to protect the girl from the evils of the outside world, gave her a distorted picture of it. She became either too naïve or envisioned an excitement which too often resulted in disaster when she returned to her home and became

disillusioned:

Si un couvent n'est pas régulier, elle y verra la vanité en honneur, ce qui est le plus subtil de tout les poisons pour une jeune personne. Elle y entendra parler du monde comme d'une espèce d'enchantement; et rien ne fait une plus pernicieuse impression que cette image trompeuse du siècle, qu'on regarde de loin avec admiration, et qui en exagère tous les plaisirs sans en montrer les mécomptes et les amertumes. Le monde n'éblouit jamais tant que quand on le voit de loin, sans l'avoir jamais vu de près, et sans être prévenu contre sa séduction. Ainsi je craindrois un couvent mondain encore plus que le monde même. Si, au contraire, un couvent est dans la verveur et dans la régularité de son institut, une jeune fille de condition y croît dans une ignorance du siècle: c'est sans doute une heureuse ignorance, si elle doit durer toujours; mais si cette fille sort de ce couvent, et passe à un certain âge dans la maison paternelle, où le monde aborde, rien n'est plus à craindre que surprise et que ce grand ébranlement d'une imagination vive. Une fille qui n'a été détachée du monde qu'à force de l'ignorer, et en qui la vertu n'a pas encore jeté de profondes racines, est bientôt tentée de croire qu'on lui a caché ce qu'il y a de plus merveilleux. Elle sort du convent comme une personne qu'on auroit nourrie dans les ténèbres d'une profonde caverne, et qu'on feroit tout d'un coup passer au grand jour. Rien n'est plus éblouissant que ce passage imprévu, et que cet éclat auquel on n'a jamais été accoutumé. Il vaut beaucoup mieux qu'une fille s'accoutume peu à peu au monde auprès d'une mère pieuse et discrète, qui ne lui en montre que ce qu'il lui convient d'en voir, qui lui en découvre les défauts dans les occasions, et qui lui donne l'exemple de n'en user qu'avec modération pour le seul besoin (OC, XVII, 101).

In order to provide the best possible education one must be aware of the faults of the pupil. Fénelon devoted a chapter of the Traité de l'Education des filles to the faults of women: They are prone to affectations such as imaginary fears and tears for no reason. They also thrive on little jealousies, excessive compliments and flattery. Out of their natural desire to please they become artificial and coquette, delighting in new coiffures, dresses, ornaments or simply a choice of color in their garments.

As in all his ideas on methods Fénelon prefers to show the better way rather than to condemn the fault:

Montrez-leur, par des exemples, comment on peut sans tromperie être discret, précautionné, appliqué aux moyens légitimes de réussir. Dites-leur: La principale prudence consiste à parler peu, à se défier bien plus de soi que des autres, mais point à faire des discours faux et des personnages brouillons (OC, XVII, 68).

His advice on the subject of vanity is:

Appliquez-vous donc à faire entendre aux filles combien l'honneur qui vient d'une bonne conduite et d'une vraie capacité est plus estimable que celui qu'on tire de ses cheveux ou de ses habits (OC, XVII, 71).

He would challenge women to seek beauty in simplicity rather than in ornaments because her beauty is worth nothing if she has not virtue:

Les personnes qui tirent toute leur gloire de leur beauté deviennent bientôt ridicules: elles arrivent, sans s'en apercevoir, à un certain âge où leur beauté se flétrit; et elles sont encore charmées d'elles-mêmes, quoique le monde, bien loin de l'être, en soit dégoûté (OC, XVII, 72).

Fénelon stated clearly what he felt was important for a young girl to know and what should be avoided in her education. The greatest danger of a poor education is that she comes to believe herself capable of discussing subjects of which she lacks sufficient foundation.

Fénelon deplored the précieuses ridicules. Their problems were more dangerous than those of merely ignorant women. They were learned women lacking adequate foundations of reasoning. He realized that an intelligent girl whose education lacked solid background would turn to intellectual questions about which she knew too little. A vivid imagination left to wander wildly without purpose would result in the absurd thinking of the précieuse. However, if her wit could be formed carefully

with reason and direction she would be able to protect herself from the ridicule of false statements. Since all women have a great deal of curiosity, Fénelon stressed the necessity for careful guidance, too, for a woman possessing less intelligence. Although she might not try to discuss scientific and theological theories, she might turn her attentions to vanities, gossip, fads, little schemes and excessive talk. This last fault especially concerned Fénelon as it left little time for reflecting upon important matters.

Fénelon wished especially to develop practical sense in a woman. Her education should be channelled, as with that of a man, in the direction of her function in life:

Quel discernement lui faut-il pour connoître le naturel et le génie de chacun de ses enfans, pour trouver la manière de se conduire avec eux la plus propre à découvrir leur humeur, leur pente, leur talent, à prévenir les passions naissantes, à leur persuader les bonnes maximes, et à guérir leurs erreurs (OC, XVII, 76).

As with all children, education should be begun at a very early age and should be of practical value. He advocated giving a young girl the responsibility of some simple part of household management. Young people take great pleasure in being entrusted with serious affairs and begin to put faith in themselves. Through this endeavor she would learn the necessity for cleanliness, organization, and economy. In this vein her academic studies could include simple arithmetic, the science of commercial economy, household economy and wise management.

Since it was customary at the time to leave the administration of an estate to the lady of the house, a woman should study the basic principles of law, cultivation of land, business methods of commercial

transactions and the leasing of land. Instruction on the details of managing a house should be started early in a girl's life.

Faites pour la propreté comme pour l'économie. Accoutumez les filles à ne souffrir rien de sale ni de dérangé; qu'elles remarquent le moindre désordre dans une maison. Faites-leur même observer que rien ne contribue plus à l'économie et à la propreté, que de tenir toujours chaque chose en sa place (OC, XVII, 79).

Girls should also be taught to write well without making too many orthographic mistakes. Reading is a necessity but the selection of materials is of great importance.

... la lecture des livres profanes qui n'ont rien de dangereux pour les passions: c'est même le moyen de les dégoûter des comédies et des romans. Donnez-leur donc les histoires grecques et romaines; elles y verront des prodiges de courage et de désintéressement (OC, XVII, 86).

He adds later that Italian and Spanish books should not be allowed as they intensify the feminine romantic imaginations. A little of the history of France is important and a little Latin, but very little or none unless the student is very bright and inclined toward an academic curriculum. He adds poetry and other eloquent works to the list of literature to be avoided "...tout ce qui peut faire sentir l'amour, plus il est adouci et enveloppé, plus il me paroît dangereux (OC, XVII, 87)".

He continues these warnings when he writes of music and painting and as in all the arts considers them safe for use in the instruction of women only when they are limited to Christian endeavors.

The two most important methods employed by Fénelon, those of teaching by reason and by example, are emphasized throughout his treatise De l'Education des filles. He was concerned with developing

an adult who was his own master. Reason, however, should not be pursued in the same manner as one reasons with an adult. One must use the reason of a child but with prudence as the child is not always emotionally capable of reasoning "... il faut les mener par la raison, autant qu'on peut (OC, XVII, 12)".

Fénelon writes at length on the subject of avoiding the frivolous aspects of the feminine mind. One should try to develop stable and uniform conduct in girls: show contempt for their inclinations toward affectations; show them that these tendencies are motivated by vanity. He continues along this line by advising repression of jealousy, flattery and unregulated friendships. If these fantasies are not repressed early in life the important matters become uninteresting and boring.

He was keenly aware, too, of the natural impulse in women to talk excessively. He would have them trained to offer their studied thought as clearly and in as few words as possible:

Le bon esprit consiste à retrancher tout discours inutile, et à dire beaucoup en peu de mots; au lieu que la plupart des femmes disent peu en beaucoup de paroles ... on ne peut espérer rien de fort bon d'une femme, si on ne la réduit à réfléchir de suite, à examiner ses pensées, à les expliquer d'une manière courte, et à savoir ensuite se taire (OC, XVII, 67).

He blames hypocrisy as the cause of excessiveness in women but shows that they are taught early to rely on pretense to achieve their goals in society. They see craftiness and duplicity in their elders rather than free expression of honest feelings. He admonishes the mother for forcing her daughter to like certain people, books or ideas toward which she feels distaste. Fénelon feels, however, that she

should be taught prudence in expressing her thoughts. One must be careful to teach the difference between discretion and deceit and the consequences of these two methods of conduct. He explained it in this manner:

La droiture de conduite et la réputation universelle de probité attirent plus de confiance et d'estime, et par conséquent à la longue plus d'avantages, même temporels, que les voies détournées (OC, XVII, 68).

They should be taught, too, that crafty scheming is never justifiable. Any goal achieved in this manner will always be harmful or undesirable. A deceitful person is never at peace as his plot is always in danger of being discovered. The first step that Fénelon recommends to avoid developing deceit in a child should be started in infancy. The infraction to be avoided lies with the proud parent who delights in his child's display of intelligence by some act of deception. "En les louant sur telles fautes, on leur persuade que c'est être habile que d'être fin (OC, XVII, 70)."

Fénelon believed strongly in the virtue of simplicity. This virtue is easily overlooked by women as they acquire, so young, the fault of vanity. Pride in the physical beauty of a person should be repressed. A girl possessed with her own beauty is far more enchanted by it than are those around her. Furthermore, it is a false pride because a lovely youthful face fades long before the woman is ready to relinquish it and she becomes a subject of ridicule for her public. True beauty must come from within and must be founded on merit and virtue.

Simplicity in clothes is as necessary to a well-bred woman as household management and effective conversation. He deplores the power of women over fashion in dress. He points to the statues of the women of Greece and Rome to illustrate noble simplicity of dress and coiffures:

Je voudrois même faire voir aux jeunes filles la noble simplicité qui paroît dans les statues et dans les autres figures qui nous restent des femmes grecques et romaines: elles y verroient combien des cheveux noués négligemment par derrière, et des draperies pleines et flottant à longs plis, sont agréables et majestueuses. Il seroit bon même qu'elles entendissent parler les peintres et les autres gens qui ont ce goût exquis de l'antiquité (OC, XVII, 72).

Women revert to coquetry and vanity by discarding a style simply because it has been popular for a long time or by desiring a gown which is in poor taste or otherwise unsuitable because it is in fashion. He would not advocate dress which is completely outmoded; he would ask merely that the lady acquire a taste for simplicity in dress which is dignified and gracious.

The importance of the matters on which a woman must be instructed is significant. She must supervise the servants, understand and regulate with economy the details of household expenditures and understand and provide the needs of her children.

The selection of servants is important. The basic requirement is that they be honest and religious. Their individual duties and how to perform them should be explained carefully. One would reprimand them with tact but take care to retain authority over them. It should be remembered, too, that they are also children of God and that they

are Christians and should be respected. They must be allowed to feel at ease when asking for advice, but one should avoid general conversations with them. The children of the family need special instruction regarding their behavior toward the servants. They should not be allowed to regard them as animals, rather they must learn to respect them as does the master of the household. The child should not learn to expect a servant to pamper him since this leads to softness, greediness and over-indulgence.

Fénelon realized the human perfection that would be needed to carry out his plan of education. He knew that it would be very difficult to find a person with the necessary judgement, patience and aptitude to understand and follow his method. However, this did not sway his conviction in any way. He saw no reason for lesser goals when dealing with one of the most important functions of life, that of educating a child. Although one may fail in part there are many areas where one might achieve complete success. For this reason, then, he justified his design for perfection:

Il est vrai que chacun ne pourra pas aller, dans la pratique, aussi loin que vont nos pensées lorsque rien ne les arrête sur le papier: mais enfin, lors même qu'on ne pourra pas arriver jusqu'à la perfection dans ce travail, il ne sera pas inutile de l'avoir connue, et de s'être efforcé d'y atteindre ... (OC, XVII, 91-92).

His method seems long and difficult, yet it is actually the shortest because in every aspect one is proceeding straight to the desired end. Any other method may seem shorter at the time but ultimately will lead to an undesirable end. The imperfection still

must be corrected and the problem becomes more difficult to handle the longer it is avoided. He felt, however, that his method does not require a person of great intelligence. Good sense, a pleasant disposition and a true fear of God are the necessary qualities to be found in a young girl who will be trained by reading his treatise and by the guidance of the mother. He advises the mother to discuss any points of the treatise which are confusing to the governess and to observe her often in the performance of her duties. Nevertheless, the parents must never impart the responsibility of the education of their children entirely to the governess. However competent she may be the children's education will never succeed if the parents do not take the responsibility of setting a good example. Fénelon wrote:

Ils leur donnent le goût des passions, et leur font trouver fades les plaisirs innocens. Après cela ils veulent encore que l'éducation réussisse; et ils la regardent comme triste et austère, si elle ne souffre ce mélange du bien et du mal. N'est-ce pas vouloir se faire honneur du désir d'une bonne éducation de ses enfans, sans en vouloir prendre la peine, ni s'assujettir aux règles les plus nécessaires? (OC, XVII, 95-96).

In his Traité de l'Education des filles Fénelon set down the main functions of women: to educate her children, and to manage the servants, the household and the estate. In his later work, Télémaque, he paints a word picture of his ideal woman as Télémaque describes to Mentor his reasons for his desire to wed Antiope:

Ce qui me touche en elle, c'est son silence, sa modestie, sa retraite, son travail assidu, son industrie pour les ouvrages de laine et de broderie, son application à conduire toute la maison de son père depuis que sa mère est morte, son mépris des vaines parures, l'oubli et l'ignorance même qui paroît en elle de sa beauté. ... elle anime les autres à travailler, elle leur adoucit le travail et l'ennui par les charmes de sa voix,

lorsqu'elle chante toutes les merveilleuses histoires des dieux, et elle surpasse la plus esquisse peinture par la délicatesse de ses broderies. Heureux l'homme qu'un doux hymen unira avec elle: il n'aura à craindre que de la perdre et de lui survivre Antiope est douce, simple et sage: ses mains ne méprisent point le travail; elle prévoit de loin; elle pourvoit à tout; elle sait se taire et agir de suite sans empressement; elle est à toute heure occupée et ne s'embarrasse jamais, parce qu'elle fait chaque chose à propos: le bon ordre de la maison de son père est sa gloire; elle en est plus ornée que de sa beauté. Quoiqu'elle ait soin de tout, et qu'elle soit chargée de corriger, de refuser, d'épargner (choses qui font haïr presque toutes les femmes) elle s'est rendue aimable à toute la maison: c'est qu'on ne trouve en elle ni passion, ni entêtement, ni légèreté, ni humeur, comme dans les autres femmes. D'un seul regard elle se fait entendre, et on craint de lui déplaire; elle donne des ordres précis; elle n'ordonne que ce qu'on peut exécuter; elle reprend avec bonté, et en reprenant elle encourage Son esprit, non plus que son corps, ne se pare jamais de vains ornements: son imagination, quoique vive, est retenue par sa discrétion: elle ne parle que pour la nécessité; et si elle ouvre la bouche, la douce persuasion et les grâces naïves coulent de ses lèvres. Dès qu'elle parle, tout le monde se tait, et elle en rougit ... (OC, XX, 398-400).

It can be concluded then, that the faults of women can be corrected, or even better, can be avoided by instilling in them the virtues of simplicity, organization and diligence which will, in the final analysis, develop a truly well-educated, mature and charming individual.

CHAPTER IV

THE EDUCATION OF THE DUC DE BOURGOGNE

The education of Louis XIV was, at best, very mediocre, but the education of his grandson was equal to or better than that of any prince in history. When the time arrived for Louis XIV to choose a gouverneur for his grandson he chose without hesitation the Duc de Beauvilliers. With no less hesitation the Duc de Beauvilliers chose Fénelon to be the précepteur who would share in the instruction and moral formation of the heir to the throne. This was in no way surprising since Fénelon and Beauvilliers were very close friends and Beauvilliers greatly respected Fénelon's opinions on all subjects. Also Fénelon had received many words of praise of his Traité de l'Education des filles. Fénelon and Beauvilliers together selected the three remaining members of the illustrious entourage of educators. Although the Duc de Beauvilliers was at the head of the group, Fénelon was certainly its main inspiration.

As has been previously stated this child to whom Fénelon was to give moral, spiritual and academic guidance was no ordinary pupil. Aside from the fact that he was the eldest grandson of Louis XIV and heir to the throne, which alone could present many obstacles to any ordinary teacher, he was also quite spoiled, quick-tempered and altogether incorrigible.

Although the practices employed were destined for a child

who would one day be king, one thought, and who had an exceptional temperament, there are many points which could be quite useful to the education of ordinary children and to the problems of educating the masses.

Here Fénelon was provided with an opportunity to make practical use of his theories stated in his Traité de l'Education des filles. Certainly no established educational method of the seventeenth century was capable of bending the stormy nature of this seven year old child. If Fénelon had not already established his method of pleasant education he surely would have had to create it for the Duc de Bourgogne. Any authoritative or severe manner with this child would surely have been disastrous. However, one must remember that it was not the method alone which caused the success but also the compassion, humility, patience and wisdom of a great teacher. It was only by indirect instruction and finesse employed by one of the most virtuous of men that it was possible to direct such a rebellious nature.

Seldom is the power of education seen in such a striking way as it was evidenced in the changes in the personality of the prince. Saint-Simon makes note of the unbelievable changes in the Duc: "Le prodige, c'est qu'en très peu de temps, la dévotion et la grâce en firent un autre homme et changèrent tant et de si redoutables défauts en vertus parfaitement contraires."²⁶

²⁶L.-F. de Bausset, Histoire de Fénelon (Paris: Chez Giguet et Michaud, 1809, I, 153.

Little is known about Fénelon's actual plan of instruction for the Duc de Bourgogne. However, the Marquis de Louville, cousin of the Duc de Beauvilliers and gentilhomme de la manche du Duc d'Anjou, King of Spain and younger brother of the Duc de Bourgogne, left a Mémoire concerning the education of the princes.²⁷

This document is quite significant as it reports in detail the activities of the princes under the guidance of the Duc de Beauvilliers and Fénelon. The princes were served wholesome foods at meals and they were allowed to eat all they wanted as there was no eating between meals. No exotic dishes were ever prepared for them. Most meals were private affairs, the public being admitted only occasionally at the mid-day meal. The day was planned in detail, usually following the same pattern; i.e. one o'clock to two, dancing, writing or drawing; forty-five minutes of light reading; supper at eight o'clock and bed at nine.²⁸

Their exercise was intense. They took walks every day whether the weather was good or bad. They ran or rode horseback until their shirts were wet. At Fontainebleau they exercised until they were breathless almost the entire day. This extreme athletic training followed the Duc de Beauvilliers' theory that a king who must command armies is of no value if he is physically weak. The boys held up

²⁷The writer was unable to secure the primary source of this document. An English translation is available in Barnard's Fénelon on Education.

²⁸Barnard, op. cit., p. 111.

well under this rigorous training and seldom even caught cold. Even with light colds they exercised with no complaints.²⁹

The Marquis de Louville's remarks on punishment are short but show how closely Fénelon followed his own advice, set down in the Traité de l'Education des filles. Punishment was usually in the form of isolation. No one ever resorted to corporal punishment because "the children of kings should be afraid, not of pain, but of doing wrong".³⁰

The following incident concerning punishment of the Duc de Bourgogne is often cited by Fénelon's biographers: The young prince being aware that his guilt was known answered his teacher in the following manner: "Non, non, monsieur; je sais que je suis, et qui vous êtes".³¹ Fénelon gave no response preferring to follow his previously stated theories of waiting for the proper moment in order to obtain the most benefit from a disciplinary measure. He realized that the Duc was not at present emotionally capable of reason. He kept silent the rest of the day allowing the Duc to realize his error and to let him ponder it for a sufficient length of time in order that he not forget the incident and the lesson learned from it. The next day Fénelon addressed his pupil in cold and serious tones:

²⁹Ibid., 113.

³⁰Ibid., 112.

³¹Cited in Bausset, op. cit., I, 170.

Je ne sais, monsieur, si vous vous rappelez ce que vous m'avez dit hier: que vous saviez ce que vous êtes, et ce que je suis: il est de mon devoir de vous apprendre que vous ignorez l'un et l'autre. Vous vous imaginez donc, monsieur, être plus que moi; quelques valets, sans doute, vous l'auront dit; et moi, je ne crains pas de vous dire, puisque vous m'y forcez, que je suis plus que vous. Vous comprenez assez qu'il n'est pas ici question de la naissance. Vous regarderiez comme un insensé celui qui prétendrait se faire un mérite de ce que la pluie du ciel a fertilisé sa moisson, sans arroser celle de son voisin. Vous ne seriez pas plus sage, si vous vouliez tirer vanité de votre naissance, qui n'ajoute rien à votre mérite personnel. Vous ne sauriez douter que je suis au dessus de vous par les lumières et connaissances. Vous ne savez que ce que je vous ai appris; et ce que je vous ai appris n'est rien, comparé à ce qu'il me resterait à vous apprendre. Quant à l'autorité, vous n'en avez aucune sur moi, et je l'ai moi-même, au contraire, pleine et entière sur vous. Le roi, et monseigneur vous l'ont dit assez souvent. Vous croyez peut-être que je m'estime fort heureux d'être pourvu de l'emploi que j'exerce auprès de vous; désabusez-vous encore, monsieur; je ne m'en suis chargé que pour obéir au roi, et faire plaisir à monseigneur; et nullement pour le pénible avantage d'être votre précepteur; et afin que vous n'en doutiez pas, je vais vous conduire chez sa majesté, pour la supplier de vous en nommer un autre, dont je souhaite que les soins soient plus heureux que les miens.³²

The Duc had had a whole day to ponder his actions and was overcome by guilt, shame, regret and tears. He answered his teacher:

Ah! monsieur, je suis désespéré de ce qui s'est passé hier; si vous parlez au roi, vous me ferez perdre son amitié ...; si vous m'abandonnez, que pensera-t-on de moi?...je vous promets que vous serez constant de moi ... mais promettez-moi...³³

Fénelon, however promised nothing yet. He waited another day until he was convinced of the sincerity of the prince's repentance, and, after the prince begged a second time by asking Madame de Maintenon to intervene for his cause, Fénelon felt the lesson learned.

³²Cited in Ibid., I, 170-172.

³³Cited in Ibid., I, 172.

Their academic studies were astonishingly profound for such young children. At the age of fourteen the Duc de Bourgogne and the Duc d'Anjou had acquired a perfect knowledge of Latin and composed fables and dialogues with ease which they sent to each other.³⁴ Fénelon felt that a king should not try to be a poet or composer of other literary works, but should, however, have enough knowledge of good literature to be able to appreciate and judge the works of others. The Duc de Bourgogne had a natural taste for good literature and translated all the good poets. He and the Duc d'Anjou had translated all the works of Virgil, Ovid and Horace by the time the Duc de Bourgogne was fourteen.³⁵ Fénelon skillfully selected and composed works which were directed toward the maturity and future obligations of the boys.

It is interesting to note the comment of the Marquis de Louville concerning the method used to teach Latin: "They learn Latin by using it and not by grammatical rules, ..." ³⁵. This portion of the statement is often quoted by twentieth century students of Fénelon for example, Barnard's note: "The direct method!" ³⁶ who seem to revel in their glorious discovery that the "new" direct method of teaching language was used successfully by an excellent educator some three

³⁴Barnard, op. cit., 113.

³⁵Ibid.

³⁶Ibid., p. 140.

centuries earlier. However, most of these moderns ignore the rest of the sentence " ... except at the very beginning."³⁷ which supports the theory that grammar is a necessary element in language instruction.

As for history, economics and politics, a book, which was a summary of all the events in Europe since the Roman Empire, was written, by order of Louis XIV, solely for the use of the Duc de Bourgogne.³⁸

The emphasis was placed on the motives and theories which had led to an event rather than the event itself. From this book the Duc de Bourgogne learned the development and power of governments. Fénelon never used rote learning in order to instruct his pupils. His reasoning here was two-fold. First he felt that it took too much valuable time and, second, the Duc de Bourgogne's mind was so keen and his memory so vast that he remembered everything that he learned.³⁹

The Marquis de Louville made no mention of any specific areas in religious instruction explaining: " ... the religious education which is given them ... permeates everything".⁴⁰ Fénelon put less emphasis on formal religious training preferring to use good examples to inspire virtuous feelings.

When Fénelon first came to Versailles to be entrusted with the education of the princes, they were quite young. Following his

³⁷Ibid.

³⁸Ibid., p. 114.

³⁹Ibid., 115.

⁴⁰Ibid.

theory of pleasant education he chose fables as his means of instructing them. The fable was quite popular in literary circles thanks to the genius of the illustrious La Fontaine. The new précepteur chose a few of La Fontaine's works and some from the works of the equally famous Aesop. For the most part, however, he chose to compose his own stories. The literary quality of Fénelon's Fables can not be compared to these masters of the medium, but this fact could never have bothered Fénelon. His goal was entirely different from that of La Fontaine and Aesop. His single purpose was to build moral character; to render advice and reproach as the result of a flaw in the behavior of his charges. His intention, then, for each story was to correct and guide their behavior as quickly as he saw the necessity. There is no continuity or order to the Fables which is understandable since a child is constantly making a different error and repeating many several times. The Fables belonged obviously to a future king because almost every one of them deals with royalty, be it human or animal. However, there is a moral lesson to be found in each one which can be applied to any student of virtue. The stories are delightful and in simple and charming prose. They are often concerned with stories of mythology which had enchanted Fénelon since his own childhood. Since they were written for a child the moral is never subtle or vague. Almost always they applied to an incident in the Duke's immediate past so that he could see himself reflected in the story and judge his own actions. In this way Fénelon supplied advice for the first lessons of reason and virtue.

One of the more famous of Fénelon's Fables, Le jeune Bacchus et le Faune, was probably written when the young prince was neglecting his studies. The Duc de Bourgogne is depicted by the young Bacchus who was reciting, rather badly, his lessons one day in the fields. The fawn laughed uncontrollably at his errors and the angered Bacchus cried:

Comment oses-tu te moquer du fils de Jupiter? Le Faune répondit sans s'émouvoir: Hé! comment le fils de Jupiter ose-t-il faire quelque faute? (OC, XIX, 52).

Fénelon wraps up all the faults of his young pupil in one composition entitled le Fantasque. He points out his various flaws in character as well as a few of his good qualities. In the Fable de la Médaille he shows the hope he and the world have for the future on one side of the coin and the despair of the world if these hopes are in vain on the other.

L'Abeille et la Mouche opposes violence and pride which is represented by the bee and poverty and simplicity as seen in the fly. The moral is found in the words of the fly:

Nous vivons comme nous pouvons, répondit la mouche: la pauvreté n'est pas un vice; mais la colère en est un grand. Vous faites du miel qui est doux, mais votre coeur est toujours amer; vous êtes sages dans vos lois, mais emportées dans votre conduite. Votre colère, qui pique vos ennemis, vous donne la mort, et votre folle cruauté vous fait plus de mal qu'à personne. Il vaut mieux avoir des qualités moins éclatantes, avec plus de modération (OC, XIX, 39-40).

In the fable les deux Renards the lessons are the miserliness of old age and the folly of youth:

L'un qui étoit jeune et ardent, vouloit tout dévorer; l'autre, qui étoit vieux et avare, vouloit garder quelque provision pour

l'avenir ... Le jeune mange tant, qu'il se crève ...; le vieux, qui se croit bien plus sage de modérer ses appétits et de vivre d'économie, veut le lendemain retourner à sa proie, et est assommé par le maître (OC, XIX, 41).

As the Duc de Bourgogne grew older the stories broadened into the requirements for his duties when he would be king. In les deux Lionceaux he tells of two lions; one who went to live in the luxury of a king's palace and became lazy; the other who lived in the jungle and learned courage. The first returned to the jungle as the animals were choosing a new king. The old lioness persuaded them to choose the one who had learned politics at court, but when he was incapable of ruling she said:

Je voulais que vous en eussiez un gâté par la mollesse et par la politique, pour vous mieux faire sentir ensuite le prix d'un autre qui a mérité la royauté par sa patience et par sa valeur (OC, XIX, 65).

Fénelon counselled against the dangers of prosperity in the Histoire de Rosimond et de Braminte. The good Rosimond was given a ring to make him powerful and he did many good deeds with it. Later, however, the ring came into the possession of his evil brother Braminte who used it in such an evil manner that soon he caused his own death:

Les mêmes choses sont un remède salutaire aux uns, et un poison mortel aux autres. La prospérité est la source de tous les maux pour les méchants. Quand on veut punir un scélerat, il n'y a qu'à le rendre bien puissant pour le faire périr bientôt (OC, XIX, 24).

A lesson on the dangers of material wealth as opposed to the real riches of life is given in le Dragon et les Renards. The first lesson of this story is flattery. The foxes killed a dragon who guarded a treasure of gold by obtaining his confidence through compli-

ments: "Les gens les plus complaisans et les plus empressés ne sont pas les plus sûrs (OC, XIX, 42)." They decided that the treasure was worthless because they could not eat it: "Les hommes sont des fous d'aimer tant ces fausses richesses: ne soyons pas aussi insensés qu'eux (OC, XIX, 42)." and they parted. Later, both returned for the treasure and killed each other for it: "Ce que [l'argent] vous avez introduit chez vous pour la commodité fait votre malheur. Vous perdez les vrais biens pour chercher les biens imaginaires (OC, XIX, 42)".

If at first one wonders that an archbishop would compose stories so often about the pagan gods one soon realizes that all his teachings are of Christian morals as in the story les Aventures d'Aristonous. Fénelon combines ancient form and Christian thought in the death of Aristonous:

Aristonoüs, en récompense de sa vertu, avoit été changé par les dieux en un arbre si beau ... Cet arbre, loin de vieillir, se renouvelle de dix ans en dix ans; et les dieux ont voulu faire voir, par cette merveille, que la vertu, qui jette un si doux parfum dans la mémoire des hommes, ne meurt jamais (OC, XIX, 102).

As the Duc de Bourgogne advanced in age, knowledge, and reasoning power, Fénelon developed another series of stories, les Dialogues des Morts. The characters in the dialogues were, for the most part, famous people in history or in mythology. Sometimes they had been contemporaries, but often they had lived centuries apart. Fénelon's goal in writing the dialogues was to reinforce the lessons of the fables and to expand them. One sees in his characters all their faults, their evil acts and their ambitiousness. He would have his pupil meditate

on the fact that one day his reign, too, would be judged by future historians. As in the Fables there is no chronology or predetermined scheme other than the best education possible for the Duc de Bourgogne. His motivation is much the same, too, to correct the faults of his pupil and to reinforce the lessons of virtue.

Several dialogues concern the behavior of the Duke. In Mercur
et Charon, Mercury tells of a young prince:

Je crois qu'il maiera la paix, et qu'il saura faire la guerre. On voit en lui les commencemens d'un grand prince, comme on remarque dans un bouton de rose naissante ce qui promet une belle fleur. Il est impéteux, mais il n'est point méchant; il est curieux, docile, plein de goût pour les belles choses; S'il peut surmonter sa promptitude et sa paresse, il sera merveilleux; ... ---Quoi! prompt et paresseux? Cela se contredit! ... --- Non, Il est prompt à se fâcher, et paresseux à faire son devoir; mais chaque jour il se corrige (OC, XIX, 106-107).

In the dialogue between Chiron et Achille the point is again the wild character of the young prince:

La jeunesse est donc une étrange maladie ... mais la jeunesse seroit charmante si on pouvoit la rendre modérée et capable de réflexions. Toi, qui connois tant de remèdes, n'en as tu point quelqu'un pour guérir cette fougue, ce bouillon du sang, plus dangereux qu'une fièvre ardente? (OC, XIX, 112)

In Achille et Homère he develops a love of literature and glory in his young pupil's mind and shows him how much a hero owes a great poet.

Fénelon expands the themes of the Fables in the Dialogues des Morts. He unites the lessons of morality with those of the political aspects of being a ruler. In Romulus et Rémus he teaches that greatness obtained in evil ways does not give lasting happiness. The lesson in Romulus et Tatius is that a real hero never resorts to violence or

fraud. In Romulus et Numa-Pompilius he teaches the Duke that the glory of a peace-loving king is greater than the glory of a conqueror. Fénelon advocates a great change in government policies from those of Louis XIV.

He combines several lessons in the dialogue between Socrate et Alcibiade. The evils of tyranny are, in his opinion:

La servitude des ilotes ne vous paroît-elle pas contraire à l'humanité? ... Est-il permis à une partie des hommes de traiter l'autre comme des bêtes de charge? ... Le peuple subjugué est toujours peuple; Chacun doit infiniment plus au genre humain, qui est la grande patrie, qu'à la patrie particulière dans laquelle il est né (OC, XIX, 164-165).

The evils of war are:

La guerre est un mal qui déshonore le genre humain: ... Toutes les guerres sont civiles; car c'est toujours l'homme contre l'homme qui répand son propre sang, qui déchire ses propres entrailles (OC, XIX, 165-166).

And an absolute monarchy is:

Les Perses, se mettent dans un tel esclavage sous ceux qui devroient faire régner les lois, que ceux-ci règnent eux-mêmes, et qu'il n'y a plus d'autre loi réelle que leur volonté absolue (OC, XIX, 167).

This lesson is reinforced in César et Caton where he shows that absolute monarchy does not give authority and comfort to a king, rather it brings unhappiness and finally ruin.

In Dion et Gélon he stresses the importance of the law: "Il ne faut pas que l'homme règne; il faut qu'il se contente de faire régner les lois. S'il prend la royauté pour lui, il l'a gâtée, et se perd lui-même (OC, XIX, 192)."

As the Duke's imagination was already filled with ideas of

adventures, military battles and courageous deeds Fénelon felt it necessary to write a story which could interest not only his imagination but also could temper his spirit and give him the ideas of virtue and wisdom in order to be a sincere, courageous and just king.

Télémaque is searching the Mediterranean Sea for his father, Ulysses, a hero of the Trojan War. His companion is the goddess Minerva disguised as Mentor, his father's friend. Mentor helps him understand that one becomes wiser by realizing the errors in judgment that one has made and by observing other men and events. Each part of this novel tries to teach a certain lesson. Some of these lessons are on the subject of vice and others on virtue.

At the beginning of the book Télémaque and Mentor are shipwrecked on Calypso's island ten years after Ulysses himself had been there. From the beginning Fénelon shows the dangers of flattery. It was because of flattery that Ulysses stayed there seven years before deciding that he preferred his kingdom and his wife to immortality. Calypso now has the same plan for Télémaque as she flatters and praises him while listening to the stories of his adventures. The wise Mentor, however, advises his friend: "Gardez-vous d'écouter les paroles douces et flatteuses de Calypso, qui se glisseront comme un serpent sous les fleurs; craignez le poison caché: ... (OC, XX, 8)." Fénelon reinforces this warning in the second chapter when Télémaque realizes that although the king of Thebes, Sésostriis, is good and virtuous there are always men who will try to deceive him in spite of his wisdom:

Hélas! à quoi les rois sont-ils exposés! les plus sages même

sont souvent surpris. Des hommes artificieux et intéressés les environnent. Les bons se retirent, parce qu'ils ne sont ni empressés ni flatteurs; les bons attendent qu'on les cherche et les princes ne savent guère les aller chercher; au contraire les méchants sont hardis, trompeurs, empressés à s'insinuer et à plaire, adroits à dissimuler, prêts à tout faire contre l'honneur et la conscience pour contenter les passions de celui qui règne. Oh! qu'un roi est malheureux d'être exposé aux artifices des méchants! Il est perdu s'il ne repousse la flatterie, et s'il n'aime ceux qui disent hardiment la vérité (OC, XX, 25).

Several pages later he repeats this lesson when Sésostris discovers that Méthophis, one of his advisors, has deceived him:

Souvent on ne peut voir la vérité par ses propres yeux; on est environné de gens qui l'empêchent d'arriver jusqu'à celui qui commande; chacun est intéressé à le tromper; chacun, sous une apparence de zèle, cache son ambition. On fait semblant d'aimer le roi, et on n'aime que les richesses qu'il donne; on l'aime si peu, que pour obtenir ses faveurs on le flatte et on le trahit (OC, XX, 33).

Although there are often people who deserve praises there are always flatterers who use excessive praise in order to deceive. For example, when Télémaque tells the stories of his adventures he is greatly pleased by the Calypso's praises. But Mentor scolds him:

Hier elle vous élevoit au-dessus de votre sage père, de l'invincible Achille, du fameux Thésée, d'Hercule devenu immortel. Sentîtes-vous combien cette louange est excessive? Crûtes-vous ce qu'elle disoit? Sachez qu'elle ne le croit pas elle-même; elle ne vous loue qu'à cause qu'elle vous croit faible et assez vain pour vous laisser tromper par les louanges disproportionnées à vos actions (OC, XX, 61).

Fénelon knew that one of the most important aspects of education was to listen to all the criticisms in the hope of correcting oneself. Thus Fénelon gives examples of the good and the bad in each lesson. He illustrates these lessons by using people and adventures in order to teach the Duke how to avoid vanity which often results from flattery.

Mentor scolds Télémaque because he invites Calypso's praises when he boasts of his courageous acts. He wished that Télémaque's conversation would never be motivated by vanity and that he would know how to keep silent, especially when conversation is not necessary:

Vous pouviez lui dire que vous aviez été, tantôt errant, tantôt captif en Sicile, puis en Egypte. C'etoit lui dire assez: et tout le reste n'a servi qu'à augmenter le poison qui brûle déjà son coeur (OC, XX, 60).

When Mentor wants to help Idoménée, the king of Salente, he uses harsh terms and sees that he shocks him, but he adds:

Mon dessin a été de vous accoutumer à entendre nommer les choses par leur nom, et à comprendre que quand les autres vous donneront des conseils sur votre conduite, ils n'oseront jamais vous dire tout ce qu'ils penseront. Il faudra, si vous voulez n'y être pas trompé, que vous compreniez toujours plus qu'ils ne vous diront sur les choses qui vous seront désavantageuses (OC, XX, 199).

Idoménée is ashamed of his weakness and admits: "Je n'ai jamais trouvé personne qui m'ait assez aimé pour vouloir me déplaire en me disant la vérité tout entière (OC, XX, 200)". Mentor continues by accusing him even more strongly:

Si vous avez été trompé jusqu'ici, c'est que vous avez bien voulu l'être; c'est que vous avez craint des conseillers trop sincères ... Quand vous avez trouvé des flatteurs, les avez-vous écartés? vous en êtes-vous défié? (OC, XX, 200).

Fénelon wanted to teach his young pupil that it is not enough simply to search for wise and truthful advice. As he has shown before, one often invites praises that one truly merits. These earned praises are as dangerous as flattery because one becomes accustomed to them. The young prince learns this lesson when Télémaque, after a glorious victory in battle, listens to the praises of his allies:

Ce n'est pas, dit-il, que je ne les aime, surtout quand elles sont données par de si bons juges de la vertu; mais c'est que je crains de les aimer trop: elles corrompent les hommes, elles les remplissent d'eux-mêmes, elles les rendent vains et présomptueux. Il faut les mériter et les fuir: les meilleures louanges ressemblent aux fausses. Les plus méchants de tout les hommes, qui sont les tyrans, sont ceux qui se sont fait le plus louer par des flatteurs. Quel plaisir y a-t-il à être loué comme eux? (OC, XX, 373).

One can not discuss all the virtues that Fénelon wanted to teach in this novel, only make some remarks on those that seem to be the most important according to the stress he put on them. His goal was two-fold; that of developing the character of a king and also that of a man. It was not enough that his pupil learn the principles of economics and of war. According to Fénelon, the Duke would never be a really good king, whatever wisdom he had in the field of affairs of state, if he were not, above all, an honest man.

In almost every episode Fénelon warns his pupil of the dangers of luxury. He tells the story of Pygmalion who is the most unfortunate king in the novel because of his greed. His entire kingdom feared him because he persecuted the rich and he was suspicious of everyone:

Pygmalion, tourmenté par une siof insatiable des richesses, se rend de plus en plus misérable et odieux à ses sujets ... Tout l'agite, l'inquiète, le ronge; il a peur de son ombre; il ne dort ni nuit ni jour: les dieux, pour le confondre, l'accablent de trésors dont il n'ose jouir. Ce qu'il cherche pour être jeureux est précisément ce qui l'enpêche de l'être (OC, XX, 42-43).

Fénelon knew that princes are spoiled and accustomed to luxury and he warned Télémaque to struggle constantly against bad examples. "Hélas! s'écria-t-il, voilà ce que fait le poison de la prospérité pour un jeune prince; plus il a d'élévation et de vivacité, plus il s'égare

et s'éloigne de tous sentiment de vertu (OC, XX, 368)." Even more important he has a lesson not only for a king but for all men. He shows how luxury destroys morals and how passion for acquiring wealth in order to uphold vanity corrupts even the purest souls:

On dit que ce luxe sert à nourrir les pauvres au dépens des riches: come si les pauvres ne pouvoient pas gagner leur vie plus utilement, en multipliant les fruits de la terre, sans amollir les riches par des raffinements de volupté. Toute une nation s'accoutume à regarder comme les nécessités de la vie les choses les plus superflues; ... on ne peut plus se passer des choses qu'on ne connoissoit point trente ans auparavant Ce vice, qui en attire tant d'autres, est loué comme une vertu; (OC, XX, 390).

He continues to explain this last sentence showing that evil spreads from one corner of a nation to the other. The upper classes want to imitate the magnificence of the king, the middle classes want to equal the upper class and the lower classes want to pass for middle class. Everyone wants to imitate those of a higher rank and no one is ever satisfied or happy to do his own work.

Fénelon gives some examples in order to correct the evils of luxury not only for those of royal blood but also for those of lower rank. One should seek only the necessities of life. The advice that Mentor gives Idoménée to change the laws and customs of the country is that the king first give a good example. His clothing should be wool, simply styled and without a great deal of embroidery. Only the arts which are indispensable to commerce or agriculture should be encouraged and all those which serve only to maintain luxury should be forbidden. Architecture should be simple and gracious because resplendent designs must be reserved for cathedrals: "Personne n'osa se plaindra d'une règle que le roi s'imposait lui-même; ... (OC, XX, 216).

He describes the island of Crete where everyone works. All lead a calm and regulated life and have an abundance of the necessities of life. No one ever needs more than this and feels well paid for his work. Fénelon advocates the simple life in all respects. In the Elysian Fields Télémaque listens to the wise counsel of Ecrithon:

Ils méprisèrent l'argent et toutes les richesses artificielles, qui ne sont richesses qu'en imagination, qui tenent les hommes de chercher des plaisirs dangereux, et qui les détournent du travail, où ils trouveroient tous les biens réels avec des mœurs pures dans une pleine liberté. On comprit donc qu'un champ fertile et bien cultivé est le vrai trésor d'une famille assez sage pour vouloir vivre frugalement comme ses pères ont vécu (OC, XX, 342).

The people of Crete wear clothes made of fine wool which are in beautiful colors but plain and without decoration. Fénelon speaks often of food. While describing Crete he offers some of his ideas about food: "Les repas y sont sobres, on y boit peu de vin: le bon pain en fait la principale partie, avec les fruits que les arbres offrent comme d'eux-mêmes, et le lait des troupeaux (OC, XX, 78)". Later he shows the dangers of intemperance:

Les pauvres sont moins souvent malades faute de nourriture, que les riches ne le deviennent pour en prendre trop. Les aliments qui flattent trop le goût, et qui font manger au-delà du besoin, empoisonnent au lieu de nourrir (OC, XX, 304).

The houses are also very simple. In Crete they are clean, comfortable, cheerful but without decoration. He summarizes the qualities of the people of Crete which should be the most important aims of all nations and all kings:

Les grands biens des Crétois sont la santé, la force, le courage, la paix et l'union des familles, la liberté de tous les citoyens, l'abondance des choses nécessaires, le mépris des superflus, l'habitude du travail et l'horreur de l'oisiveté, l'émulation pour la

vertu, la soumission aux lois, et la crainte des justes dieux (OC, XX, 79).

Modesty and simplicity are only two of the great virtues taught in this book. Although Fénelon directs the story's action toward the interests of a prince, all men of all centuries can profit from these lessons. War and peace play an important role in many of the lessons. Decisions on war, of course, are the responsibility of the chief of state but more important, they are the concern of every citizen in the land. He leaves the instruction on military strategy to the Duc de Beauvilliers and concentrates his efforts on the moral principles of this subject.

Fénelon was certainly an enemy of war. In almost every chapter of this book he preaches the evils of war and the virtues of peace. He always advocates conferences in order to avoid war because he believes that even the wars which are made in order to defend the country result in as much evil as good:

La guerre épuise un état et le met toujours en danger de périr, lors même qu'on remporte les plus grandes victoires ... On se détruit soi-même en détruisant ses ennemis; on dépeuple son pays; on laisse les terres presque incultes; on trouble le commerce; mais, ce qui est bien pis, on affoiblit les meilleures lois et on laisse corrompre les mœurs: ... (OC, XX, 258).

He admits that a king who does not know how to conduct a war is inadequate because one of his major functions is to conquer his enemies, but he adds that a peace-loving king is much preferable to a warlike king because if the first rules in peace, under the wisest laws, his people will be invincible. His subjects would rather die than lose their liberty and their wise king. He continues to show his pupil how

to avoid war. A country must maintain a good reputation with its allies and must always be ready and capable of waging war if necessary but never through ambition.

The children must learn the stories of heroes but must also be taught the sober and hard-working life which is their heritage. The country should choose the men who have a talent for war and who can profit from the experience and send them to the aid of neighboring countries. Thus one can maintain the confidence of neighbors without ruining the economic stability of the country.

Fénelon sums up his ideas of avoiding war and maintaining peace when he speaks to Philoclès and Idoménée:

C'est de cultiver les armes; c'est d'honorer les hommes qui excellent dans cette profession; c'est d'en avoir toujours qui s'y soient exercés dans les pays étrangers, et qui connoissent les forces, la discipline militaire et les manières de faire la guerre des peuples voisins; c'est d'être également incapable et de faire la guerre par ambition et de la craindre par mollesse (OC, XX, 259)

One must always seek the means to avoid war and according to Fénelon the best way to achieve this is to find an arbitrator. Thus the king shows his justice, his good faith and his moderation by the reasons on which his cause is founded: "L'arbitre choisi est un médiateur aimable, et non un juge de rigueur. On ne se soumet pas aveuglément à ses décisions; mais on a pour lui une grande déférence (OC, XX, 405). In order to maintain peace one must sometimes sacrifice something to follow the arbitrator's counsel. If war comes in spite of all efforts, at least the king has the esteem of his neighbors and the protection of God. Nevertheless, Fénelon remains against war although sometimes

it is impossible to avoid it: " ... mais c'est la honte du genre humain qu'elle soit inévitable en certaines occasions (OC, XX, 195).

Since the Duc de Beauvilliers was in charge of the military education of the Duc de Bourgogne it was Fénelon's task to teach the moral and religious principles. Fénelon was greatly criticized by his colleagues who said that Télémaque was not worthy of a man of the Church. It is quite easy to discover the moral of the story but more difficult to find the dogma. However, the book touches not only on the moral but also on the religious. The speeches of the goddess, Minerva, in the form of Mentor unite the moral and the religious. In spite of the pagan form of Télémaque one finds a moral which is above the pagan ideas of morality. This Christian moral changes the ancient ideas where military glory is the most important and regards peace as the higher goal. The doctrine of Grace is shown when Mentor tells Télémaque that his virtue comes not from himself, but from something outside:

Vous avez fait de grandes choses; mais, avouez la vérité, ce n'est guère vous par qui elles ont été faites; n'est-il pas vrai qu'elles vous sont venues comme quelque chose d'étranger qui étoit mis en vous? (OC, XX, 387)

Although the main goal of this book is the education of a boy who would have been king one day, the major part of the lessons are not limited to the principles which are normally recognized as necessary for the education of a young prince. Fénelon wanted to develop in his pupil the highest qualities and virtues no matter what his future might be. In achieving this goal he left a book from which all men of all ages can profit.

CONCLUSIONS

Whatever judgment one makes of the literary value of Fénelon's works concerning education, the fact remains that the inspirations and results of these efforts are those of a conscientious, intelligent, understanding and loving human being. He loved children and understood their faults, virtues, and natural abilities far better than most wise men of the seventeenth century, perhaps in some ways better than many educators of the twentieth century with all the volumes available on child psychology and adolescent behavior. His entire educational theory is based on the fact that children need more than academic guidance in their lessons and that successful education is best achieved through pleasant experiences.

Although he has been hailed as a primary achiever in the field of education for women, his talents and his wisdom in the objectives of education go much deeper into the real substance of life and the necessity for every human being to be an asset to the human race.

To Fénelon an educated person was one who was knowledgeable, not only in the academic fields of history, literature, mathematics and economics, but also one who had maturity in the areas of moral behavior, reasoning power, duty to self and to mankind and religious belief. A qualified teacher in Fénelon's judgment possessed all of these qualities. The most important qualification of a teacher, according to Fénelon, is that he care enough about his pupil to exert every effort to provide the best education possible. The child must

complete confidence in his tutor and since no human is equipped with perfect knowledge and behavior the teacher must be ready to admit and accept his own faults in order that the child retain his feeling of friendship and trust. When the student must be punished he must understand not only the necessity for punishment by admitting his fault but must also be aware of ways to avoid its recurrence. Fénelon understood the child's ability to reason probably better than any educator before his time and stressed the necessity of guiding this power toward virtuous and intelligent behavior rather than allowing it to develop a crafty personality.

The most important contribution that Fénelon made to education is his theory of pleasant education or l'Education attrayante. If the teacher can achieve this one goal, which should not be misinterpreted as pleasure for the sake of pleasure, rather pleasure for the sake of learning, he has given his pupil the great and enviable desire to extend his knowledge to greater things.

In studying Fénelon's works in the area of education of the Duc de Bourgogne one sees the many facets of his interests, abilities, and wisdom. In his childhood he learned to love the ancient poets and made use of these glorious, exciting and well written tales in his task of educating the grandsons of Louis XIV. Although many of the descriptive passages and events in mythology, which are often the subjects of his lessons on morality, are taken almost directly from the Latin poets, one must not judge his lack of originality too

harshly. First, one should remember that his goal was not that of an aspiring author who was writing for publication to make his place in literary history. Rather, he wrote his stories for the single purpose of educating his charge. He sought the most interesting and most fascinating events and characters in order to strike the imagination of this child who so definitely needed a taming influence. He had first instilled in the Duke a love for the ancient tales; then, as the opportunity presented itself, he relied on this interest to give him a basis for showing the prince his faults and how to correct them, the virtues necessary for ruling wisely and justly, and the moral and religious foundations to be a Christian.

Second, he did not use these tales exactly as they were written centuries before him. There is a vast difference between Homer and Ovid and Fénelon. The goal of the early writers was to tell an exciting tale in the form of great literature. They rarely made character judgments about the gods and mortals of whom they wrote. Beauty, courage and adventure were their plot justifications. Fénelon, however, uses beauty, courage and adventure only as a means of keeping the interest of his student in order that he may make character judgments which his pupil will, in turn, apply to his own life, character and duties.

Fénelon was a man who practiced what he taught. In writing his Traité de l'Education des filles he set down a theory of education which would seem almost impossible for a mere mortal to follow. How-

ever, when the time came for him to prove his theories he took one of the most incorrigible children in France and changed him into an intelligent, well-behaved, principled and God-loving man.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abry, E., C. Audic and P. Crouzet. Histoire illustrée de la littérature française. Fourth edition. Paris: Henri Didier, 1918. Pp. 271-280.

A survey of French literature including comments on the authors and their works.

Barnard, H.C. Fénelon on Education. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966. 133 pp.

An English translation of the Treatise of the Education of Girls and several letters with an introduction discussing his life and educational theories.

Bausset, L.-F. de. Histoire de Fénelon. 3 vols. Second edition. Paris: Chez Giguet et Michaud, 1809. Vol. I, 580 pp.

An excellent biography of Fénelon and analysis of his works.

Carcassonne, Ely. Etat présent des travaux sur Fénelon. Société des professeurs français en Amérique, Etudes françaises, Quarante et unième cahier. Paris: Société d'édition "Les Belles Lettres," 1939. 107 pp.

A biography of Fénelon with a list of the studies made of his works to date.

_____. Fénelon, l'Homme et l'Oeuvre. Paris: Hatier-Boivin, 1946. 167 pp.

A history of Fenelon emphasising his religious and political ideas.

Castex, Pierre-Georges and Paul Surer. Manuel des Etudes littéraires françaises. 6 vols. Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1954. Vol. III, Pp. 233-246.

A survey of French literature with critical analyses of the authors and their works.

Compayré, Gabriel. Fénelon et l'Education attrayante. Paris: Librairie Paul Delaplane, 1910. 99 pp.

A study of Fénelon's educational theories and practices.

de Rouvroy, Louis, Duc de Saint-Simon. Mémoires, ed. MM. Cheruel et Ad. Regnier fils. 27 vols. Paris: Librairie Hachette et Cie, 1886.

The collected memoirs of Saint-Simon. A detailed account of the personalities and events of the seventeenth century.

Dowden, Edward. A History of French Literature. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1908. Pp. 230-234.

A survey of French literature including comments on the authors and their writings.

Duclaux, Madame (A. Mary F. Robinson). The French Ideal. New York: E.P. Dutton and Company, 1911. Pp. 105-231.

A study of Pascal, Fénelon, Buffon and Lamartine.

Eby, Frederick and Charles Flinn Arrowood. The Development of Modern Education. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1940. P. 360-362.

A short history of education.

Fellows, Otis E. and Norman L. Torrey, eds. The Age of Enlightenment. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1942. P. 90-99

An anthology of eighteenth century French literature with comments on the life of each author and his works.

Fénelon, François de Salignac de la Mothe-. Fénelon, ce méconnu, ed. Maria-Pia Chantreuil. Paris: Librairie Arthème Fayard, 1961. 210 pp.

A detailed study of selected works of Fénelon showing the similarities of his thoughts and those of the twentieth century.

_____. De l'Education des filles, ed. Albert Cherel. Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1920. 185 pp.

Introduction and notes on De l'Education des filles with a study of education before Fénelon and his influence on modern education.

_____. Dialogues des Morts suivis de quelques dialogues de Boileau, Fontenelle, d'Alembert, ed. B. Jullien. Paris: Librairie Hachette, n.d. Pp. 1-266.

Selected dialogues of four seventeenth century writers with an introduction and explanatory notes by B. Jullien.

_____. Oeuvres choisies, ed. Albert Cherel. Paris: Librairie A. Hatier, 1923. 686 pp.

Several of Fénelon's most famous works with introductory comments.

_____. Oeuvres complètes de Fénelon. 28 vols. Besançon: Chez Gauthier Frères. 1830; Vol. XXVIII has imprint Paris: Librairie d'Adrien le Clere, 1850.

The complete works of Fénelon which includes noted and comments. (His educational writings are found in volumes XVII, XIX, XX, and XXIII.)

_____. Pages choisies des grands écrivains--Fénelon, ed. Moïse Cagnac. Series Lecture littéraires. Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1911. 350 pp.

Selections from the works of Fénelon with introductory notes.

Havens, George R. The Age of Ideas. New York: Free Press, 1955. Pp. 49-69.

A delightfully well-written history of France during the eighteenth century which devotes one chapter to Fénelon.

Hémon, Félix. Cours de Littérature. 31 vols. Paris: Librairie Ch Delagrave, n.d. Vol. XIX, pp. 1-75, 1-43, 1-39, 1-55, 1-87.

A history of French literature with extensive studies of the lives and works of the authors. Contains literary opinions and judgments of the authors' works.

Hodgson, Geraldine. Studies in French Education from Rabelais to Rousseau. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1908. Pp. 111-130.

A study of education in France during the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Janet, Paul. Fénelon. Fifth edition. Paris: Librairie Hachette, n.d. 199 pp.

An excellent study of the life and works of Fenelon.

Lagard, André and Laurent Michard. Les Grands Auteurs français 6 vols. Paris: Bordas, 1966. III, 423-432.

A survey of French literature with notes and comments on each author and his works.

La Gorce, Agnes de. Le Vrai visage de Fénelon. Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1958. 350 pp.

A study of the life and works of Fénelon.

Lanson, Gustave. Histoire illustrée de la littérature française. Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1951. Pp. 610-620.

A history of French Literature.

Petit de Julleville, L. Histoire de la langue et de la littérature française des origines à 1900. 8 vols. Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1913. V, 434-498.

A detailed account of the lives and works of French authors.

Wright, C.H. Conrad. A History of French Literature. New York: Oxford Press, 1912. Pp. 400-408.

A critical history of French literature.