The American College in American Life

By

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PREFATORY NOTE.

WITH the growth of American life has grown the American college. The college has enlarged its constituency ; it has gained in material worth and significance ; it has related itself more vitally and more generally to life. It has made appeals of increasing urgency to the American people for sustenance, —and these appeals have not been without avail,—and it has asked also for the privilege of giving itself through its graduates to every worthy cause. It may not be too much to say that the college has tried to be of the utmost value to man.

These conditions may be interpreted as an intimation of the purposes which have ruled in the writing of this book. The primary aim has been to bring the American college into closer relationship with American life and—so far as

may be—to bring American life into a more vital touch with the American college. I have believed, and still believe, that through the securing of this double purpose the college may be able to be a richer blessing to this great life of which the college is a part, and which it is set to serve.

No book of a kind such as this can make any pretence of being complete. This volume includes the consideration of only a few of the more vital questions. Other questions, quite as vital possibly, I hope to be able to discuss in other volumes. For the American college, like American life or the life of any progressive people, is full of infinite suggestions appealing to thought or to action.

C. F. T.

CLEVELAND, OHIO.

OF CALIFORNIA

CONTENTS

	PAGE
I.—Its Increasing Power	1
II.—Certain Great Results . . .	46
III.—Its Influence over and through Individuals	88
IV.—Its Influence Illustrated in the Three Oldest Colleges . .	146
V.—Certain Present Conditions . .	188
VI.—Certain Adjustments of its Ethical and Religious Forces to its Intellectual	219
VII.—The Increasing Cost of its Education	242
VIII.—Certain Difficulties	255
IX.—Its Power in the Future . . .	278

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OF CALIFORNIA

THE AMERICAN COLLEGE IN AMERICAN LIFE.

I.

ITS INCREASING POWER.

THE history of college education in America may be divided into three periods. The first period begins with the foundation of Harvard College in 1636 and closes with the opening of the Revolutionary War. The second begins with the close of the Revolutionary War and continues through the first quarter of the present century. The third begins two generations ago and is still in progress. The first period may be called the ecclesiastical period, the second the political, and the third the human. Each period may also be described in respect to the source whence

certain of its stronger influences arose:—The first, as the English, the second as the French, and the third as the German.

During the larger part of the first period only three colleges existed—Harvard, William and Mary, and Yale;—and up to the close of the period only nine colleges had been founded. In this time the predominant influence in the colleges, as in the State, was ecclesiastical, and largely clerical. The Church and the State were in most respects one,—and that one was the Church. In the Church the most influential member was its pastor. The college, too, was governed by the clergyman. The president was himself a clergyman, and the students in large numbers became clergymen. The first Board of Overseers of Harvard College was composed of certain magistrates, and of the "Teaching Elders" of six "next adjoining" towns to Boston. The principle of clerical government continued even longer than this period itself lasted. Ecclesiastical divisions and theological discussions found in the college the staunchest ally or antagonist. Not only was the college governed by clergymen but the clerical purpose prevailed in its education. In

the seventeeth century fifty-two per cent. of the graduates of Harvard entered the ministry and of the first thirty-three graduates of Yale College, from 1702 to 1710, twenty-five, or seventy-five per cent., entered the ministry. In the eighteenth century twenty-nine per cent. of the Harvard graduates and forty per cent. of the Yale graduates became ministers.

The ecclesiastical character of the first colleges was simply the realization under new conditions of the purpose for which the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge were established. As the early Oxford reproduced the University of Paris, so the early Harvard reproduced the English Universities. One reading the statutes of the Oxford colleges is impressed with the specific nature of the statements in respect to the ecclesiastical purposes and conditions. "Established for religious training," "founded to teach students in the canon law and in theology," "for the culture of sacred theology;" these and similar statements are made in the Statutes of the Oxford colleges as embodying the purposes of their establishment. Richard Fox, Bishop of Winchester, founder of Corpus Christi College, indicated his purpose in the

foundation by using in the statutes the image of a ladder, which he applies to the college, on which to mount up to heaven. He also compared the colleges to hives in which scholars, like bees, may make honey for the glory of God. But this condition at Oxford was simply a part of a yet more general condition. All the Universities of Northern Europe were the doors to the Church, and the Church was the door to professional life of every character. In the Universities of Southern Europe the law held a similar place.

Not only were the ecclesiastical purposes and relations of the English university transplanted, but also in many respects the course of study. The courses of study in Oxford and Cambridge were somewhat more extended and of a larger variety than those of the new colleges in the New World, but in many respects they were identical. The founders of the College in the new Cambridge were trained at old Cambridge and the greater number of them at Emmanuel College. The course of study in both the old college and the new was specially designed to educate clergymen.

With the close of the Revolutionary War the

allegiance which a large body of the American people had paid to English prescription ceased. It was inevitable that the men who had fought the English in a contest for civil freedom, should feel only a slight sympathy with the educational positions and conditions of the same people. "The leading men of the Revolution, the Otises, the Adamses, the Trumbulls, the Warrens, Hancock, Quincy, and others, caught the spirit of liberty and patriotism in the recitation-room, the library, and among their associates at the College," says Sibley.[1] It was also inevitable that a people who in winning its independence had received aid from the ancient foe of England should have a warm sympathy with the educational ideas and ideals of its allies. The strongest influence which France exerted upon the new Republic at the time of its foundation was civil and political.

The first duty of the new nation was to preserve and to magnify itself. In this endeavor the agency of education became of priceless value. Therefore we find the Ordinance of 1787, declaring "Religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and

[1] Sibley's *Harvard Graduates*, I., xi.

the happiness of mankind, schools, and the means of education shall forever be encouraged;" and, therefore, also we find Washington urging the foundation of a national university in order to secure the perpetuity of the new republic. It is to be observed that the Ordinance of 1787 could not probably have been passed simply to secure educational advantages. The people were more interested in the political side of this action than in its educational; but in the document the political and the educational elements were united. Sentiments expressed in the constitutions of the various States, and in various laws, indicate the prevalence of the idea that the education of all classes should be fostered for the purpose of the preservation of the commonwealth. Education had to do with public and civil relations.

The potency of the French influence is well illustrated by the attempt of Quesnay in 1780 and 1788 to found a French Academy of Arts and Sciences at Richmond. Quesnay was the grandson of the famous French philosopher and economist, Quesnay, who was court physician to Louis XV. He came to this country to aid in the Revolution, serving as a captain

in Virginia. After giving up the military life because of ill health, he travelled through the country, and on these travels conceived the idea of introducing French arts and culture, believing, also, that he could multiply the relations uniting France and this country.[1] The institution was to be national, having branches at Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York; and also international, being affiliated with similar institutions in Europe. It was designed to give what we might now call graduate instruction. Its curriculum was sufficiently broad, including foreign languages; mathematics; architecture, civil and military; painting; sculpture, engraving; experimental physics, astronomy, geography, chemistry, mineralogy, botany; anatomy, human and veterinary; and natural history. This endeavor interested many people both in America and France. No less than sixty thousand francs was raised toward the endowment. Among the subscribers to the fund were about a hundred of the representatives of the best culture of Virginia. On July 1, 1786, the corner-stone of the building

[1] Herbert B. Adams's *Thomas Jefferson and the University of Virginia*, 22.

was laid at Richmond, and one professor was appointed. He was Dr. Jean Rouelle. But in 1786 France was in no condition to enter into schemes of education or other propagandism outside of her own territory, and the formal endeavor came to an end. The extinction of the movement, however, did not mean the extinction of French influence in the United States. In the States of Virginia and the Carolinas, French influence prevailed with great force. The chief agent in putting it down was the Presbyterian power of Princeton; but yet it showed itself ultimately in the foundation of the University of Virginia, and at the beginning of the century among the students of many colleges.

But the French influence was by no means confined to the South. In 1784 the Corporation of Harvard College received an offer from the King of France to furnish a botanic garden which the College desired to establish "with every species of seeds and plants, which may be requested from his royal garden, at his own expense." Through the indifference of the Massachusetts Legislature the College was not able to accept of the offer.[1] It is further worthy

[1] Quincy's *History of Harvard University*, ii., 267.

of note that two years before Albert Gallatin had been granted the right of teaching the French language in the College.

The University of Virginia is the child of Jefferson, and Jefferson in both the strength and weakness of his character belonged rather to the French than to any other nation. The policy of centralization which the University of Virginia represented was the policy which Napoleon introduced into the higher education of France. The free religious sentiment which the university embodied was an echo, too, of French principles. The endeavors to secure from abroad teachers for its chairs indicates the prevalence of French influences.

In another respect the influence of France was as evil as in the case of the University of Virginia it was beneficent. For never was a period in the history of the higher education when those principles and vices which are frequently denominated French had so large an influence among American students as at the opening of the century. The records show that the students of the time were defiant of authority, in conduct immoral, and in religion skeptical. A general spirit of insubordination

prevailed. What is usually called infidelity was fashionable and prevalent in almost every college. It is a common remark that certain students of Yale at this time were calling themselves by the names of the conspicuous free-thinkers of France. Writing of Williams College one says: "French liberty and French philosophy poured in upon us like a flood; and seemed to sweep almost everything serious before it."[1] The condition of Dartmouth College was like that of Williams and of Yale. Coarse dramatic exhibitions, terrific outbursts of rowdyism, bombastic display of contempt for the Christian religion, seem to have been the rule. A wave of immorality and of irreligion had for a time submerged all the colleges.

The third period in the development of the American college dates from about the close of the first quarter of the present century. This period is not yet closed. It is a period which deserves an epithet no less broad than the word human. The college has become in this period an agency for preparing its students for life. Its purpose is no less than the fitting of a man to achieve all purposes which he may

[1] Durfee's *History of Williams College*, 110.

worthily set before himself. A boy who comes to college, comes not so much to fit himself for a profession as to become a large and complete man. I lately asked a class of young men in college to write answers to the following questions: First, Why did I come to college? Second, Is my purpose in coming to college being met? Third, How is it being met? The answers have a similarity which, although remarkable at first reading, is not so remarkable when all the conditions are considered. Choosing from these papers almost at random, I find that certain students indicate their purpose, as expressed in their own words, as follows:

"My purpose in coming to college was somewhat vague and ill-defined. I was brought up with that idea, and had a general idea that the college man's culture would be a good acquisition. This, however, was but one side of it. I wanted to see through my studies just what life-work would be best fitted for me. I think that being under the training of a college has had its good effect upon me as upon others. I think I have begun to get an earnest determination as to what I shall do in life, and I think my studies here, and the comradeship of my friends, have been valuable." "I came to college," says another, "in order to obtain, by a systematic course of study directed by competent men, that mental training

and discipline, as well as a fund of information, which shall enable me to enjoy life myself, and perhaps be a benefit to others in some way. I think that my desire is being realized both in the way of training and discipline. The training is obtained by mental exercise in many different studies, insuring at the same time a gradual acquisition of information." "I came to college," answers a third, "to prepare myself for my life-work by getting a broader education, and also to develop myself along the mental, moral, and physical lines for which the college offers the best chance. My purpose is being secured. It is being secured by the studies which I take, by contact with the professors and my fellow-students, the latter having as much, if not more, influence in attaining this end, as that which I get out of the text-books."

That is to say, these men are in college in order to fit themselves for life.

This largeness of relationship as expressed by these undergraduates is only the reflection of what the college officer has been saying in these recent years. At the time of his inauguration as President of Harvard College, in 1860, Cornelius Conway Felton said:

"The proper objects of a University are twofold. First, educating young men to the highest efficiency of their intellectual faculties, and to the noblest culture of their moral and religious natures. . . . A liberal

education, a university education, aims to train the mind in . . . high studies, to make it familiar with inspiring examples, to refine the taste, exercise the judgment, soften the heart, by . . . humanizing arts."

More than a quarter of a century after the inauguration of President Felton, at his inauguration, President Dwight, of Yale, said:

"It [education] does for the mind what religion does for the heart. It builds up and builds out the man. The man, when it has accomplished its work within him, can use his knowledge and his powers wherever the world may need them, and he will do so if the noble impulses of educated manhood are in his spirit. . . . It is the priceless privilege of a University teacher to help the manly youth around him in their souls' living, to make them more generous, more truthful, more fit for life in this earnest and struggling world, more worthy of love and respect."

The president of a scientific school, Lehigh University, said at his inauguration:

"Modern collegiate life is to-day a wonderful microcosm;—it represents the endeavor of generations of zealous, earnest educators to make this period of youth increasingly profitable. The number and variety of studies have been increased many fold, the proportion of teachers to students has been increased, improved methods of instruction have been brought into play and the equipment of laboratories is lavishly generous. Never

before has there been such earnest discussion as to educational methods and values; the teacher's art has become a science, and he a great power in the land."[1]

It is, in a word, to the making of a man that the college now gives itself.

This breadth of interest is at once the cause and the result of the increasing number of subjects found in the curriculum. The curriculum of the American college two hundred years after the foundation of Harvard showed very little change or progress. It was one which well represents the attainments of a boy who is now entering college rather than of the man who is now leaving. An English traveller, Weld, visiting Princeton at the close of the last century says of it:

"A large college, held in much repute by the neighboring States. The number of students amounts to upwards of seventy; from their appearance, however, and the course of studies they seem to be engaged in, like all the other American colleges I ever saw, it better deserves the title of a grammar-school than of a college. The library which we were shown is most wretched, consisting for the most part of old theological books not even arranged with any regularity. An orrery contrived by Mr. Rittenhouse stands at one end of the apartment,

[1] Inaugural of President T. M. Drown, October 10, 1895.

but it is quite out of repair, as well as a few detached parts of a philosophical apparatus enclosed in the same glass case. At the opposite end of the room are two small cupboards, which are shown as the museum. These contain a few small stuffed alligators and a few singular fishes in a miserable state of preservation, from their being repeatedly tossed about."[1]

There is in the diary of President Stiles, of Yale College, under date of November 9, 1779, a list of the books in which classes recited at the time when he came into his office. The Freshman class list included Virgil, Cicero, Greek Testament, and Arithmetic, and the studies for each of the three following years are the natural consequences of the elementary work of the Freshman.[2] The few reminiscences which we have of the studies in the last part of the seventeenth and the early part of the present century, among which those of Edward Everett are prominent, and the formal historical statements respecting the course of study, lead one to believe that for almost two hundred years the American college had remained stationary in respect to its course of study.

It is also evident that the students pursued

[1] Henry Adams's *History of the United States*, i., 129.
[2] *The Yale Book*, ii., 498.

their studies without great intellectual zest, and that they possessed only a small share of that scholarly interest which now prevails among the better class of undergraduates. But in the last seventy-five years a larger progress has been made in the broadening of the course than was made during all the centuries since Oxford and Cambridge began to receive students. The studies which now consume the larger share of the students' attention, outside of Latin and Greek and Mathematics, have been introduced in the last three-quarters of the present century. The Smith Professorship of French and Spanish was founded at Harvard in 1815, although instruction in French had been offered to those who desired it as early as 1780,—a time when this offer made at Harvard reflects the popularity of the French nation in the colonies. I have heard the late Professor F. H. Hedge say that in his time as an undergraduate—he was a member of Harvard's class of 1825—it was as unusual to hear a person speak German as it would now be to hear one speak Russian. It was not till 1839 that the first Professorship of History was established in Harvard,

although, of course, the subject had been taught before, and it represents the first distinct endowment of this Chair in any college. The first incumbent was Jared Sparks.

But the greatest development of this third period has occurred in the teaching of the sciences.[1] Chemistry was the first to receive attention. Benjamin Silliman was appointed professor of chemistry and natural philosophy (also teaching geology and mineralogy) at Yale in 1804; and Robert Hare, of Philadelphia, was called to the chair of chemistry in the medical college of the University of Pennsylvania in 1818.

Both of these men taught chemistry by textbooks and illustrated lectures. Hare was a tireless investigator, Silliman a helper of too many good causes to become eminent as an original authority in any. The idea of instruction in laboratory work does not seem to have occurred to either of them. Even Benjamin Silliman the younger does not appear to have had free access to his father's laboratory until he became his assistant in 1837. By this time

[1] For the statement of facts as to the introduction of instruction in the sciences I am indebted to my associate, Professor F. P. Whitman.

Liebig's laboratory had been established, and the possibility of obtaining practical instruction in chemistry began to draw young men to Germany. Probably this was an important influence in bringing about the change of method which swept over the country about 1850, Yale taking the lead.

In 1842, Benjamin Silliman, Jr., began taking a few favored students into his laboratory. Among them was J. P. Norton, who went in 1843 to study for two years in Edinburgh and Utrecht, bringing back European methods.

In 1847 was established the "School of Applied Chemistry," under the care of the younger Silliman and Norton. Among the six students of the first year were the well-known professors of the Sheffield Scientific School, Brush, Brewer, and Johnson. This was the beginning of the Sheffield Scientific School.

In Pennsylvania the movement appears to have been similar, in that the applications of chemistry to the arts were the chief reasons urged for establishing a department of applied chemistry in 1850, under the charge of Professor James C. Booth.

At Harvard the same influence was working.

In 1846 Eben N. Horsford, fresh from two years' work with Liebig, at Giessen, was recommended by Professor Webster (of sinister memory) to the "Rumford Professorship of the Application of Science to the Useful Arts," on assuming which he organized at once, in 1847, the laboratory of the Lawrence Scientific School, on the model, as far as possible, of that at Giessen.

But a more notable event was the appointment of the eager young chemist, Josiah P. Cooke, to a position in Harvard College, first as a lecturer in chemistry in 1850, in addition to his duties as tutor in mathematics, and afterward in December of the same year as Erving professor of chemistry and mineralogy. In 1851, Cooke opened a laboratory at his own cost, for undergraduate students, apparently the first recognition of the fact that chemistry may be taught not merely to specialists but to those less advanced, by laboratory methods. This course was formally recognized by the college, and proper accommodations provided for it in 1858.

Dr. Wayland's famous report of 1850 awakened interest in the same direction at Brown,

and a working laboratory for chemistry was opened at the beginning of the next college year.

As far as catalogues of that date show, the sciences were still taught in the old way, in 1850, at Amherst, Bowdoin, Dartmouth, Princeton, and the University of Virginia, but by 1852 a chemical laboratory had been established at the last named institution.

The establishment of physical laboratories began nearly twenty years later, those for the study of biology at a later period still, after the value of the laboratory method had been thoroughly established by the experience of the chemists.

The history of the introduction of political economy and economic science into the American college covers a much longer period than it is usually believed to cover. The University of Pennsylvania was the first to make provision for this study. As early as 1756, a plan of liberal studies was framed, in which, after prescribing

"a preliminary training in logic and metaphysics to develop his powers of thought, the student was to be brought to a knowledge and practical sense of his posi-

tion as a man and a citizen, and this by a course embracing ethics, natural and civil law, and an introduction to civil history, to laws and government, to *trade* and *commerce*."

In 1799, William and Mary College added to its curriculum the subject of the law of nations, and near the beginning of the present century, Adam Smith's great book is found to be among the text-books. In 1820, Harvard introduced Economics into its curriculum and other colleges presently followed. At Yale, Economics was introduced in 1824, at Columbia in 1827, at Dartmouth in 1828, at Princeton in 1830, and at Williams in 1835. The writer[1] to whom I am indebted for these facts, states that the almost simultaneous introduction of this study by Harvard, Yale, Dartmouth, Columbia, Princeton, and Williams was probably due to the industrial revolution which the inventions of Arkwright, Hargreaves, and Fulton had wrought, to the expansion of commerce which followed the close of the Napoleonic wars, to the growth of population, and to the increasing mobility of labor

[1] James F. Colby, a letter in the New York *Nation*, vol. lxiii., p. 494, dated December 31, 1896.

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and capital, which before 1820 gave rise to new political issues in the United States. The addition of Economics to the curriculum of these colleges undoubtedly was facilitated by the appearance, as early as 1821, of an American edition of Say's *Political Economy.* This was the first text-book upon this subject used in most of these colleges.

This enlargement of the curriculum is at once cause and result of the college becoming more human. Whatever belongs to man is no longer regarded as foreign to the higher education. To embody Newman's idea of the higher education has become the controlling purpose of the university.

"Education," says Newman, "shows him [the student] how to accommodate himself to others, how to throw himself into their state of mind, how to bring before them his own, how to influence them, how to come to an understanding with them, how to bear with them. He is at home in any society, he has common ground with every class; he knows when to speak and when to be silent; he is able to converse, he is able to listen; he can ask a question pertinently, and gain a lesson seasonably, when he has nothing to impart himself; he is ever ready, yet never in the way; he is a pleasant companion, and a comrade you can depend upon; he knows when to be serious and when to trifle, and he has a sure tact

which enables him to trifle with gracefulness and to be serious with effect. He has the repose of a mind which lives in itself, while it lives in the world, and which has resources for its happiness at home when it cannot go abroad. He has a gift which serves him in public, and supports him in retirement, without which good fortune is but vulgar, and with which failure and disappointment have a charm."[1]

The human interest of the college is further evidenced in the fact that the college now ministers to the higher scholarship as it never has before ministered to it. Newman writes as no one else has ever written of the value of the college in training men ; but the college is not only training men, it is promoting scholarship. Although certain men, great as inventors and discoverers of scientific facts, have not been liberally trained,—one cannot, however, forget that Eli Whitney and Samuel F. B. Morse were graduates of Yale,—yet the impulses for their inventions and discoveries have largely come from the college laboratory. It is ever to be remembered, too, that the great work of such investigators as Agassiz, Gray, Dana, and Morley has been done within college walls. The great institution that Agassiz

[1] Newman's *The Idea of a University*, 178.

—father and son—has built at Cambridge is a part of Harvard, and also the noble and manifold work of the associate of Agassiz, Asa Gray, is an integral part of the same University. The great work of the codification of knowledge and the systematization of facts, which is saving knowledge unto itself and unto the world, and is preventing the human mind from becoming submerged in its own discoveries, is carried on largely in the colleges. Investigations in literature, history, the sciences, political and civic relations of the present time, belong in the largest degree and in an increasing degree, to the best colleges. The purpose which the American college formerly held of training men is no longer the single one; with this aim is to be united the purpose of advancing scholarship.

The breadth of the field which an education of this period covers is indicated by the number and character of the State universities. These universities have largely sprung up in the last forty years. The majority of them have been founded since the passing of the Land Act of 1862. The State universities of the States west of the Mississippi are certainly

the strongest educational agencies to be found within their borders. In many of the States immediately east of the Mississippi, such as Michigan and Wisconsin, the State universities are also the strongest to be found within the Commonwealth. In several of the States lying between the Mississippi and the Alleghanies it might be open to question which is the stronger, the State universities or the private colleges. But in the larger number of the States of the Atlantic coast, the private colleges are the best. The State university has already become a dominant educational force in a majority of our Commonwealths. Its financial supporter is the State itself; its relations to other educational agencies is, in certain instances, the relation of the head to the body in the human system; its curriculum is broad, including not only liberal, but also many technical, courses. It embraces professional and technical schools, even those of narrow limits, as the dental and the veterinary. But it is to be emphasized that the State university represents all the elements of the higher education. The university is ordained to minister to the whole man.

The human element in this period is illustrated also in the progress of the education for women. In this generation the higher education for women has made more progress than in the preceding hundred years. The purpose in the foundation of the colleges for women has not been to make women into better wives or worthier mothers, but it has been the same purpose which prevails in the higher education of men. When Matthew Vassar founded the first college for women, his purpose was simply to offer to women the same advantages which young men were receiving.

The college for women receives each woman, both as a woman and as a human being; and it receives her in order to train her for the largest life. And it does train her for this life. The American college has helped American women to get strength without becoming priggish, and vigor of intellect without becoming cold; it has helped them to become rich in knowledge without being pedantic; broad in sympathy without wanting a public career; and large-minded and broad-minded without neglecting humble duties. The American college has helped woman toward doing the high-

est work, by the wisest methods, with the richest results.

The great interest in athletics in the American colleges illustrates the width of the human interests that have entered into college life. The college has become sympathetic with the community in the athletic revival. Each graduate knows that his success in life depends not upon any one single power, but upon the relation which many powers bear to each other. He also knows that he has the treasure of his intellect in the earthen vessel of his body. His judgment therefore impels him to give to his body the discipline adequate to the efficient working of his mental faculties. He therefore becomes an athlete in the gymnasium, or an athlete on the football or the baseball field, or on the river. If he does not become an athlete, he gets exercise of the physical faculties in the gymnasium sufficient for the proper working of the intellectual. Thus athletics represent the training of an important part of the whole man for life's service.

The human element of this period has a negative illustration in the foundation of

technical schools in the latter part of this time. These schools are professional schools. They are not designed to give a liberal training, nor are they designed to promote the comprehensive interests of the student. Their purpose is to train him to become able to follow certain vocations as practical chemistry, architecture, engineering, or any other technical calling. The worth of these schools to the community is of course great; but their worth does not consist in the liberal culture which they bestow. The gift which they make to common life is of great value. It consists in giving to certain callings well-equipped workers; but their purpose, function, and scope are quite unlike the purpose, function, and scope of what is frequently called, the College of Liberal Arts. This college still stands for the humanities and for humanity.

I have called the third period the German period. I have thus denominated it, not only because it was the period in which the German universities have become the most vigorous agencies for the higher scholarship, but also and far more, because the influence of the German universities in the development of

the period has been great. The new learning came to these shores near the beginning of the third period. Early in the century the German influence laid a strong hand on the undergraduates. In 1820, when he was a Freshman at Harvard, George Ripley wrote of a classmate: "He will probably spend some years in Germany, after he leaves Cambridge, and if his health is spared return one of the most eminent among our literary men."[1] The direct influence of Germany over the higher education in America has three periods well defined. The first begins with such men as Edward Everett, George Bancroft, Joseph Cogswell, Robert Patton, George Ticknor, and Henry W. Longfellow, who went to Göttingen in the first third of the century. Edward Everett was the first American to take a German doctorate, which he received in Göttingen in 1817. In the second period we find in Germany such men as Goodwin, Child, Whitney, Gould the astronomer, and Gildersleeve. The influence of these two generations of scholars in the university life of America has been, and still is, very great. In the more

[1] Frothingham's *George Ripley*, 10.

general relations the influence of the first generation has been greater, but in the more scholarly relations the influence of the second generation has been greater by far. The third period begins with that awakening of the American mind which followed our Civil War. It was contemporaneous with the beginning of the "New Education." In this period, which is still in progress, hosts of men who are still young in years have gone to Germany, and, returning, have become noble forces in American scholarship. They are found to-day in scores of our best colleges. The German movement, therefore, which began in the first decades of the century, has gone forward in enlarging relations and with increasing power. In 1835, four Americans were registered as students in German universities; in 1891 the number was four hundred and forty-six. It has increased in the later years of the decade, and is at present about six hundred. But this early inspiration has continued to promote high scholarship. It has come to us borne by our own American students, but also borne by native Germans themselves. German scholars, obliged to leave their native land or coming

voluntarily, as the elder Agassiz, Charles Theodore Follen, and Beck, have had a large influence in the development of our higher education.

These three periods, which are thus named the ecclesiastical, the civil, and the human, are yet not so clearly differentiated as these divisions might indicate. For into each period the chief characteristics of the others have forced their way. In the ecclesiastical period certain civil relations are found obtaining, for the College was the child of the State. The elder colleges could not have lived without the fostering care of the Commonwealth. The colleges also trained men for the service of the State. The way in which the statesmen of the decade before the Revolution, and the decade following it, dealt with the great problems that were forced upon them proves how efficient was the training which the college gave. The influence of the academic discipline is seen in the writing of the Constitution of the United States; and it is easy to trace this discipline in the compositions of the elder Adams, of Jefferson, of Hamilton, and of Madison.

"These scholars," says Sibley, writing of the general conditions, "originated or urged forward the ideas and principles on which our government now rests, and which in their expansion are to-day agitating the world and ameliorating the condition of mankind. Their lives and the history of the country were so interwoven, that the knowledge of both is necessary to the proper understanding of either. There is probably no instance in history where the same number of young men, taken indiscriminately from various classes of society, and trained under the same auspices, have afterward, in their various spheres, exerted greater influence on the politics, morals, religion, thought, and destiny of the world than the early graduates of Harvard University." [1]

So, also, the ecclesiastical influence has been potent in the second and third periods. In the westward movement of the population the Church has been the mother of schools and colleges. The beginnings of the higher education in the larger part of the newer States have been ecclesiastical. The history of not a few of these colleges is the history of an earnest denominational propagandism; and at the present time the functions and the presence of the denominational college are forces to which the historian of our colleges must give much attention. The great growth of the

[1] Sibley's *Harvard Graduates*, I., x.

system of the State universities represents the prevalence of the civil idea in this same great human period.

In the development of the German universities are to be found three periods also, not unlike the three periods in the development of the higher education in America. The first period is that of the establishment of universities by the churches of the different States. This period closes with the seventeenth century, a time which was coincident with the foundation of Yale College. Throughout this time the interests, ecclesiastical and theological, were predominant. The faculty of theology was the most important of all the faculties. The second period covers the last century. It is marked by the supplanting of theological and ecclesiastical interests, by the interests of philosophy and of law. As an important event of the second period in the United States was the foundation of the University of Virginia, so, also, in Germany, the great events were the making of the educational foundations in 1694 at Halle, and in 1737 at Göttingen. Rationalism, too, is the key-note to this period in Germany, as it was

of the second period in America. In both periods in both countries, freedom of investigation had been prevalent, and yet in America the political aspect of education appears stronger than in Germany. The third period in Germany begins with the close of the Napoleonic disaster and still continues. The foundation of the University of Berlin represents the commencement of the great movement. It is marked in Germany, as it is in this country, by the intimacy of the relationship between the University and all the people. As in America this period is distinguished by the comprehensiveness of the human relations which the College embraces, so in Germany this period is marked by the foundation of the University of Berlin, and by the strengthening of the old universities for the sake of increasing the power of the nation. As in America, also, the ecclesiastical relations of the universities have declined; and in the substance and form of the instruction, as well as in the *personnel*, large human relationships have come to prevail.

The development of the great English universities has been like and unlike the develop-

ment in the United States. The first period is essentially the same of both countries. The second period, the political, has not had so distinct existence in England; but the third is quite as marked, and its scholarly and human forces are quite as aggressive, in the old as in the new country. The movement for reform in Oxford and Cambridge, covering more than fifty years, culminating in the Act of 1850 and the Bill of 1871, has been a movement toward making the Universities centres of national thought and education.

Thus the influence of the American College has constantly enlarged in these two hundred and fifty, and more, years. It began as an institution for training ministers; it next became an agency for training citizens; and then, broadening its purpose, it was content with nothing less than training men for complete living.

That the influence of the college is enlarging is made evident not only through the widening of its purpose and function, it is also made evident through the increase in the number of the members of the community whom it enrolls as students.

The fear is often expressed that the materialism and commercialism of the time are causing the college, standing for things of the mind, to lose influence. This fear is based rather on general considerations than on exact and complete evidence. It is the result rather of what is thought must be, or ought to be, than of what is known to be. Lord Kelvin once said that "nothing can be clearly understood until we can express it in figures." It may be said with equal truth that the evidence of the decline or increase of the influence of an institution is strongly presented by figures.

One cannot forget that among the twenty-one thousand people who between 1620 and 1640 came to New England, and among their descendants for the following fifty years, there were as many college graduates as could be found in any population of similar size in the mother country. At one time of this period in Massachusetts and Connecticut, every group of two hundred and fifty people had one graduate of old Cambridge. In addition to the Cambridge graduates there were also several from Oxford.

The proportion of college men found in the

colonies in the last years of the seventeenth century, and throughout the eighteenth, is largely a matter of conjecture, for the population itself is a matter of conjecture. The first census was taken in 1790. Although Bancroft has devoted much space to the consideration of the population at different periods, yet the results reached are simply estimates. In order, therefore, to reduce the question in hand to very definite and simple limits, I shall compare the population and students of 1830 and 1831, with the population and students of 1890 and 1891.

The former date represents the beginning of a very interesting period in American education, for the fourth decade of this century stands for a great awakening in educational affairs. It was the decade in which more colleges were founded than were founded in all the three previous decades, among them being the University of Michigan. At that time the United States had forty-six colleges and the population was 12,866,020 persons. The number of students in forty of these forty-six colleges was 3582. The number of students in the remaining six colleges it is now impossible

to secure. But it is not unjust to estimate the whole number of college students in this country at the beginning of the fourth decade as 4000. There were, therefore, 3216 persons in the entire population for each college student.

We are constantly blaming ourselves for the depreciated sense in which we use the word college. We are, however, less blameworthy than the people of old England, although blameworthy enough. In the varying breadth with which the term is used we find the number of colleges in the United States a variable quantity. But in the colleges which make a report to the Bureau of Education, are now 46,474 students. The population according to the last census, was 62,622,250 persons. There are, therefore, now 1347 persons to each college student. In a word, therefore, we now have twice the number of students to each person of the population that we had two generations ago. The proportion in the different states in these two periods is certainly significant. In Maine, in 1830, there were 2330 persons to each student; in Maine now there are 1294 persons to each student. In New Hampshire, in 1830, there were 1756 persons

to each student; in New Hampshire now there are 1034. In Vermont, in 1830, there were 1696 persons to each student; in Vermont now there are 1433. In Massachusetts, in 1830, there were 895 persons to each student; in Massachusetts now there are 501. In Rhode Island, in 1830, there were 2442 persons to each student; in Rhode Island now there are 857. In Connecticut, in 1830, there were 1,340 persons to each student; in Connecticut now there are 421. In New York, in 1830, there were 2496; in New York now there are 1149. The general summaries are, in New England in 1830 there were 1231 persons to each student; in the four Middle States there were 3,465 to each student. Now in these same States, leaving out Delaware, there are 1001 persons to each student. In 1830, in six Southern States, including the District of Columbia, there were 7232 persons to each student. Now, in what are called the South Atlantic States, there are 1874 persons to each student, and in the South Central division there are to each student, 1908 persons. In 1830, in eight Western States, there were 6060 persons to each student. Now in the Northern

Central division there are 1333 persons to each student, and in the Western division there are 1640.

It is not a little difficult to point out the great significance of these proportions. In 1830 the population of this country was small, under thirteen millions of people. Sixty years later the population of this country was somewhat over sixty millions. That is to say, the population of the country was four and one half times as large in 1890 as it was in 1830, but the number of college students was more than ten times as large.

It is to be said that in these forty-six thousand students are included a few professional students and also women, for certain colleges so report their students that it is impossible to distinguish the professional from the undergraduate members. This same fact was true though to a less extent in 1830. But among the students of sixty years ago there were probably no women. At the present time one fifth of all our college students are women.

It is to be said, too, that in the years that have followed the close of this sixty year period the number of college students has constantly in-

creased. From forty-six thousand it has increased to over seventy thousand.

Such an increase is to be expected. The first attention of a new people must be given to material things. Forests are to be felled and turned into houses; soil must be broken, crops sown and harvested; streams dammed and bridged; mills of every kind built; roads made, —all material values to be increased, and utilities created and augmented. Physical conditions are to be first consulted and physical life promoted. The consequent attention is given to things of the mind. The college follows the factory, the dormitory the family home. The smallest proportion of college men to the population is found among the newer or newest States and the largest among the oldest. New York and Massachusetts have more students than any other State, (of course many of the students have their homes outside of Massachusetts and New York). We cannot forget that not a few of the newer States have followed the example set by Massachusetts of founding a college within its first score of years. Ohio was admitted in 1803 and within the next twenty-five years Ohio had

established four colleges, one founded the year following the admission of the State. Illinois became a State in 1818 and the college which bears its name was chartered in 1835, and in the same fourth decade were founded several other colleges in this State. The history of the American Commonwealth and of American education is simply the history of the application of the principle, that material things precede the intellectual. We are, therefore, to expect that the proportion of well-trained men in the community will increase with the age of the community.

In certain countries of Europe we find this expectation realized. The number of undergraduates enrolled at Oxford and Cambridge has increased in the sixty years, though the proportion of increase it is difficult to state for enrollments were formerly more lax than at present. There is reason to believe that to-day at these two universities is a larger number of regular undergraduates than at any time since the Reformation. The newer colleges, too, founded in the last fifty years seem to have drawn students who otherwise would have sought the older and more eminent universities.

The Scottish universities, moreover, have increased their enrollment, Edinburgh rising from two thousand to three thousand. In Germany in the first years of the fourth decade of this century there were fifty-two university students to each one hundred thousand of the population. In the following decades the proportion declined, falling as low as thirty-three to each one hundred thousand; but in the eighties it rose till at the close of the decade there were no less than sixty-three students to each one hundred thousand. In the years 1886–9 there were found to each one hundred thousand of the population, in Austria, fifty-six university students, in Italy fifty-one, in France forty-three, in Belgium eighty-two, in Holland forty-five, in Switzerland fifty-six, in Denmark forty-seven, in Norway seventy-seven, in Sweden fifty-seven, and in Russia ten.[1] From these estimates theological students are excluded. Yet, be it said, the comparative value of these figures is not so great as might seem, for the educational systems of different countries are very different.

[1] *Die Deutschen Universtäten.* Herausgegeben von W. Lexis, i., 116.

In all Europe the proportion has remained substantially the same in sixty years, although falling slightly—from one student in twenty-five hundred of the people to one student in three thousand. Professor Lexis, writing in particular of the universities of his own country, suggests that these variations arise largely from commercial causes. A revival in business usually diminishes the attendance through offering commercial opportunities ; a depression increases attendance through making professional careers more attractive.

The fear is not infrequently expressed that the world has too many educated men. The fear is more often entertained in reference to Germany. The expression gives ground for the question, too many for what ? Too many to make lawyers, or orators, or clergymen, or editors ? Certainly the number of lawyers, or of orators, or of clergymen, or of editors may exceed the demand. Too many, so that college graduates are obliged to become mechanics and farmers ? And why, let it be asked, should not college graduates become mechanics and farmers ? Does not a college education aid a mechanic or a farmer ? Pity on the education and on the graduate if it does not ! But edu-

cation, be it ever said, is not designed to make members of a certain ilk or profession. It is designed to make men. It is designed to help each man to find and to make life interesting. No! There cannot be an over supply of educated men. There can be no absolute over supply of any good thing. We cannot educate too many men; neither can we educate men too much. Can humanity become too good, or too able, or too learned, or too reasonable?

It is, therefore, specially significant that the graduates of American colleges are not confined as once they were to the learned professions. There was a time when to go to college meant, for the ordinary student, going into the ministry. That time passed away long ago. A little later there was a period in which to go to college meant to enter either the law or the ministry. That time has passed away within not many years. Now to go to college does not necessarily indicate entrance upon any one of the learned professions. One third of the graduates of Harvard College enter business. The college graduate is finding any work proper to himself in which he can best serve his age. The college has become an institution of and for humanity.

II.

CERTAIN GREAT RESULTS.

THE American college has rendered a service of greater value to American life in training men than in promoting scholarship. It has affected society more generally and deeply through its graduates than through its contributions to the sciences. Its work for America and for the world has been largely done through the men whom it has educated. It has been rather a mother of men than a nurse of scientists.

In judging of the value of the service which the college has rendered to society through its sons and daughters, of course one must not be guilty of claiming too much. The college is only one of the factors which helps to develop the character and the working power of an

individual. The Roman in his theory of pedagogical values was inclined to interpret nature as of greater worth than education; the modern is prone to think that education is of greater worth than nature. We are never to forget that the home, personal association, environment, as well as ability, are always to be weighed and assessed. Many men "of light and leading" would still have been guides of their fellows if they had never gone to college. Yet the college has rendered unique and peculiarly rich services. It has, in nearly every instance, increased ability, and made ability more efficient. It has rendered indifferent ability good, good better, and given a superlative excellence to that of a higher degree.

Of all the professions, the ministry enrolls the largest proportion of college graduates. An examination of Dr. Sprague's *Annals of the American Pulpit* shows that of the eleven hundred and seventy clergymen therein named, 74 per cent. of those who are Episcopalians, 78 per cent. of those who are Presbyterians, 80 per cent. of those who are Congregational, and 97 per cent. of those who are Unitarian clergymen are graduates. The influence of the minister

in a community is, in a degree, the influence of the college, and that influence has been from the birth of the nation great. In the very beginning the minister was the autocrat, both civil and social, of the Commonwealth. He has now ceased to be an autocrat, but his influence continues strong and pervasive. Of all the members of the community he is the only one who has the opportunity of speaking to the people at frequent and regular intervals upon important questions. The decline of the lyceum system has left him practically alone in the forum of public debate. If he give to his functions a large interpretation, he finds himself closely related to all the higher concerns of humanity. He is, above most citizens, interested and influential in the development of the public school system. He is the arbiter upon many questions of social and civil relationships. In all sociological concerns his counsel may be of great value. Above most persons in the community, he is a scholar. Aside, therefore, from his purely professional relations, the clergyman is, or may be, of great influence. In almost all instances the college has trained in him those qualities which, at

least, greatly enlarge his field of usefulness and enrich his power of service. In the rural parish as well as in the urban, his influence is greater because he has had four years in college. The power of the clergyman, therefore, is the power of the college.

It is also to be acknowledged that the power of a college consists quite as much in the teacher as in the teaching. One needs to read only a dozen pages of Bowdoin's history to know that Cleaveland, Newman, Upham, Packard, Smyth, had for half a century an influence over the students of that college as great as any body of teachers ever possessed.

A half-century ago Harvard College, too, had one and only one professor of Philosophy, but that one was James Walker; one, and one only, professor of Mathematics, but that one was Benjamin Peirce; one, and one only, professor of Literature, but that one was Henry Wadsworth Longfellow; one, and only one, professor of History, but that one was Jared Sparks.

A strong man, whatever be the subject he teaches, and whether his range of knowledge be wide, only provided it considerably exceeds

that of the body of students whom he instructs, will always and everywhere be an educational force among the men who gather in his class-room. Personality is the greatest power. Teachers are as great as they were in the former time. The educational value of the college as embodied in its teachers is certainly as great now as it was. If personality itself is no stronger than it was, it is true that teachers are, as teachers, far better qualified for their work. Men are no longer taken from the pastorate to teach Latin or Philosophy. In 1873, in ten selected colleges, forty per cent. of the teachers were not specially trained; in 1893, in the same colleges, only twenty-five per cent. were not specially trained.[1] Men are no longer drafted from the graduating class to become the instructors of the Freshman class. No worthy college, as a rule, employs other than experts as teachers. The influence, therefore, of the American college is not only enlarging, it is also deepening and strengthening.

The result on the community of the presence of an increasing proportion of college-bred men is of the largest significance. These men be-

[1] *Education*, vol. xv., 56.

long to every rank of the social order and to every condition of life. They represent a higher civilization also, and their presence tends yet further to ennoble civilization. Their characters are prophetic of the rule of a genuine aristocracy in a democracy; for the people themselves are becoming the best. They suggest a sympathy more extended as well as more profound between social classes, for they indicate the possession of a stronger power as well as of a wiser wisdom on the part of the strong and wise to bless the weak and the ignorant.

The American college, therefore, represents the enlarged and enlarging intellectual life of the American people. It has helped to train one third of all our statesmen; more than a third of our best authors; almost a half of our more distinguished physicians; fully one half of our better known lawyers; more than a half of our best clergymen, and considerably more than half of our most conspicuous educators. It has thus entered into the intellectual life of all the people. It has, above every other force, tended to raise the intellectual level of all the people to a higher point than that

reached elsewhere. The intellectual life has thus secured breadth, and variety, and richness. Curiosity has been stimulated, and mental activity quickened. The common school has gained in dignity and inspiring power. Books have become more common and better. Scholarly ideals have been upheld. "Things of the mind," in the judgment of the better American, have come to be of higher worth; and the value set upon them in his mental price-list increases with each passing year.

The colleges have ceased to be, as several of the earlier colleges were designed in their foundations to be, training schools for the ministry. The callings of the law and of commercial life are now more attractive to graduates of many colleges. Yet the colleges are still maintaining their prestige as the best training schools for the ministry, though the proportion of graduates who become ministers diminishes. In the fifty years in the middle of the present century, somewhat more than sixteen thousand men graduated at the eight principal colleges of New England, of which number more than four thousand became ministers. Of the 1626 graduates of Amherst College,

OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

754 became ministers; of 1475 graduates of Bowdoin, 307 became ministers; of 2293 graduates of Dartmouth, 554 became ministers; of 3399 graduates of Harvard, 386 became ministers; of 862 graduates of Middlebury, 367 became ministers; of 682 graduates of the University of Vermont, 167 became ministers; of 1592 graduates of Williams, 533 became ministers; of 4311 graduates of Yale, 1041 became ministers.[1] Such a record is full of meaning. It proves that a large number of the graduates of these historic colleges prefer the ministry as a life's work. A contribution of four thousand men made in a half-century to a single profession from eight colleges represents an increment of the highest value to the best forces of society.

Certainly, general reasoning would lead one to expect that the colleges would make large contributions to the membership of the Christian ministry. For the ministry demands, above every other profession, the power of abstract thinking, and the power of applying the results of abstract thinking to practical concerns. The worthy sermon represents

[1] *Congregational Quarterly*, vol. xii., 567.

thought upon the profoundest themes. Theology, that represents the foundation of the preacher's work, is the most recondite part of philosophy. Therefore the minister must be pre-eminently a thinker. The college is ordained especially to train thinkers. The primary characteristic of the educated man is the power to think. The college uses scholarship rather as a means to make thinkers than as a method for the enhancement of learning. In every generation, therefore, it is to be demanded that the college shall make large contributions of its ablest graduates to the ranks of the ministry.

The college, therefore, has not yet lost its prestige as being the most valuable opportunity for the men who propose to be ministers to fit themselves for their work, be their number small or large. About seventy per cent. of the ministers of the Congregational and Presbyterian churches are college-bred. Under a government in which the State and the Church and the college are more normally and generally united than these agencies are in the United States, the college usually represents a necessary condition to the assuming of

clerical functions. The Church of England would have lost its power, and the minister in that church his influence, if Oxford and Cambridge had not existed. Writing to Mr. Gladstone, in 1854, Dean Burgon referred to Oxford and her colleges as "those fortresses where the Church has ever nursed her warriors, and whither she has never turned in vain for a champion in her hour of need."[1] The English Church commands the respect of those whose respect is most worth commanding, largely through the contributions of manifold sorts which the English universities have made to it. Whoever controls Oxford and Cambridge controls the English Church. In America, it is significant that the churches which have been most influential in the development of American life have been those which have placed greatest emphasis upon the worth of a college-bred ministry. It is also evident that as the churches themselves have attached greater or less importance to the necessity of a college training for their ministers, has their influence increased or diminished. At the time when the Methodist Church did not regard a college

[1] *Life of Dean Burgon*, i., 282.

training as desirable for securing ordination, the influence of that church was small. Only 11 per cent. of the Methodist clergymen named in Dr. Sprague's volumes are graduates. But at the present time, when the Methodist Church regards a liberal education as a valuable element in the clergyman's equipment, the public influence of this church is greatly increasing. This church now controls more colleges than any other.

A large majority of the lawyers of the United States are not college-bred; but it is not too much to say that the influence of those who are is greater than that of the remainder who are not. The highest positions in the courts of the United States, or in the courts of the individual States, are usually filled by those who have had an academic education. Every Chief Justice of the United States has been a college graduate except one; and that one, John Marshall, was a student at the College of William and Mary until the outbreak of the Revolution which interrupted his undergraduate career. More than two thirds of the associate judges of the Supreme Court, and about two thirds of the present Circuit Court judges

are college graduates. Jay and Blatchford received their degrees at Columbia; Cushing, John Quincy Adams, Story, Levi Lincoln, Curtis, and Gray, at Harvard; Wilson, at Edinborough; Blair and Bushrod Washington, at William and Mary; Paterson, Ellsworth, Johnson, Brockholst Livingston, Thompson, Wayne, and Daniel, at Princeton; Baldwin, Strong, and Waite, at Yale, together with Brewer, Brown, and Shiras, who were members of the same class of 1856 at Yale; Taney and Grier, at Dickinson; William Smith, at Mount Zion College, Maryland; Nelson, at Middlebury; Woodbury and Chase, at Dartmouth; Campbell, at the University of Georgia; Miller, at Transylvania, Kentucky; Davis and Matthews, at Kenyon; Field, at Williams; Bradley, at Rutgers; Hunt, at Union; Harlan, at Centre College, Kentucky; Jackson, at West Tennessee College; White, at St. Mary's College, in Maryland, and Woods, at Western Reserve and at Yale. Stanton was a student in Kenyon College two years. At the present time every member of our Supreme Court has received a liberal education.

It is a single college which has trained such judges or lawyers as Caleb Cushing, Joseph Story, Benjamin Robbins Curtis, Horace Gray, George Tyler Bigelow, and Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar. The same college has given an education to no less than one hundred and fifty members of the United States and State courts. Men of like eminence and position have been trained at not a few of our colleges, although their number may not be so great. The American people are in far greater debt for the permanence of their institutions to the courts of justice than they are usually inclined to believe; and these courts of justice are in debt to the colleges for no small share of those powers which render their methods wise and their decisions right. Remove from the intellectual resources of the great judge or the great lawyer, that training which the four years of college gave to him, and one would usually take away the possibility of his ever being a worthy judge or a competent lawyer at all. Conspicuously among the professions, the law demands the power of applying fundamental principles to the solution of complex problems. Every case submitted to a lawyer rep-

resents an opportunity for an application of the law of rights. The lawyer, therefore, should have clearness of mental vision, a thorough understanding of principles, facility in the application of these principles, and above all else the power of analysis. No better means for developing such powers exists than the college.

Our great system of public education is a sphere in which the influence of the college is not usually recognized. It is often supposed that the teacher in the primary, or grammar, or high school, is jealous of the college professor, and that the college professor has a contempt for the school-teacher. But what is called the lower, and what is called the higher, education are but two parts of one great scheme, each ministering unto, and each receiving ministry from, the other. If the work in the primary grades be slovenly, superficial, weak, the teaching in the higher grades is also slovenly, superficial, weak, and ineffective. If the college fail to be effective, strong, inspiring, wholesome, all the education that comes before the college period falls into methods of narrowness and superficiality. The kinder-

garten is a preparation for the physical laboratory, and the physical and psychological laboratories of the college have close relations to the kindergarten.

Historically the college has had a great influence in the development of our educational system. Harvard College was founded eleven years before the passage of the law requiring those towns in the Bay Colony having one hundred families to be able to fit students for college. It was a graduate of Brown University who became the founder of Antioch College, who did the greatest work for the common schools ever done by any American. Massachusetts and every commonwealth owe a lasting debt of gratitude to Horace Mann. The educational system of Indiana is the product of the influence of Caleb Mills, who for many years was a professor in Wabash College. At the present time the college, and especially the college in the West, is doing a great work in upholding the higher standards of the public-school system. The forces that are constantly trying to pull down these standards are tremendous. The tendency of the age to reach practical results by the shortest

pathways carries along with itself the peril of ethical and intellectual superficiality. Against this tendency the college stands firm as the everlasting hills. Although only a small proportion of the teachers of the United States are college-trained, yet many of them have been taught by those who are college-trained. They have felt the inspiration of the motives, and have been affected in a measure by the character, of those who have been inspired themselves by college ideals, moved by college motives, and influenced by college conditions. The superintendents and supervisors of many schools are college graduates, as are the teachers in many high schools. Therefore, not a few students who are obliged to finish their education with the high school have received at one remove an influence from the college. Even beyond the personal influence, the college system, as a system, has touched the public-school system. It has held before the schools standards of learning, larger in content, and higher in aim, than the schools could themselves create.

The college, further, has embodied a broad and noble patriotism. This patriotism has

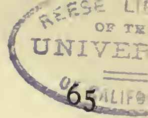
been free from provincialism. The college has interpreted "country," not as representing square miles of territory or loyalty to a partisan government, but as meaning justice for all, helpfulness toward the worthy or the weak, sympathy for the oppressed, and opportunity for the working out of noblest results under favorable conditions. It has sought that just government might prevail; that toleration of opinions might become common. It has endeavored to incarnate the cardinal virtues in the State. No youth has been more eager than the college youth to doff the student's gown and to don the soldier's uniform. It has been said that, except for Harvard College, the Revolution would have been put off half a century. Of the great war no stories are more moving, no tales of valor more splendid than those told of the college boys who became soldiers. It is significant that in the petition for the granting of the charter of Union College a hundred years ago, attention is called to the need in the young Republic of men qualified to lead in the State as well as in the Church; and Union College, be it said, has furnished a great number of men who have

rendered efficient service to the nation. The constitution of North Dakota was partly the work of a graduate of a college in Wisconsin. Of the men who have been influential in the affairs of Rhode Island in the last century and a half, only three can be mentioned who have not been graduates of Brown University, and these three were connected with the university in such a way as to feel its influence. The motto of the college graduate is not "My country, right or wrong." Rather he loves his country, and is willing to die or live for it, as it embodies those principles which represent eternal and infinite relationships. He loves his country more because he loves the world much.

The college has, moreover, rendered great service in upholding the ideas of a simple democracy. The college is, along with the public school, the most democratic of our institutions. It exists for the people.[1] If the college

[1] "He [Jowett] sometimes dreamed . . . of a bridge which might unite the different classes of society, and at the same time bring about a friendly feeling in the different sects of religion, and that might also connect the different branches of knowledge which were apt to become estranged one from another."—*Life and Letters of Benjamin Jowett*, ii., 26.

is a part of the system of public education, it exists as a part of the commonwealth. If it is a private corporation, it is private in no sense other than that it represents private property held in trust for public weal. The ordinary college represents the bestowment of a large amount of property for the improvement of the people. It embodies the power of promoting scholarship as a means for the elevation of humanity. The principles dominant in the college are the principles of our common citizenship. It is not wealth nor birth, prestige nor family, which opens the doors of the college, but it is the simple desire to use the facilities offered by the college for the enlargement and enrichment of character and of life. The college finds its best conditions in a democratic community. But the college in turn tends to develop democracy in the community. The English universities failed for centuries to have a worthy influence in English life because of ecclesiasticism. The American college is the creation of the democratic commonwealth. The American college in turn tends to make the democratic commonwealth yet more democratic. It is still true, as the late President



Anderson said in an address given at the time of his inauguration forty-three years ago : "Universities have been everywhere the nurseries of equality. The single fact that for centuries their endowments gave to the sons of the poor their only available opportunity to measure their strength with the rich and noble on equal terms, shows that they have had more influence in giving to man a superiority over his accidents than any institution except the Christian Church. Universities have been the special benefactors of the poor. We believe that accurate statistics would show that more than two thirds of the students who in our country have gone through a course of collegiate education, have been the sons of men in comparative poverty. To these has the main benefit of the university endowments inured. These foundations alone have prevented the monopoly of education from being secured to the rich."[1]

The story of the political or public achievements wrought by the American college for the community through its graduates is a long and glorious one. It is worth while possibly to

[1] Papers and addresses of Martin B. Anderson, i., 44–5.

present a few statistics. In suggesting the great part which college men have played in national affairs, it is not unworthy to mention that clergymen, teachers, and physicians are by their occupations usually prevented from entering political life. The proportion, therefore, of college men who are found rendering conspicuous service to the nation becomes exceedingly significant. Of the fifty-six signers of the Declaration of Independence, forty-two had a liberal education. Three members of the committee of five appointed to draft the Declaration—Jefferson, Adams, and Livingston—were college-bred. At least twenty-nine of the fifty-five men who composed the Convention of 1787, which framed the Constitution, had had the advantage of a classical education. One was educated at Oxford, London, Glasgow, Edinburgh, and Aberdeen each ; one at the University of Pennsylvania ; two at Columbia, three at Harvard, four at Yale, five at William and Mary, and nine at Princeton. The men who were most influential in the struggle which resulted in the adoption of the Constitution were men trained at college.

It may as well be confessed at once that

the prejudice is more or less common against the college graduate entering politics. The usual charge brought against him is that he is not practical. His training has been theoretical. He has lived long within college walls and knows little or nothing of what is without college walls. It is constantly affirmed that the judgment of a practical man upon the tariff is of far more value than the judgment of one college-bred. Not infrequently is it said, too, that the college man is not fitted to be the master in national crises. Since the time of Andrew Jackson this prejudice has been not uncommon. The nearest Andrew Jackson ever came to going to college was when he went to Harvard and heard the late Francis Bowen give an oration in which Jackson was compared, through the adoption of a figure of Virgil,[1] to Neptune, who, by showing his *placidum caput*, stilled the tempestuous waves of the nullification storm. I have heard Professor Bowen say that apparently President Jackson did not know what the figure meant. He probably did not. But the influence of Jackson has impressed certain people with the assur-

[1] *Æneid*, i., 127.

ance that the man of the back-woods with force and common sense is a better element in American political life than the well-bred gentleman of collegiate learning.

This prejudice, however, seems now to me to be dying out, and also, I believe, it was never firmly or widely held. It represents one of those superficial opinions which even the one holding does not regard as a permanent conviction. In his heart of hearts every one knows that good judgment, training, and disciplined power are the natural and normal results of a college course. Although these qualities are found developed in ten thousands of men without the collegiate method, and although hundreds of men graduate from college without possessing these supreme qualities, yet the tendency of the life of the college is to train them.

But it is clear that certain qualities of which the statesman stands in particular and urgent need are promoted through a college education. Among the intellectual needs of the statesmen are the power of interpretation and the power of exposition. He needs to understand the significance of events and the rela-

tions of facts. He should be able to distinguish the transient from the permanent, the comprehensive from the narrow, the superficial from the profound. He should be able to assess each fact and truth at its proper value. Having this power of interpretation, he also needs the power of exposition. He should have the teacher's quality of making his interpretation of certain conditions clear to other minds. He should be able to explain things. Another quality which is at once intellectual and ethical the statesman should also possess. It may be called the quality of high-mindedness. The thoughts in which his intellect delights should be noble, and the feelings which his heart rejoices in should be pure. He should have that same quality intellectually which the term gentleman connotes socially. He should possess intellectual conscientiousness. This quality, highly developed in the individual and devoted to the service of the State, is of the greatest value in the betterment of our social, political, and civil conditions. These are the qualities which the college trains. It trains the power of interpretation and of exposition through every study pursued, but also, in par-

ticular, through the linguistic and the mathematical. That simple means, so largely used in the college, of translation from a foreign tongue into the English represents the training of the power of interpretation and of exposition. Intellectual conscientiousness, too, is fostered in the college through the accuracy of the training given in the class-room and also, and more, by the inspirations and examples of noble living set before the students in the persons of their teachers.

We are, therefore, prepared to believe that a large number of those who have been concerned in political life have been trained in the colleges. We also are not surprised to find that on the whole the abler men following a political life have added to their native powers through the discipline of the higher education. Not far from one half of the members of the national Senate and House have received a liberal education. Of the thirty-two speakers, sixteen have had the advantage of a regular college training. Muhlenberg was a student in Halle (Germany); Trumbull and Winthrop graduates of Harvard; Dayton and Pennington, of Princeton; Hunter and Orr, of the

University of Virginia; Bell, a graduate of Cumberland, Tennessee; Polk, of the University of North Carolina; John W. Jones, of William and Mary; John W. Davis, of Baltimore; Howell Cobb, of Franklin; Grow, of Amherst; Blaine, of Washington; Keifer, of Antioch, and Reed, of Bowdoin. Two other Speakers had the advantage of a partial college training; Sedgwick spent three years at Harvard and also Macon was a member of Princeton, but left without graduating in order to join the army. In the Executive Department of the national government, of twenty-four presidents, twelve have been liberally educated. John Adams and John Quincy Adams received a first degree from Harvard College; Jefferson, Madison, and Tyler, from William and Mary; Polk, from the University of North Carolina; Pierce, from Bowdoin; Buchanan, from Dickinson; Hayes, from Kenyon; Garfield, from Williams; Arthur, from Union, and Benjamin Harrison, from Miami University. Monroe was a student in William and Mary, but left college to join the Revolutionary army, and William H. Harrison was a member of Hampden-Sidney College in Virginia, but

did not graduate. One half of the vice-presidents have had the same advantage. Of our vice-presidents who have not served in the office of president, Burr, Dallas, and Hobart were graduates of Princeton; Gerry, of Harvard; Tompkins, of Columbia; Calhoun, of Yale; Richard M. Johnson, of Transylvania, in Kentucky; King, of the University of North Carolina, and Stevenson, of Centre College, Kentucky. Wheeler was for two years a student in the University of Vermont. The larger proportion of the members of the Cabinet have also been liberally educated. Of the thirty-six men who have filled the office of Secretary of State, twenty-three have graduated from colleges, and five others were in college for a longer or shorter period. Jefferson, Randolph, Madison, and Nelson graduated from William and Mary, and Monroe attended the same institution until the breaking out of the Revolutionary War, when he enlisted; Pickering, John Quincy Adams, and Everett received degrees from Harvard; Smith, Livingston, Forsyth, and Upshur, from Princeton; Calhoun, Clayton, and Evarts, from Yale; Marcy and Olney, from Brown; Web-

ster, from Dartmouth; Legarè, from the College of South Carolina; Buchanan, from Dickinson; Fish, from Columbia; Blaine, from Washington; Frelinghuysen, from Rutgers; Foster, from the University of Indiana, at which institution Gresham also attended one year. McLane was a member of Newark College, Delaware, three years; Seward was in Union the same length of time; and Sherman was in college two years. And also, it should not be forgotten, that in the solution of the critical questions which Seward was obliged to make, he especially relied on a president of Yale College, Theodore Dwight Woolsey; on Francis Wharton, a graduate of Yale in the class of 1839; and on William Beach Lawrence, a Columbia graduate in 1818. Of the Secretaries of the Treasury, Hamilton received a degree from Columbia in 1774; Wolcott took his first degree at Yale; Dexter, Richardson, and Fairchild at Harvard; Gallatin at Geneva, Switzerland; Campbell, Rush, and Bibb, at Princeton; Dallas, at Edinborough; Taney and Thomas, at Dickinson; Woodbury and Chase, at Dartmouth; Ewing, at Ohio University; Spencer, at Union; Walker and Meredith, at Univer-

sity of Pennsylvania; Cobb, at Franklin; Dix, at University of Montreal; Fessenden, at Bowdoin, where also McCulloch attended two years; Bristow, at Jefferson; Folger, at Hobart; and McLane was for a time a student at Newark, Delaware, and Lot M. Morrill at Colby (Waterville) in Maine. One cannot forget, too, that in the office of the Secretaryship of the Treasury, it is the college graduate who has rendered most conspicuous service. Robert Morris who gave superb service in the management of the financial affairs of the country during the Revolution, declining the honor of becoming Secretary of the Treasury, pointed out Hamilton as the man best qualified to arrange the finances of a new nation. Hamilton was a graduate of Columbia. Chase, also called to the service of the nation in a crisis as great as that in which Hamilton served, was a graduate of Dartmouth in 1826; and Fessenden, Chase's successor, was a graduate of Bowdoin in the class of 1823. In this relation it is not unfitting to say that, in 1865, the man who was named chairman of a committee upon national taxation and revenues, and who did for the nation after our Civil War a service as

important as Robert Morris rendered at the time of the war of the Revolution, was a graduate of Williams of the class of 1847,—David A. Wells. Of those who have held other portfolios in the Cabinets somewhat more than one-half have received a liberal education.

The history of the foreign service of our government is a history on the whole more honorable than the history of its legislative and executive functions. At the most important courts of the world we have been well represented. To these courts, Harvard has contributed such men as the Adamses,—father, son and grandson,—Elbridge Gerry, Rufus King, George Bancroft, Caleb Cushing, Motley, James Russell Lowell, John Chandler Bancroft Davis, and Robert Tod Lincoln. It may be said too, in passing, that George Downing, a graduate of Harvard in the class of 1642, went to England, and became, besides filling other important posts, a minister to Holland of Cromwell and Charles II. His name is perpetuated in Downing Street. Yale also has given to our diplomatic service such men as Edwards Pierrepont, Joel Barlow, Cassius M. Clay, Peter Parker, William Walter Phelps, and Andrew D.

White; Columbia, such citizens as John Jay, and Hamilton Fish; William and Mary, such statesmen as Jefferson, Monroe, and William C. Rives; Princeton, such sons as George M. Dallas, William L. Dayton, and George H. Boker; Dartmouth, such a scholar as George P. Marsh; and Brown, an administrator like President Angell and an author like John Hay.

Greatly extended might be this list, but long enough is it to show that the American College has helped to train some of the most skillful diplomats of our history. One of the primary aims controlling European universities in the Middle Ages has been thus gained in the American college.

The seven colleges which were founded before 1770 in this country have, since the organization of our government, contributed more than two thousand of their graduates to the highest political and judicial offices. These colleges have helped to train no less than nine of our Presidents and eleven vice-presidents; more than eighty cabinet officers, and a hundred United States ministers; two hundred United States Senators; more than seven hundred members of Congress; four Chief Justices of

the United States; at least eighteen associate justices; eleven circuit judges; about a hundred district and other United States judges; about six hundred judges of the higher state courts; and at least a hundred and fifty governors of states. Of these seven colleges and for these high places, Yale has helped to train the largest number,—about 550; Harvard about 425; Princeton 400; William and Mary somewhat over 200; Brown 125; Columbia somewhat over 100; and Pennsylvania a few more than 50. But the same work has been done in kind by all the colleges founded in the last hundred years. And no figures, it is to be remembered, can represent the intellectual and moral forces which have rendered the work of these public servants of the greatest value to the people of the United States.

It is fitting to say that the proportion of college-trained men engaged in public life in England and Germany is greater than is found in the United States. In Germany, a university course is almost a necessary step to entrance upon a public career. In England, not infrequently every member of a Cabinet has been trained at Oxford or at Cambridge, or has

received a degree from the University of London.

The American college has given to the American people a discipline more thorough, a scholarship richer, and a culture finer than they otherwise could have received. I use these words discipline, scholarship, and culture not without discrimination. The college has trained men to think—to think for themselves and to think for others. Such training is usually obtained within the first two years of the course. It is the result of pursuing the mathematical, linguistic, and scientific studies. These studies are a first-rate gymnastic for the student; they produce intellectual strength. The college using them becomes a drill master, and the student having the advantage of the discipline given through them becomes keen and broad in vision, swift and constant to infer, true and impressive in applying and using. Such advantages are the best results of what we now call the old New England country college, and indeed of the college, be it new or old, whether within New England or without.

If the chief value of the services of the

American college lies in the training of men, we are yet to bear in mind that the college has been the greatest of all contributors to scholarship. If we must confess—as indeed we must—that the American college has not achieved in scholarship what it has in discipline, or what the English universities and German have achieved; if we acknowledge—as we ought—that the high promise of American scholarship set forth in Emerson's Phi Beta Kappa address sixty years ago has not been made good, yet it is to be affirmed that whatever scholarship we may claim has found in the college its fostering mother. Many, though by no means all, of the advances which have been made in our knowledge of the laws of nature have been made under the patronage of the college, even if they have not been directly made by its officers. Most of the researches into the condition of early races of this country, or of the Latin and Greek peoples, or of the natives of the far East, have found in the college their chief supporters and leaders. Archæological museums are usually organized in connection with colleges. Our acquaintance with the literature of the Roman and Greek

peoples—the two peoples which, together with the Hebrew, have most vitally affected modern civilization—is derived largely through the college. Without the college, scholarship would be bereft of its most useful agency, and its most healthful condition. Our condition has been akin to that of Germany, where Kant, Fichte, Schelling, Hegel, Schleiermacher, Ranke were university professors, and unlike that of England, where Darwin, Wallace, Spencer, Grote, the two Mills, Bentham, Ricardo had no formal university association. The American scholar has usually, though by no means always, been an officer in the American college. The college library has been his workshop, the college laboratory his tool, the college desk his pulpit, and in the name and prestige of the college he has found a presumption in his own behalf as a scholar. Should one choose to mention the ten Americans who have contributed most largely to the progress of natural and physical science, eight of the ten would be found enrolled in the faculties of our colleges. The greatest American linguists, as well as the greatest American mathematicians, our greatest philosophers and psychologists, and several

of our ablest economists and historians, are found as teachers in our colleges.

The American college has possibly done more in laying foundations for culture than in directly cherishing culture; for the American college has been so deeply concerned with the primary disciplines, that it has found little opportunity for affording to its students means and methods of the deepest enrichment. But it has given impulses; it has awakened aspirations; it has put before the student standards of taste; it has trained intellectual judgment; it has given to the great law of right a new value by showing the breadth of its application and the height of its reach; it has sought to create a refinement which is purchased neither by the elimination of robustness nor by the introduction of over-critical æstheticism; it has tried to train each man to love the best in literature, in music, in painting, in nature, in humanity; and it has striven constantly to cause the student to distinguish in everything, not simply the good from the bad, but, what is far more difficult, the better from the best.

This service of the American college in training men to live intellectual lives is of the

greatest worth to this country and to this age. For, in this age and country of materialism, the college should minister to the things of the mind. The college should not directly attempt to stem the tide of materialism. The attempt would be useless. But the college may worthily hope to transmute the capacity for this material enthusiasm, even if not the enthusiasm itself, into a capacity for holding and delighting in relations which are eternal, spiritual, and ethical.

When one attempts to estimate the value of the college as a means of promoting literature, the task is, at first thought, a difficult one. For in any list of the writers of any one time and place, the number of college-trained men would not be found to exceed the number of those who have not received a college training; but when one passes out into the relations of a century and of a whole nation, the difficulty vanishes. It seems, of course, a rule of thumb to judge of the worth of the contribution which the college makes to literature through the number of authors it has trained, or even through the greatness of these authors. But the method has value. Of course, in

general, the great worth of the contribution which the college makes to literature is to be measured by the extent to which the college maintains literary standards, inspires literary motives, and by the degree in which it cherishes literary atmospheres and conditions. And it may at once be said that the large number of the great authors of the country are college-bred. The inference is inevitable that the college has had a large share in the creation of literature. Of the five or six men who are regarded by common suffrage as the greatest poets of America, four out of the five, or five out of the six, are college-trained. Those five men whom no one, also, would hesitate to call the greatest historians of America, are also college-trained. It is significant, too, that they are the sons of one mother. The first romancer, Hawthorne, and the first essayist, Emerson, are the sons of New England colleges. The great writers upon philosophical, ethical, and theological subjects represent with hardly an exception an academic training. In the large relations of time, it is the author of college training and enlargement who is recognized as the ablest and best.

It is almost natural for us to expect that the makers of a nation's literature shall be bred in the colleges of that nation. For the maker of a nation's literature needs above all else an aquaintance with literature already made. To promote an acquaintance with literature already made is one of the supreme purposes of the college. Has not the boy for three years or more before entering college devoted at least a half of his time to Latin and Greek, to either French or German, and to English? Has not a large share of the first years of the college course been devoted to reading the great books of those literatures which have profoundly affected modern life? Such reading, too, is done under the guidance of masters. Therefore one expects that the worthy authors shall have been worthily trained. A popular English writer—Dean Farrar,—making a catalogue of the English authors of the present generation, names the following: Tennyson, Browning, Matthew Arnold, George Eliot, Maurice, Kingsley, Bishop Lightfoot, Dean Stanley, F. W. Robertson, Dickens, Thackeray, Lord Macaulay, Thomas Carlyle, Lord Houghton, Clough, Sir Arthur Helps, Ruskin, Froude, Cardinal Newman, Darwin,

Huxley, and Tyndall. Of this list, omitting George Eliot, all but two have been trained at the universities. The same writer, naming the great authors of the generation in America, mentions Bancroft, Parkman, Longfellow, Emerson, Lowell, Whittier, and Holmes ; all of whom, with the exception of Whittier, are graduates. If American literature has not been made in the college, the college has certainly helped to make the makers themselves of the literature ; and it is to be ever borne in mind that for many years, while Longfellow, Lowell, and Holmes were adding to the treasures of American literature, they were teachers in an American university.

America has made great contributions to the higher civilization of the world, but these contributions have usually been indirect. But she has made none more valuable, and none more direct, than are found in the missionary movements of the Christian Church. These movements have been genuine and large endeavors for the establishing of a high type of civilization in countries not so richly blessed as our own. They represent the elements of the finest civilization. They include the teaching of the principles and the example of the

monogamous family, the worship of one God, the institution of schools and colleges, the creation of a written language, and, to some extent, of a literature. Missionaries have reduced to writing some seventy languages, twenty-six of which are to be put to the credit of an American missionary society. In all these languages, a literature is either beginning, or is already somewhat advanced. Such labors represent linguistic and literary triumphs of a rare and exceedingly high order. And at once it is to be said that these missionaries, who have been the bearers of civilization to South Sea Islanders and to degraded peoples in all parts of the globe, have, with few exceptions, found their most valuable training for this great service in the American college. It has been, and is, the policy of the foreign missionary boards to send to the lowest people the best-trained college man or woman.

One of the principal officers of the oldest foreign missionary society in the United States, the American Board, writes me saying:

"On our theory of missions, we are confident that our missionaries, with rare exceptions, must have a college education. Even more than the average minister at

home does the missionary need such training, for he must master at least one new language, and he must be capable of entering into the life and thought of another people : he must be a translator of the Bible and of other Christian literature. He must be a teacher as well as preacher, training others for the ministry. We should not want a professor in a theological seminary in the United States to lack a college training, and a very large proportion of our missionaries do work that is precisely similar to that of a professor of theology. Aside from special training, the missionary should be a man of culture, capable of standing, as he very likely may be called to stand, before kings."

In fact it is within the bounds of simple truth to say that the American college has rendered a richer service to the highest civilization of the entire world in preparing men for moral and religious work in foreign countries than all other American agencies and conditions have rendered. The American college represents the greatest and most direct work which America has done for the world. The American college of poverty, of meagre equipment, of few teachers, as well as the mighty university of prestige, of eminence, of wealth, of vast numbers, has had a share in this magnificent service.

III.

ITS INFLUENCE OVER AND THROUGH INDIVIDUALS.

THE causes and the conditions that unite to form the character of a man are so many and so diverse that he is a bold prophet and judge who should attempt to assess each of them at its proper value. Even for one's self it is hard to know to what extent any element has entered into one's constitution, intellectual or ethical. Judgments of one's self labor under the same perils that judgments of other men labor under; and judgments respecting the worth of the elements of the careers of other men are beset by very serious perils.

Yet this is the very problem, the problem of the relation of causes and effects, in the realm

of intellectual and ethical character, which is constantly presenting itself to every one who is concerned with the higher relations of life. It is a problem which is with great urgency presented to the American college. What has the college done for its sons? Are these men abler in intellect, purer in heart, stronger in right choices, by reason of having spent four years in college? If they are abler, purer, stronger, to what extent has the college contributed to these gains? In particular, what elements of the college have made these additions to this increase of power? Seriously important, therefore, are these questions,—important to the college, important to the graduate, and important to life itself.

In order to make the least inadequate solutions of these problems,—for I recognize that the most adequate solutions would in many respects be unworthy,—I have adopted a simple and definite method. This method consists in gathering testimony from many men in respect to the worth of their college to themselves and to others. This testimony is gathered from the lips of the living, and from the record of those dead, from autobiog-

raphies and from biographies. The amount of evidence which I have thus collected is very great, much greater than it is possible to use in the present chapter. The evidence covers a long period. It is, too, not limited to the graduates of American colleges only. From the testimony which is thus received I believe that conclusions may be derived in respect to the value of certain specific advantages which the American college has given to American life. For the advantages which American life has received from the American college are primarily advantages received through the individuals which help to constitute that life.

It is the veriest commonplace to say that the value of the college is made up of many elements. To some men the value of the college is slight, to some great, to a few very great, and to a large number considerable. It is my opinion that the worth of the college may easily be divided into certain specific elements. Among them are these: the discipline of the regular studies; the inspiration of friendship; the enrichment of general reading; the culture of association with men of culture and of scholarly atmospheres; special private

reading ; literary societies. These six elements represent the chief forces of the college for doing good to its students. As I read the story of the lives of men, or as I talk with graduates themselves, with scarcely an exception, whatever of good the college had for any one of them was a good of one or of all of these six kinds.

It may at once be said that the value of the discipline of the pursuit of the regular studies and the value of the inspiration of friendships represent the two chief goods of the college. By far the largest number of men who since graduation have lived useful lives, acknowledge that these two elements were the chief agencies in their college course in contributing to the worth of their character or to the success of their career.

Yet it is often found that these two elements are not separated. For not a few men who confess that the college has been of great value to them are also found acknowledging that the power of personality arising from the college in living their lives has been as great as the value of formal studies. It is also occasionally found that several of these elements contribute

in apparently not unequal degrees in forming the whole constitution of the man. When one selects such leaders as, in the pulpit, Bushnell, Channing, and Brooks; or at the bar or on the bench, as Rufus Choate, Benjamin Robbins Curtis; or in statesmanship, as Jefferson and Webster; or in literature, as Longfellow; or in scholarship and teaching, as the elder Silliman, Sparks, Peirce, Felton, and Barnard; or, abroad, such men as Gladstone, Dean Church, Charles Kingsley, Hort, Westcott, and Maurice; one finds that it was the discipline of the studies of the college that largely contributed to the formation of character and to the equipment of mind and heart for great service. It was one hundred years ago that the greatest of all the preachers of the Unitarian Church graduated at Harvard, William Ellery Channing. As an undergraduate his chief liking was for historical and literary studies. That charming style which either in written or spoken discourse has captivated us for a century was largely formed in college, not only through the instruction, but also through self-drill and through the training given in the literary societies. Graduating at the time when the great

humanitarian movement was still in progress in France, he was especially moved with high hopes for the advancement of man. Locke, Berkeley, Reid, Priestley, and Price were authors that contributed to the making of his character. Price in particular, he says, saved him from the effects of Locke's philosophy, and caused him to write throughout his life such words as Love and Right with a capital. At this time, too, the interest in Shakespeare was reviving, and that author who has come by gradual degrees to be regarded as the great author of our literature had a large influence over Channing.[1] Horace Bushnell, too, was, through his career at Yale, transformed from an original, discriminating mind, self-possessed and self-reliant, but crude, into a mind no less original, discriminating, self-possessed and self-reliant, and having a high degree of culture. Throughout his college course he lived the life of a scholar,—retiring and independent.[2]

No man is better fitted to illustrate the effects of the college than Benjamin Robbins Curtis, a great lawyer and a great judge.

[1] W. H. Channing's *Memoir of W. E. Channing*, i. 53–72.

[2] Mary B. Cheney's *Life and Letters of Horace Bushnell*, 35–61.

Graduating from Harvard in that still most famous class of the oldest of our colleges, the class of 1829, he had in the college a career of which Mr. James Freeman Clarke says:

> "We also could see in our forensic discussions the future eminence of Benjamin Robbins Curtis, who afterwards became so prominent at the bar and on the bench of the United States Court. His papers, read aloud to the professor of philosophy, were so strictly logical, and such exhaustive discussions, that it seemed impossible to improve on them. His mind worked, even then, with the accuracy of a machine, doing its work perfectly. In after years his intelligence was enlarged by ampler knowledge, was capable of more extensive research and more sustained investigation; but it worked as accurately in those college papers as when it showed its irresistible force in arguments at the bar or opinions from the bench."[1]

The name of Curtis is far less conspicuous in American life than the name of Rufus Choate. Choate, too, found in the curriculum those aids necessary for the development of his great native ability. He acquired knowledge swiftly, his memory was strong, his power of concentration great; as a student he was diligent and faithful. The testimony of those who knew Choate at college is that from the beginning

[1] *Autobiography of James Freeman Clarke*, edited by Edward Everett Hale, 34–35.

of his career at Dartmouth he was easily the first of all his college mates,—at a time when among his mates were many who afterwards proved to be men of great power. The course of study that he pursued was thorough and systematic, and the example of high scholarship which he set did much to maintain the standards of the college.[1]

Similar words might be written about a man greater than Choate, who rendered noble service to humanity in several fields—Daniel Webster. He was a devoted student. It was the ancient classics which formed the chief source of the early delight of Webster the student. To the more critical elements of the languages he gave heed, but he also paid much attention to the formation of a good English style from his reading of Latin and Greek authors. Cicero was of the Roman authors his favorite. It is said—I do not know with how much truth—that he could repeat several of Cicero's orations from memory. He thus made the spirit of Roman eloquence his spirit and the life of the Roman people a part of his life. It is told, too, that he was

[1] S. G. Brown's *Life of Rufus Choate*, 11–21.

exceedingly fond of Virgil and that some of the finest passages of the Æneid were upon his tongue. Demosthenes, also, he read with great interest, but not with so full an appreciation as in the case of the Roman orator. English orations and American he read as far as he was able, and in particular the writings of Alexander Hamilton. As may be expected, philosophy, both intellectual and ethical, and public law, were studies that made deep impressions on his mind.[1]

Singular at once in contrast and in likeness is the career of Thomas Jefferson and that of Daniel Webster. Webster lacked a taste for mathematics; Jefferson had a love for mathematics, as well as for the classics. Webster was fond of ethics and metaphysics, which Jefferson in turn disliked. Webster, on the whole, preferred the Latin author to the Greek; Jefferson preferred the Greek to the Latin. Thucydides was chosen by the Virginian before Tacitus. A most thorough training for the time Jefferson received at William and Mary College; but it was in

[1] B. F. Tefft's *Life of Daniel Webster*, 51–79.
G. T. Curtis's *Life of Daniel Webster*, 24–26.

particular to the acquaintance and personal friendship of one of the teachers of William and Mary,—Professor Small,—that Jefferson owed more than to any other one. Of Professor Small it is said he "probably fixed the destinies of his life."[1]

There is probably no American author who received greater advantage from his college course than he who is the most popular of all American poets. An incident in Longfellow's college life is of value in indicating, in a way, the worth of the college training for himself, and also as being a determinative factor in his whole career. At an annual examination of his class the fine rendering by Longfellow of an ode of Horace attracted the notice of one of the examiners, Benjamin Orr, who was a trustee of the college and an eminent lawyer. At this very Commencement the professorship of Modern Languages was established at Bowdoin, and Orr proposed the name of Longfellow for the place. He referred to the translation which Longfellow had made into fine English of the ode of Horace as evidence of the fitness of the young student, soon to be-

[1] H. S. Randall's *Life of Thomas Jefferson*, 21–30.

come a graduate, for the place. It was in one of the last months of his Junior year at Bowdoin that Longfellow wrote to his father about Horace as follows:

"I forgot to tell you in my last that we were reading Horace. I admire it very much indeed, and, in fact, I have not met with so pleasant a study since the commencement of my college course. Moreover, it is extremely easy to read, which not a little contributes to the acquisition of a thorough knowledge of every line and every ode."[1]

A few months later he wrote to his father as follows:

"The fact is—and I will not disguise it in the least, for I think I ought not—the fact is, I most eagerly aspire after future eminence in literature; my whole soul burns most ardently for it, and every earthly thought centres in it. There may be something visionary in *this*, but I flatter myself that I have prudence enough to keep my enthusiasm from defeating its own object by too great haste. Surely, there never was a better opportunity offered for the exertion of literary talent in our own country than now is offered."[2]

Over those men who have made their contributions to the service of humanity through scholarship and through teaching, it would be

[1] *Life of Longfellow*, edited by Samuel Longfellow, 49.
[2] *Ibid.*, 53.

expected that the value of the pursuit of the regular college course would be the greatest of all formative forces. Among such men one might select many, but I content myself with choosing only a few. Among the few is one who is usually acknowledged to be the greatest of all American mathematicians,—Benjamin Peirce. In one sense Peirce was too great a man for the Harvard of 1825–1829. He went far beyond the curriculum; but that the curriculum had at least a formative influence as a condition, if not as an agency, is evident. His class-mate, James Freeman Clarke, relates that

> "the tutor never put any questions to Peirce, but having set him going, let him talk as long as he chose without interruption. It was shrewdly suspected," says Dr. Clarke, "that this was done from fear lest the respective *rôles* be reversed, and the examiner might become the examinee."[1]

If all the college graduates now living should be asked, "Who is the greatest teacher of the last half-century in the colleges of the United States?" I am sure that many would say Mark Hopkins. All those who should thus express their opinion would not be by any means grad-

[1] *James Freeman Clarke, Autobiography*, 34.

uates of the college in which Mark Hopkins did his great work. The influence of Williams College upon Mark Hopkins, a student, was not unlike that which belongs to the influence of the ordinary college upon the student of ability and faithfulness. A classmate of Mark Hopkins, Hon. Harvey Rice, of Cleveland, who at the time of his writing was the only surviving member of his class, and who has since died, says:

"He came into the class with the reputation of being a bright scholar, and continued to maintain that reputation. We soon became, I hardly know why, mutual friends. He seemed as remarkable for his modesty and unassuming manners as for his excellence in scholarship. He enjoyed the respect of his class, and was regarded by all who knew him as an exemplary young man.

"He was studious in his habits and scrupulous in the discharge of his duties, kind and obliging, and always ready to bestow favors. This he often did by way of aiding the inefficient of his class in acquiring their lessons, and in writing the essays required of them as class exercises. He was a deep thinker, and acknowledged to be the best literary writer in his class. He never indulged in sports, or frolics, so common among college students, but, in whatever he did or said, he always observed the proprieties of life. In matters of serious import he was considerate, and in his religious observances, reverent and sincere.

"Yet he appreciated humor and witticism, loved to hear and tell anecdotes, and enjoyed a hearty laugh. He was quick in his perceptions, logical in his conclusions, and could make a fine point and see a fine point without spectacles. In the recitation room he often put questions, arising out of our lessons, to the learned professor, which perplexed him, and then would answer the questions himself with becoming deference.

"In his course of reading, while in college, he manifested little or no relish for novels, but seemed to prefer standard authors in literature and science. He soon evinced a decided love for the study of metaphysics, and read all the books on that subject which he could find in the college library, and took great pleasure in discussing the different theories advanced by different authors." [1]

Upon that mind which is generally considered the greatest philosophical mind that has come into existence in America, Jonathan Edwards, it is probable that the college had small influence. He was too strong, and the college too weak. Of the relation of Yale College to him his latest biographer, Professor Allen, says:

"He was not quite thirteen when he entered Yale College, then in an inchoate condition, and not yet fixed in a permanent home. The course of instruction at this time must have been a broken and imperfect one. Such

[1] *Mark Hopkins*, by President Franklin Carter, 14–16.

as it was, Edwards followed it faithfully, now at New Haven and then at Wethersfield, whither a part of the students emigrated in consequence of some disturbance in which he seems to have shared. A letter to his father from the rector of the college speaks of his 'promising abilities and great advances in learning.' He was not quite seventeen when he graduated, taking with his degree the highest honors the institution could offer."[1]

The first part of the college life of Noah Porter was of little significance, but beginning with his Sophomore year he grew as a scholar and as a man continually. This growth was promoted by two leading influences: one of these lay in the literary society of which he had been a member up to this time in his course, but in which he had previously taken no particular interest. His quick perception soon overcame the boyish diffidence which had been a draw-back, and now, with increase of confidence in himself and growing ripeness of intellect, he rapidly became one of the best debaters. A second potent influence upon his intellectual and spiritual development was the literature of the time, and especially the writings of Coleridge, whose *Aids to Reflection* was published

[1] *Jonathan Edwards*, by Prof. A. V. G. Allen. American Religious Leaders Series, 4.

during his college life. It soon became the text-book of a little circle in which Porter was one of the most conspicuous. This work wrought in all the members of this circle an intellectual and spiritual revolution. His companions learned from it the art of thinking and of referring facts to principles; they were taught to look below the phenomena of the moment or of the age to the imperishable truths which give facts meaning and value. Porter, however, already possessed intellectual clearness, precision of statement, and accuracy of reasoning,—though these were quickened and broadened,—but from this course of reading he found what had been lacking: the awakening of his imaginative faculties. A classmate of Porter, Andrews, says:

> "I do not remember a more striking growth and transformation, intellectual and spiritual, than took place in him from the beginning of our Sophomore year. . . . The sprightly boy had developed into the strength of manhood." [1]

When one turns to Oxford and Cambridge one finds also the names of scores of scholars, clergymen, and statesmen over whom the stud-

[1] *Noah Porter. A Memorial by Friends*, 21.

ies have had a determinative influence. Gladstone, with his double-first class; Mansel, also with his double-first class in the classics and the mathematics; Dean Church winning honors which he did not expect to win; Kingsley with his idleness and honors,—loafing in the first years of his under-graduate course, but through industry at the close winning a first class in the classical tripos; Maurice, disliking the University system, but gathering through it and through its friendships large results: these and the examples of scores of other Englishmen might be cited as evidence for the proposition that the curriculum has a determinative effect upon character and career.

Most men, however, it is to be said, gather more from the inspiration of the personalities of the college than from the education afforded by the regular studies of the curriculum. Over such leaders in the various departments of life, in England and Scotland, as Scott and Carlyle, Darwin, Chalmers, and Byron, Duff and Keble, Macaulay and Ruskin, Newman and Charles Wordsworth, Stanley, Maxwell and Shelley; and, over such leaders on this side of the water as Garfield and Seward, Samuel

F. B. Morse and Silliman, it is the personality of the college which has had the greater influence. It was Dr. Brown, of St. Andrews, who awoke in Chalmers those intellectual powers from which Scotland for many years after derived the greatest advantage.[1] Byron, who left Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1808, received no advantage from the college, but he formed at Cambridge several strong friendships which, he says, became to him as "passions." That with Lord Clare was one of the earliest, and lasted as long as any, and he says: "I never hear the word Clare without a beating of the heart." Cambridge, as a University, had small or no influence over Byron. His career grew out of his natural capacities; and they were profoundly influenced by ardent friendships. Not unlike the career of Byron in certain respects is the career of Shelley. More of a scholar, indeed, than Byron, was Shelley; but it was the friendship of Hogg that was the chief element in Shelley's life at Oxford. Together Shelley and Hogg lived and worked at Oxford, together they wrote the pamphlet on *The Necessity of Atheism*, and

[1] J. C. Moffat's *Life of Thomas Chalmers*, 11-18.

together for the writing of this pamphlet were they expelled from Oxford. That Hogg and Shelley should have been mutually attracted by their very diversities is natural enough, but there were, on the other hand, sufficient points of contact between the man of the world, a Tory skeptic, and the Republican, a confirmed idealist, to explain their sympathy and regard. Without taking into account the moral qualities they shared in common,—their thirst for knowledge, their love of philosophic research and literary study, and a burning desire to write were sufficient cause to promote intimacy between two young men whose maturity of mind and uniqueness of life placed them apart from the common crowd of students. The first meeting of these two essentially different minds, mutually attractive by their very contrasts, was decisive. Hogg and Shelley could not thenceforth exist apart; they were called the inseparables.[1]

The first two years Coleridge spent at Cambridge were spent in hard work; for, on entering, he found friends, who gave him an inspiration that made him industrious. But

[1] Babbe's *Life of Shelley*, 71, 73, 76.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

when they left, there appears to have been no one to exert a steadying influence. From this time he paid little attention to the collegiate studies,—he became interested in philosophy, religion, and politics. So strong were these personal and scholastic influences, that, in company with Southey and several others, he planned to sail for America and establish there a "Pantisocracy," a state in which every one was "to enjoy his own religious and political opinions." Finally, he was led to a change in his religious opinions through Dr. Priestly and the personal influence of William Frend.[1]

Thomas Carlyle succeeded fairly well in his university studies. In mathematics only did he make special progress, and, as he himself says: "that I made progress in mathematics is perhaps due merely to the accident that Professor Leslie alone of my professors had some genius in his business, and awoke a certain enthusiasm in me." By instinct, poverty, or a happy accident he took less to rioting than to reading and thinking and therefore spent most of his time in the college library, from "the

[1] Brandl's *Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, 50–57.
Campbell's *Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, 22–41.

Chaos of which," to use his own words in *Sartor Resartus*, "I succeeded in fishing up more books than had been known to the keeper thereof." There was laid the foundation of a literary life, and there he learned to read in several languages. But it is apparent that the greatest influence flowing from his college days came from a little circle of eleven men of about his own age and conditions, clever lads, distinctly superior to the ordinary boys of their age and eager to learn. With these he seems to have lived more than with any others, and with them he held discussions on literature and science, and theology.[1]

It would be hard to find a character and career more unlike those of Carlyle than are the character and career of Charles Darwin; but there is a likeness in the formative power of personality. Like Carlyle, Darwin was at Edinburgh and from Edinburgh went to Cambridge; but both at Edinburgh and at Cambridge Darwin himself says that his time was quite wasted. He tried mathematics, but his progress was slow, and the study became

[1] Froude's *Thomas Carlyle, A History of the First Forty Years of his Life*, i. 21–34.

repugnant; in respect to the classics his gains were slight. He does, however, confess his indebtedness to Paley's books and acknowledges that they were to him of use in the education of his mind, although the advantage, he thinks, was not great. But at Edinburgh he became acquainted with several young men who were fond of natural science. He speaks also of a society which met for the reading and discussion of papers on natural science, and he believed that these meetings had a good effect in stimulating his zeal. But his friendship with Professor Henslow at Cambridge was perhaps the most important factor in influencing his career. Professor Henslow kept open house at least once every week, when undergraduates and some of the other members of the University used to meet. Darwin became well acquainted with Henslow, and during the latter part of his course took long walks with him on summer days. Darwin says that his knowledge of Botany, Entomology, Chemistry, Mineralogy, and Geology was great, and that he was accustomed to draw conclusions from long continued minute observation. It was Henslow who persuaded Darwin to begin the

study of Geology. Professor Sedgwick also had a strong influence over him.[1]

Into the undergraduate life of that great and unique character, John Henry Newman, two men entered with great power. They were Dr. Hawkins, the Provost of Oriel and the Vicar of St. Mary's, and Dr. Whately. Of Dr. Hawkins, Newman says:

"He was the first who taught me to weigh my words, and to be cautious in my statements. He led me to that mode of limiting and clearing my sense in discussion and in controversy, and of distinguishing between cognate ideas, and of obviating mistakes by anticipation, which to my surprise has been since considered, even in quarters friendly to me, to savor of the polemics of Rome. He is a man of most exact mind himself, and he used to snub me severely, on reading, as he was kind enough to do, the first Sermons that I wrote, and other compositions which I was engaged upon."[2]

Of him who was afterwards known as Archbishop Whately, Newman writes:

"I owe him a great deal. He was a man of generous and warm heart. He was particularly loyal to his friends, and to use the common phrase, 'all his geese were swans.' While I was still awkward and timid in

[1] F. Darwin's *Life and Letters of Charles Darwin*, 32–48.

[2] *Apologia Pro Vita Sua*, by John Henry Newman. Fifth edition, New York, 59–60.

1822, he took me by the hand, and acted the part to me of a gentle and encouraging instructor. He, emphatically, opened my mind, and taught me to think and to use my reason." [1]

Again he says:

"During the first years of my residence at Oriel, though proud of my college, I was not at home there. I was very much alone, and used often to take my daily walk by myself. I recollect once meeting Dr. Copleston, then Provost, with one of the Fellows. He turned around, and with the kind courteousness which sat so well on him, made me a bow and said, 'Nunquam minus solus, quam cum solus.' At that time indeed (from 1823) I had the intimacy of my dear and true friend Dr. Pusey, and could not fail to admire and revere a soul so devoted to the cause of religion, so full of good works, so faithful in his affections; but he left residence when I was getting to know him well. As to Dr. Whately himself, he was too much my superior to allow of my being at my ease with him; and to no one at Oxford at this time did I open my heart fully and familiarly. But things changed in 1826. At that time I became one of the Tutors of my College, and this gave me position; besides, I had written one or two Essays, which had been well received. I began to be known. I preached my first University Sermon. Next year I was one of the Public Examiners for the B.A. degree. It was to me like the feeling of spring weather after winter; and, if I may so speak, I came out of my shell; I remained out of it till 1841." [2]

[1] *Ibid.*, 62.

[2] *Ibid.*, 66.

During his course at St. John's College, Cambridge, Henry Martyn was among the leaders of his class in scholarship, but it was not in this respect that college left a lasting impression upon his character. During his first term a friend, whom he refers to as K——, kept him from idleness and turned his mind to hard work. Martyn was by no means religiously inclined, and this friend tried to get him to undertake a course of reading "that would be for the glory of God." During his vacations his sister frequently addressed him on the subject of religion, and, when the sudden death of his father nearly rent his heart, she renewed these addresses; K——, too, advised him to make this time an occasion for serious reflection. He began to read the Bible,—in accordance with a promise made to his sister,—beginning with the Book of Acts, as "being the most amusing" and at the same time read Doddridge's "Rise and Progress." At length in his Junior year he wrote to his sister assuring her that she had kept him in the right way and announced to her his complete conversion. The persistent friendship of K—— and his sister's love had changed his life.[1]

[1] Sargent's *Memoir of Henry Martyn*, 13–21.

Professor J. Clerk Maxwell illustrates the value in forming a career both of personality and of scholarship. He, too, was a student both at Edinburgh and Cambridge. Though but sixteen when he entered the class in logic, he worked hard, and from this class together with the one in metaphysics the next year, he received many lasting impressions. His boundless curiosity was fed by Sir William Hamilton's inexhaustible learning. From Hamilton he received an impulse for study which never lost its effect. Sir William in turn took a personal interest in his pupil who happened to be the nephew of an old friend of his, affording, perhaps, the most striking example of the effect produced by him on powerful young minds. It was impossible that young Maxwell should listen to this speculative philosopher, without eagerly working out each problem for himself. He, himself, combined scholarship with a charming personality, for he had hosts of friends whom he drew to himself by a "childlike simplicity of trust" and, possibly, by his naturally social spirit.[1]

There is probably no man who ever offered

[1] Campbell and Garnett's *Life of J. Clerk Maxwell*, 105-176.

testimonials of fitness for a scholastic position signed by so many who afterwards came to occupy conspicuous positions as Bishop Charles Wordsworth. The list of those men with whom he was intimate at Oxford covers a whole page of his annals, and the list of those men whose recommendation he bore for a Mastership at Winchester, included thirty-one persons, among whom were: one who became Archbishop of Canterbury; ten who became Bishops; eleven who became Deans; one a Roman Catholic Archbishop and Cardinal; one Prime Minister; two Governor-Generals of India; four Cabinet Ministers; and one Lord Chancellor.[1] It is evident therefore that personality had a larger influence in forming the character of Charles Wordsworth than scholarship although, of course, his scholarship was first-rate. I may say here, that there was one regret that Bishop Wordsworth expressed which is worthy of being noted. He says:

"I have always regretted that I did not make more use of the 'Union'—our Debating Society—as an instrument of education. I was elected a member in my second term, and I put down a question for discussion, 'Was

[1] *Annals of my Early Life*, 1806-1846, by Charles Wordsworth, D.D. Second Edition, London, 1891, 171.

the dissolution of monasteries by Henry VIII. justifiable?' which was chosen, and was to come on after the Easter vacation. My principal opponent was Wrangham of Brasenose, the clever son of Archdeacon Wrangham, and a double-first-class man. I believe I succeeded fairly well; Herman Merivale, I remember, told me I had given signs of promise; but I never spoke again, except on one or two occasions about matters of business."[1]

Of the influences that entered into the character of Sir Walter Scott during his undergraduate career, the personal were more valuable than any other. He went to the university without preparation in Greek, and, through being far inferior to his fellow-students, he conceived a contempt for the language. He also forswore Latin for no other reason, he says, than that it was akin to Greek! Mathematics he began with all the "ardor of novelty" but the tutor was old, and the class small, and his ardor soon vanished. "To sum up my academic studies," he writes, "I attended the class in history . . . . and, so far as I remember, no others except those of civil and municipal law." As far as scholarship went he received only a "superficial smattering," but in college he became intimate with John Irving,

[1] *Ibid.*, 48.

with whom every Saturday and more frequently during certain vacations, he used to retire to Salisbury Crags with three or four books from the library which they read together. Their special favorites were romances of knight-errantry. Irving remarks that, notwithstanding the vast number that they read in this way, Scott would remember whole pages having particular interest, and could repeat them weeks after the reading. Soon they began to invent and recite to each other adventures of knights-errant. Later their passion for romance led them to learn Italian together. In this friendship lay a part of the foundation of Scott's future greatness.[1]

It has long seemed to me that Macaulay ought to have gone to Oxford rather than Cambridge. He should have gone to the university where the classics were more at home, and the sciences and mathematics less at home, than they were at Cambridge. A greater study of the classics would have proved more valuable than the small study of the sciences. To be sure we can say that Macaulay needed

[1] Lockhart's *Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott*, 31-33, 95-103.

a mathematical and scientific training, and if he had been born fifty years later than he was, he would probably have been obliged to receive it, and, receiving it, he would have become a more careful historian. But great as was the effect of the studies of Cambridge upon Macaulay, it was a Cambridge society which left the most conspicuous marks upon his mind. Frank, genial, with a passion for friendships and for conversation, he shone the brightest in the Union Debating Society. His friends made him. He went to Cambridge a Tory; he left Cambridge a Whig because of the influence of Charles Austin.[1]

Although Mr. Ruskin was known throughout his early years as "A graduate of Oxford," yet Oxford had apparently a very slight influence upon him. He wrote bad Latin; in Greek he was deficient; his divinity, philsophy, and mathematics were of the sort to give him a double-fourth; but he owed more, as he owed much, to Osborne Gordon and to Harding who were his teachers and his masters.[2]

Dean Stanley, too, received large good

[1] J. C. Morison's, *Thomas B. Macaulay*, 7–12.

[2] Collingwood's *The Life and Work of John Ruskin*, 92–120.

through the scholarship of Balliol College, Oxford, but larger advantages he received through the inspirations of personal friendship. It is probable that the best good that came into the life of Stanley came into it before he went to Oxford, as every one knows who has read the life of the great Rugby master. But of his life, both at Rugby and at Oxford, the words that Stanley spoke at Baltimore, in 1878, may be true :

> "The lapse of years has only served to deepen in me the conviction that no gift can be more valuable than the recollection and the inspiration of a great character working on our own. I hope that you may all experience this at some time of your life, as I have done." [1]

In the life of one who was both a foreigner and an American, Louis Agassiz, the combined advantages of scholarship and of friendship are illustrated.

In his nineteenth year, in 1826, he went to Heidelberg University, having already spent two years at Zürich. "There he made acquaintances which influenced him as much as he could be influenced for the rest of his life His studies took a more decided direction toward natural history, under the leadership of Professors Tiede-

[1] *Life and Correspondence of Arthur Penrhyn Stanley*, by R. E. Prothero, 140.

mann, Leuckart, Bischoff, and H. G. Bronn. While attending the lectures of these men Agassiz became acquainted with Alexander Braun and Karl Schimper, two very brilliant botanical students; and they very soon became congenial and inseparable companions, not only during their courses at Heidelberg and afterwards at Munich, but even during the first decade after leaving the universities. The vacations Agassiz passed at the home of Braun, in Carlsruhe, and together they rambled through the forests and fields, ransacking every corner where plants or animals were to be found. In the house they had special rooms devoted to dissections, true laboratories; here they brought their specimens, and for hours together discussed and theorized on all kinds of natural history subjects."[1]

In 1828, these friends went together to Munich.

"He was there a most happy and successful young man, using all the scientific resources existing in that large and progressive city; drawing round him comrades of the University, and even professors; and receiving visits from naturalists of renown, including the great anatomist, Meckel. . . . Agassiz was the most prominent among the students. His acquaintance was courted by all. He was especially considered with much pride by the Swiss students, and was welcome both in the rooms and yards of the University, and at the students' clubs . . . and fencing rooms."[2]

[1] *Life, Letters, and Works of Louis Agassiz*, by Jules Marcou, i. 16–17, abridged.

[2] *Ibid.*, 25.

Cuvier was the only man who exerted a scientific and personal influence over Agassiz; from him, and from him alone, Agassiz would accept advice and be guided in his work. He recognized in him his master, and the young charmer of Switzerland found in him another more powerful than himself, and especially more practical in his life and work. At first the formal politeness of Cuvier chilled him, and he says: "I would gladly go away were I not held fast by the wealth of material of which I can avail myself for instruction."[1] But this first impression soon passed away, and an unbounded admiration replaced it.

The late President Robinson of Brown University says of his college life:

"The most profitable portion of my college life was its last year, under the instruction of President Wayland. He was then in the ripe fulness of his powers. His specialty as a teacher was moral science, though he also taught political economy. But the latter interested him only theoretically; the former, practically and intensely. His strong sense of justice and his profound love of truth made him a most impressive teacher of ethics,—the most impressive I have ever known; and his keen sense of humor, his quick wit, his appreciation

[1] *Ibid.*, 43.

of wit in others, always made his recitation room a very lively place. He was no metaphysician ; his moral science, even in its distinctively theoretic portions, was more practical than metaphysical, no part of it resting on any metaphysical system, avowed or implied. When I was his pupil, mental philosophy, even on its psychological side, had received from him only casual attention. His treatise on 'Intellectual Philosophy,' was written after I had passed from under him, and years after his views of moral science had become inflexibly fixed. Nor was he widely read in the science of ethics. Allusions in his lecture-room to authors whose views differed from his own were extremely rare. He had thought out his ethical principles for himself, and his conclusions were deep and strong, and rooted in the very depths of his being. Above all men whom I ever knew, he was himself the embodiment of what he taught. Clear and analytic in his own thinking, he insisted on analyzed and logical thought in his pupils. Possessed of a stature and a muscular development and a physiognomy that would have made him an admirable model for a Jupiter Tonans, and animated by a spirit that lifted him above everything selfish and mean, he succeeded beyond every other college president of his time, I suspect, in impressing himself and his sentiments on all who came under his instruction." [1]

The greatest influence of Yale College upon the elder Silliman was the personality of the

[1] *Autobiography of Ezekiel Gilman Robinson*, edited by E. H. Johnson, 16–17.

elder President Dwight, who came to the college during Silliman's senior year. Up to this time he had attained a respectable rank in his classes, and was equally able in all departments of college work. But President Dwight's vigorous and animated discussions in the lecture-room and pulpit opened to his admiring pupil a new world of thought. Of recitations conducted by him, Silliman says in his journal, in October of his senior year:

> "Our recitations are now becoming very interesting, by the useful and entertaining instruction which is communicated in them by the President. He is truly a great man, and it is very rare that so many excellent natural and acquired endowments are to be found in one person. When I hear him speak, it makes me feel like a very insignificant being, and almost prompts me to despair; but I am reëncouraged when I reflect that he was once as ignorant as myself, and that learning is only to be acquired by long and assiduous application." [1]

Personal influences are the most striking in the character and career of Samuel F. B. Morse, and these influences came from three men in succession. Like Benjamin Silliman, he fell under the magnetic power of President Dwight. This great man was an inspiration

[1] *Benjamin Silliman*, by Fisher, i., 32.

to young Morse in the class-room, where he taught inductive philosophy, but his influence was still greater through the intimate and confidential relations which afterwards existed between them when Morse became the President's amanuensis. The inspirations received from President Dwight prepared his mind to receive and utilize the impressions which he got under the instruction of Professor Jeremiah Day. The study of electricity and physics under Day produced a great influence upon him personally, and in subsequent years led to applications of the principles of physics of priceless worth. But there was a third man in Yale College to whom Morse was indebted for the influences which led to his great invention. That man was Benjamin Silliman himself, who long held the front rank among men of science. Silliman was at once his teacher and friend. Morse's letters at the time speak frequently of his interest in chemistry and of regard for his instructor in that branch.[1]

College life and influences altered the whole career of Henry Ward Beecher. When a boy he had decided to be a sailor. His father

[1] Prime's *Life of Samuel F. B. Morse*, 16–22.

said: "Of course you do not want to be a common sailor?" and Henry replied: "No, sir, I want to be a midshipman and after that a commodore." His father told him that in that case he must study navigation and mathematics. Accordingly he went to Amherst where new ambitions were awakened. His instructor in mathematics was Mr. Fitzgerald, whose manly ways captivated him and to whom,—as he himself has said,—he owed his habit of becoming well grounded in facts for the formation of opinions, and his power of sustaining, freely and good-naturedly, his position in the face of opposition. He followed his master's dictum: "You must not only know, but you must know that you know."[1]

The college life, and, of course, the whole life of Prescott, the historian, was altered by the injury to his sight incurred while he was a student. Of his days at Cambridge, George Ticknor says:

"At the time when William thus gayly entered upon his collegiate career, he had, thanks to the excellent training he had received from Dr. Gardiner, a good taste formed and forming in English literature, and he probably knew

[1] Howard's *Henry Ward Beecher*, 27–33.

more of Latin and Greek—not of Latin and Greek literature, but of the languages of Greece and Rome—than most of those who entered college with him knew when they were graduated. But, on the other hand, he had no liking for mathematics, and never acquired any ; nor did he ever like metaphysical discussions and speculations. His position in his class was, of course, determined by these circumstances, and he was willing that it should be. But he did not like absolutely to fail of a respectable rank. It would not have been becoming the character of a cultivated gentleman, to which at that time he more earnestly aspired than to any other ; nor would it have satisfied the just expectations of his family, which always had much influence with him. It was difficult for him, however, to make the efforts and the sacrifices indispensable to give him the position of a real scholar. He adopted, indeed, rules for the hours, and even the minutes, that he would devote to each particular study ; but he was so careful never to exceed them, that it was plain his heart was not in the matter, and that he could not reasonably hope to succeed by such enforced and mechanical arrangements. Still, he had already a strong will concealed under a gay and light-hearted exterior. This saved him from many dangers. He was always able to stop short of what he deemed flagrant excesses, and to keep within the limits, though rather loose ones, which he had prescribed to himself. His standard for the character of a gentleman varied, no doubt, at this period, and sometimes was not so high on the score of morals as it should have been : but he always acted up to it, and never passed the world's line of honor, or exposed himself to academical censures by passing the less flexible line

drawn by college rules. He was, however, willing to run very near to both of them."[1]

And also Mr. Ticknor says:

"He received, in the latter part of his college career, some of the customary honors of successful scholarship, and at its close a Latin poem was assigned to him as his exercise for Commencement.

"No honor, however, that he received at college, was valued so much by him, or had been so much an object of his ambition, as his admission to the Society of the Phi Beta Kappa which was composed, in its theory and pretensions, and generally in its practices, of a moderate number of the best scholars in the two upper classes. As the selection was made by the undergraduates themselves, and as a single black-ball excluded the candidate, it was a real distinction; and Prescott always liked to stand well with his fellows, later in life no less than in his youth. From his own experience, therefore, he regarded this old and peculiar society with great favor, and desired at all periods to maintain its privileges and influence in the University."[2]

Scores of men now living, in speaking of their college careers, have assessed the personality of teachers and students in the formation of character and in the determination of a career as of supreme value. The president of one of our great universities says:

[1] *Life of William Hickling Prescott*, by George Ticknor, 15–16.
[2] *Ibid.* 23–24.

"The moral impulse to manly and laborious lives was probably the best thing we got from college."

It can not, also, be denied that the college presents opportunities for the acquiring of habits of dignified leisure. An Oxford Don says:

> "It is a great thing to be able to loaf well: it softens the manners and does not allow them to be fierce; and there is no place for it like the streams and gardens of an ancient University."[1]

The words of a "Mere Don" are not to be interpreted too seriously. But if the college is a good place to learn to work hard, it is also a good place to learn how to rest and to recreate oneself well.

If the American college has been the mother of men, rather than the nurse of scholarship, it has, in making men and in conveying instruction, done a work of tremendous significance. This work is partially ethical, partially religious, partially scholastic. It is a work which may be said to be embodied in the general broadening, deepening, and enriching of character. A well-known editor writes to me:

[1] *Aspects of Modern Oxford*, by a Mere Don, 133.

"As I look back to it now, the only thing that I remember with very great definiteness, and am especially grateful for, is the general broadening influence which followed the finding out of what men had done in the world in one department of learning after another. So that by the time I had finished my college course I had conceived a more or less well proportioned idea of the great things the human race has achieved, and I had my curiosity aroused to learn something. Unless my memory is treacherous, I can truthfully say that I knew nothing of very much value when my college course was finished; nothing except that I had this sort of chart of the world's great work."

But the college has done a very special work in developing character along ethical and religious lines. Another college president remarks: "The college enlarged the range of my sympathies and my views of life, God, man, and duty, turning, as I trust, my pietism into piety." So also says Dr. Henry M. Field, in speaking of Albert Hopkins: "In leading us among the stars he led us to the Creator and Ruler of all."

It is the testimony of most college graduates that, of the two elements which represent so large a part of the college,—instruction and personality,—personality is by far of superior importance. When a distinguished college

president says: "The best thing a college, as a rule, does for a young man, is to bring him into contact and under the inspiration of other men of a higher type than he is otherwise likely to meet;" and when a great preacher says: "While books can teach, personality only can educate;" and when an able mathematician says: "The greatest service to me was in bringing me into contact with educated men and offering me the appliances necessary to prosecute my studies;" and when Dr. Field says: "The statements of President Hopkins were as goads in the hands of a master to prick up sluggish minds;" or a great editor: "The best thing which Williams College did for me was to bring me within the scope of Dr. Mark Hopkins's inspirational teaching," they are simply declaring that personality is the greatest power of college, as it is of all, life. This impression is still further emphasized by the words of a graduate of Amherst:

"I can say, without an instant's hesitation, that the one influence in my college life to which I owed more than to anything else, was the personal pressure upon me of Professor Julius H. Seelye, afterwards President Seelye, and I think there are a good many of my college-mates who would make the same statement. I do not

mean to underrate the work done in the class-room in a purely professional capacity."

The remark is often made, that students are educated as much by each other as by their professors. The influence of students over each other at Yale is especially strong. I recently asked an officer of Yale College which had the stronger influence over the students, —the students or the professors. Prompt was the answer: "The students." Whether the answer was a true or a false interpretation I do not know. Whether this ought to be the fact may be open to question. But it is clear that the attrition of different minds of the same general character upon each other is of great value. It is certainly significant that a character so strong and so individual as that of Dr. Richard Salter Storrs found its best influence in these common relations. For Dr. Storrs writes:

"I think the best thing I found in college life was the intimate contact with fine minds of class-mates. I shall never cease to be grateful for the educating influence thus received."

Another graduate of Amherst says:

"The best thing that I received in college was the encouragement and help that came from good fellowships. I was brought into relations with other serious and earnest young men who had impulses before them to do good, and who were eager for the acquisition of what would help them. Those associations were a support. They helped me to study in literary work and elsewhere to good purpose. I enjoyed very much my membership in college societies. By association with certain particular friends I could carry on certain scientific studies better than I could alone. I could go about the country botanizing and geologizing, and I made myself a part of the great sodality of letters which can not be overvalued. . . . Civilization is a product, not of isolation, but of the crowding of population, and the civilizing influences of the humanities is in good part due to the fellowships in which it is cultivated."

The influence of students is constantly recognized in respect to its less favorable aspects. But it is not so often recognized in respect to its higher and nobler relations. It is never to be forgotten that humanity educates humanity, and personality disciplines personality.

Outside of the value of the curriculum and the value of friendships, one of the chief values of the college course as contributing to the worth of life lies in the general reading for which it gives an opportunity. Many of those who have found great worth in the college

course through the element of friendship, have also acknowledged that in general reading they received large advantages. This was the fact with Carlyle and De Quincey, with Shelley and Chalmers, with Webster and Scott. It is probable, also, that this was the chief value of the course to such men as Emerson, Hawthorne, Lowell, and Sumner.

Of De Quincey's Oxford life but little is known. During this period he was quiet and studious, devoting himself principally to the society of a German named Schwartzburg, from whom he learned Hebrew, and acquired an intimate acquaintance with German literature. But of greater importance was the systematic attention which he began to bestow on English literature in the last years of his course. By his reading of English poets and prose writers he was deeply affected. Though fond of the older writers, he was particularly enthusiastic over the writers of his own time. At Oxford De Quincey began the use of opium to relieve himself from the effects of neuralgia, but he was not yet, nor for some years to come was he to be, a slave to opium. In a fit of shyness, or through some personal

offence, he never presented himself for his final examination for his degree, and at last suddenly disappeared from Oxford.

Of the college course of Ralph Waldo Emerson, his son, Dr. Edward W. Emerson, writes me as follows:

"I can not answer your question fully as to what influence my father believed his college life had upon him. His instinct was strong in favor of the college course for all serious boys, and he thought it worth much sacrifice. I cared so little for college, as I found it, and would so gladly have left it any day to go into the army, that his desire that I should stay (apart from the army question) surprised me, for he did not highly prize the men and the methods of Harvard at that time. Indeed, I know that he said shortly before that time, to a youth consulting him on this subject, that there were many better chances than college; an exploring expedition, for instance, or the working under any great master, yet for most boys the college offered, on the whole, the best chance for culture. What I believe he thought of as valuable in the college was just what he had found there; the cloistered life, with the freest access to books, no outside exacting duties, and the chance to meet a very few good or strong men among the professors or the students. The social advantages, also, to a shy youth unused to society and awkward, I know he prized, and he often referred to the fine manners and speech of some of the students, Southerners and others, as interesting and valuable to the more rustic youth."

Hawthorne, too, was a character who naturally would be little influenced by the studies or the personal associations of college life. His countenance was winning and his manner gentle; he would have won great popularity, but, as one of his classmates says, "he dwelt in obscurest recesses of thought which his most intimate friends were not permitted to penetrate." Jonathan Cilley was probably his most intimate friend in that great class of 1825 at Bowdoin, and yet Cilley says: "I loved Hawthorne, I admired him, and yet I did not know him. He lived in an isolated world of thought and imagination which he never permitted me to enter." His son says of him:

"Nathaniel Hawthorne's academic career shows him to have been independent, self-contained, and disposed to follow his own humor and judgment, without undue reference to the desires or regulations of the college faculty. His friends were men who afterwards attained a more or less distinguished position in the world,—Franklin Pierce, Horatio Bridge, and Longfellow. He evinced no unnatural and feverish thirst for college honors, and never troubled himself to sit up all night studying, with a wet towel round his head and a cup of coffee at his elbow; but neither did he see fit to go to the other extreme. He assimilated the knowledge that he cared for with extreme ease, and took just enough

of the rest to get along with; in this respect, as in most others, displaying a delectable maturity of judgment and imperturbable common-sense. He perceived that the value of college to a man—or, at any rate, to him—was not so much in the special things that were taught as in the general acquaintance it brought about with the various branches of learning; and still more, in the enlargement which it incidentally gives to one's understanding of foreign things and persons. At no time during his residence at Bowdoin did he have the reputation of being a recluse, or exclusive; it was his purpose and practice to be like his fellows, and (barring certain private and temperamental reservations) to do as they did. He steered equally clear of the Scylla of prigdom, and the Charybdis of recklessness; in a word, he had the mental and moral strength to be precisely his natural and unforced self. Within certain limits he was facile, easy-going, convivial; but beyond those limits he was no more to be moved than the Rock of Gibraltar or the North Pole. He played cards, had 'wines' in his room, and went off fishing and shooting with Bridge when the faculty thought he was at his books; but he maintained without effort his place in the recitation-room, and never defrauded the college government of any duty which he thought they had a right to claim from him. His personal influence over his college friends was great; and he never abused it or employed it for unworthy ends."[1]

The opportunity which Harvard opened to

[1] *Nathaniel Hawthorne and his Wife*, by Julian Hawthorne, i., 119–20.

Lowell for reading and for the general enrichment of culture represents the chief value of the college course to this great American. Mr. Norton says of him that he did not find the regular discipline of the required studies suited to his taste.[1] He neglected the required tasks, and often substituted for them something not only of more intrinsic worth, but in particular of more worth to himself. On account of his negligence he fell under the ban of college discipline and suffered suspension. The period of his suspension he spent at Concord.

The opportunity, too, which college gives for general reading and culture was of greater value to Charles Sumner than any other advantage which Harvard held forth. He utterly failed in mathematics ; he had no faculty for the sciences. This deficiency lowered his general standing ; and he therefore studied such text-books as he chose and neglected the rest. In the classics, however, he stood near or at the head of his class. He had no rival in his devotion to miscellaneous litera-

[1] *Letters of James Russell Lowell*, edited by Charles Eliot Norton, i., 26.

ture; when he left college no student in his class had read so widely. His memory both of thought and language was remarkable. He could, too, with ease imitate an author's style. His early conversation and letters, as his later, were full of quotations.[1]

The worth of the college through the opportunity which it gives for reading and for study in lines of the student's own choosing represents a great advantage. The college course is usually made with reference to the average man, but the average man never exists. Not infrequently the student is of the opinion that he is a better judge of what is of importance to himself than any one else, and he follows the determination of his own judgment. As has been indicated, the studies which Darwin chose for himself at Cambridge were of greater value than the studies which the university offered to him. The studies also which Goethe chose for himself at Strassburg were of greater value to him than the studies which his professors would have selected. Men so diverse as Edward Irving and Thackeray re-

[1] *Memoir and Letters of Charles Sumner*, by Edward L. Pierce, i., 46–48.

ceived greater advantage from their own selected reading than from the courses that their professors would have set for them.

Edward Irving was not a diligent scholar during his days at Edinburgh University. He read, however, a great deal, ranging from Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity* to *Arabian Nights*, and "sundry books with forgotten but suspicious titles." In his waist-coat pocket he carried about a miniature copy of *Ossian*, passages from which he read or recited in his walks in the country, or delivered "with sonorous elocution and vehement gesticulation" for the benefit of his companions. This is the first indication of his oratorical gifts, which were further developed by his participation in the college debating society, of which he was a member.[1]

But at the present time it is to be said that the curriculum is far less of the race-course, in which all members are disciplined, than it is a pathway which the student chooses for himself under the guidance of competent instructors. It is a mountain path which he climbs for himself. Therefore the occasion

[1] Mrs. Oliphant's *Life of Edward Irving*, 34–37.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

for the student of to-day choosing a certain course in college for himself, apart from the counsel of his official superiors, is very slight. It is a happy augury for the future of the American college, and so for the future of American life, that the studies which students pursue to-day have a most direct and vital relation to their whole career.

There is an element of influence in college life which was formerly of greater power than it now possesses. This element is the literary society. Not a few men confess their indebtedness to it. Edward Irving, William Ellery Channing, John H. Raymond the President of Vassar College, President Barnard of Columbia, each found a large element of their training in the literary society. Of President Raymond it is said:

At the beginning of his course he received an honor for scholarship and, feeling satisfied, he did not exert himself further, and dropped gradually, until he became thirteenth in his class. He then grew reckless in study, and also became generally disorderly,—so disorderly, in fact, that in his senior year he was dismissed. As he fell from regular college work, he devoted himself to general reading and became, as he says, " a boyish oracle on subjects of general literature and criticism." He wrote

much and wrote as well as he could, but his chosen arena was the literary society, debates in which commanded the strength he could command. He became deeply interested in oratory. He says: "It was my constant habit while in college to spend a part of the day several times each week in the civil and criminal courts, studying the style of debate and delivery in vogue among the lawyers. For a similar purpose, in part, I frequented the theatre, and became a sort of connoisseur in theatrical criticism. Shakespeare I studied with a laborious assiduity and genuine relish, and this I have never regretted. Such was the effect of my efforts that I overcame in a great measure a natural bashfulness, which I had supposed would always unfit me for public speaking, and my mind was entirely diverted from the study of medicine, which had been my first choice for a profession, and set on that of law."[1]

President Barnard also says of himself:

"As I look back upon it, no part of my training at Yale College seems to me to have been more beneficial than that which I derived from the practice of writing and speaking in the literary society to which I belonged. The general literary societies, open to students of all the classes, and numbering one or two hundred members each, were maintained at that time with great enthusiasm. I am told that they are now extinct at New Haven. They have been supplanted, I suppose, by the multiplicity of small secret societies which decorate themselves with Greek-letter titles, but which—if they are

[1] *Life of John H. Raymond*, 47–56.

literary at all, as they possibly are, though I doubt it—can never furnish the stimulus of a large audience. I can only regret the change. It seems to me that, with the loss of her literary societies, half the glory of Yale has departed from her. In the old Linonia Hall I spent many of the most profitable hours of my college life; and I heard debates there which for interest and brilliancy were equal to any at which I have since been privileged to be present in assemblies of much superior dignity. There were some men of my time who made no very serious struggle for grade scholarship, and yet would sometimes 'come out strong' in the society. For the sake of students of this class, who will always be more or less numerous in every college, I should esteem it a great advantage if the old societies could be resuscitated."[1]

As I have been reading the lives and studying the careers of hundreds of men to discover the effects of their college lives upon them, I find there are certain men who became great, upon whom the college had no, or at least, only a very small, effect. All those whom I name are no longer living. Possibly there are some living of whom the same might be said. But of the men over whom the college had a very small influence, I would name, Buchanan, Thomas H. Benton, John Randolph, John

[1] *Memoirs of Frederick A. P. Barnard*, by John Fulton, 36.

Jay, Timothy Pickering, George Ticknor, and Dr. O. W. Holmes. The historian of Spanish literature says of his life at Dartmouth:

"I had a good room, and led a very pleasant life, with good and respectable people, all more or less connected with the college; but I learnt very little. The instructors generally were not as good as my father had been, and I knew it; so I took no great interest in study. I remember liking to read Horace, and I enjoyed calculating the great eclipse of 1806, and making a projection of it, which turned out nearly right. This, however, with a tolerably good knowledge of the higher algebra, was all I ever acquired in mathematics, and it was soon forgotten.

"I was idle in college, and learnt very little; but I led a happy life, and ran into no wildness or excesses. Indeed, in that village life, there was small opportunity for such things, and those with whom I lived and associated, both in college and in the society of the place, were excellent people."[1]

The education of George Ticknor, I will not say was completed, but it was in a sense begun, in private tuition, taken after his college graduation, in Boston, and it was continued abroad. He was among that choice number of Americans who went to Göttingen in the first quarter of the present century.

[1] *Life, Letters, and Journals of George Ticknor*, eighth edition, i., 7.

James Buchanan graduated from Dickinson College in 1809, but of his college he seems to have had a poor opinion. For he writes:

"The college was in a wretched condition, and I have often regretted that I had not been sent to some other institution."[1]

In college he was a hard student, but full of mischief. At one time he was nearly suspended, but was finally allowed to remain under a promise to do better. This promise he kept, but be it said that at graduation he was a candidate for honors in scholarship, yet failed to get them on account of his previous disorderly conduct.

I can not believe that college life had much influence upon the character or career of Oliver Wendell Holmes. A year before he graduated he wrote to his friend Barnes as follows:

"To be sure I have altered a little, since I was at Andover. I wear my gills erect, and do not talk sentiment. I court my hair a little more carefully, and button my coat a little tighter; my treble has broken down into a bass, but I still have very little the look of manhood. I smoke most devoutly, and sing most unmusically, have written poetry for an Annual, and seen my literary bantlings swathed in green silk and reposing in the draw-

[1] Curtis' *Life of James Buchanan*, 4.

ing-room. I am totally undecided what to study; it will be law or physick, for I can not say that I think the trade of authorship quite adapted to this meridian."[1]

In December, 1828, he also wrote to Barnes:

"'What do I do?' I read a little, study a little, smoke a little, and eat a good deal! 'What do I think?' I think that's a deuced hard question. 'What have I been doing these three years?' Why, I have been growing a little in body, and I hope in mind; I have been learning a little of almost everything, and a good deal of some things."[2]

It is clear that Holmes did not come into his second intellectual birth in Cambridge. That experience he passed through in Paris, where he pursued his medical studies with great vigor, and laid the foundations not only for his work as a teacher, but also as an author.

If the college had small influence over these men the reason commonly given—that of youthfulness—is probably the correct one. They were too young to receive the advantages of a college training. I am sure that in general the lack of value of a college course for a boy

[1] *Life and Letters of Oliver Wendell Holmes*, by John T. Morse, Jr., i., 55.
[2] *Ibid.*, 59.

arises from youthfulness,—whether that youthfulness be measured by lack of years or by the lack of those virtues which constitute maturity. Even the pranks and the vices of the college course arise from this condition rather than from malevolence or depravity.

Through each or all of these methods or means which I have thus outlined and illustrated, the college has had a vital and lasting effect upon the characters and careers of hundreds and thousands of men. The influences thus exerted over individuals has, by direct and indirect methods, entered into the constitution of American society and American life.

American life has thus been made more worth the living. We lament that America is not more scholarly; but the greater part of the scholarship that America does possess is derived through the college and is fostered by the college; and no small share of the richest and holiest part of American life, personal character, has had its inspiration within college walls.

IV.

ITS INFLUENCE ILLUSTRATED IN THE THREE OLDEST COLLEGES.

HARVARD is two hundred and fifty years old; Yale two hundred; and Princeton one hundred and fifty. Harvard is pre-eminently a college of New England, Yale of the Western and Middle States, and Princeton of the Middle States and of the Southern. Harvard is a University, with its professional schools approaching in importance to the College; Yale is pre-eminently a college, with the professional schools, except its scientific and theological, comparatively insignificant; Princeton is pre-eminently a college notwithstanding its assumption of university functions. Harvard is undenominational,

although some would call it Unitarian ; Yale is as much Congregational as almost any college can be, although some would call it un-denominational ; Princeton is essentially Presbyterian, although its ecclesiastical relations with that body are not organic. Harvard is often called the Oxford of the New World, and Yale the Cambridge. Princeton pretty closely corresponds to a single one of the greater colleges of the English University.

These three colleges have had a greater influence, in their combined six hundred years of life, than any other three or possibly any other three times three colleges in the United States. The sphere and the agency of the influence of each of these colleges are manifold, covering every vocation and opportunity for the carrying on of the world's business. Yet the influence of Harvard through the literature which its graduates have created, the influence of Yale through religious, educational, and public leaders whom it has trained, and the influence of Princeton through statesmen, teachers, and ecclesiastics whom it has educated, have been pre-eminent. The names of the graduates of Harvard which have be-

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come illustrious in American literature are far more eminent and far more numerous than are found in the annals of any other college. To call the roll of them is to call the roll of the most famous poets, historians, and essayists. Yet one does not forget that in other spheres Harvard has rendered conspicuous service. Three of her graduates, —although one, Hayes, was of the Law School only,—have been presidents of the United States, and two have been vice-presidents. The list of her graduates who have served at the Court of St. James' includes members of the Adams family in three generations, and also such names as Everett, Bancroft, Motley, and Lowell. Great men whom she has trained, who have become great in the service of other colleges, are many. To Yale she has given four presidents, to Amherst one, to Bowdoin two, to Trinity one, to Haverford one, to Hobart two, to Antioch three, to Columbia one, and at least ten other presidents to as many other institutions.

The greatest work of Yale for this country has been done through the theologians and educators whom she has helped to train. One

hesitates to fill pages with bare lists of names, but from a long and honorable roll of theologians one may select such names as Jonathan Edwards, Joseph Bellamy, Samuel Hopkins, John Smally, Nathaniel Emmons, Lyman Beecher, Moses Stuart, Richard Salter Storrs, —eloquent preacher, father of an eloquent preacher,—John Pierpont, Bennet Tyler, Nathaniel W. Taylor, Gardiner Spring, Ashael Nettleton, Elias Cornelius, William B. Sprague, Theron Baldwin, John Todd, Horace Bushnell, and the Dwights in three generations.

Yet, possibly, Yale delights more in being known as the mother of colleges than as the mother of theologians. Such names may be misleading, yet there is much more reason for Yale thus denominating herself than there is in the case of most universities, for she has furnished presidents for many colleges from Massachusetts Bay to the Golden Gate. One of her graduates was the first president of Princeton, Columbia, Dartmouth, Williams, Hamilton, Cornell, Johns Hopkins, and of the Universities which bear the name of Georgia, Missouri, Mississippi, Wisconsin, and Cali-

fornia. About one hundred of her sons have been at the head of our colleges.

Mr. Richard H. Greene has prepared an interesting table of the distinguished men calling Yale their *alma mater*. This list contains the name of 1 Vice-President of the United States, 17 Cabinet officers, 1 Chief Justice of the United States, 1 Chief Justice of Canada, 2 national officers of the Hawaiian Islands, 1 Minister Plenipotentiary from China to the United States, 3 Judges of the United States Supreme Court, 1 Surgeon-General of the United States, 50 United States Senators, 20 United States District judges, 1 Circuit Judge of the United States, 160 State judges, 4 chancellors, 22 Ministers Plenipotentiary of the United States, 187 members of Congress, 40 State governors, and 92 college presidents.[1]

The influence of Princeton seems to me to have been pre-eminent in the field of political and educational life. For in political life the record of her sons is large and illustrious. It includes 1 President of the United States, 3 Vice-Presidents, 4 justices of the Supreme Court, 20 members of the Cabinet (including

[1] Steiner's *History of Education in Connecticut*, 235.

5 Attorney-Generals), 171 members of Congress, and 28 governors of States. But in educational life her record approaches in eminence to that of her next older sister. She has been, in a peculiar sense, the *alma mater* of some twenty-five other colleges; and of her graduates at least forty-three have been presidents of colleges, and more than two hundred of them teachers in other colleges.

The influence therefore of Yale in political life, and of Princeton in ecclesiastical life, is not, in my opinion, so great as is usually believed. The influence of Yale in ecclesiastical life, and of Princeton in political life, is greater than is usually believed. Many of Princeton's ecclesiastics have done their noblest work not as ecclesiastics but as presidents and professors in colleges. The fame of the ecclesiastic has been lost in the fame of the educator.

As I said in the beginning of this chapter, Harvard is pre-eminently a college of New England, Yale of the Western and Middle States, and Princeton of the Middle States and of the Southern. In the West the influence of Yale far exceeds that of Harvard. Some of the chief facts relative to the present

residences of the living graduates of these two oldest colleges are significant.

The directory of the living graduates of Harvard College shows the number to be 5553. The directory of the living graduates of Yale College shows the number to be 4618. Of the graduates of Harvard, more than one half, 2908, live in Massachusetts. Of the graduates of Yale, less than one fifth, 812, live in Connecticut. But be it said that three times as many people live in Massachusetts as live in Connecticut. Of the Yale graduates, also, less than one third, 1417, live in the State of New York. Slightly less than one half of the graduates of Yale, 2229, live in Connecticut and New York. In the New England States are 3129 Harvard graduates, and 1289 Yale graduates.

It is, therefore, evident that a large portion of the Harvard men have their residence in the State of their college or in the States immediately surrounding. The frequent remark is true that Harvard is a Massachusetts and a New England college. But the preponderance of Harvard men to Yale as residents of a

State or Territory ceases, with two or three exceptions, on passing outside of New England. Although the whole number of Harvard men is greater by 800 than the whole number of Yale men, yet, in the Middle States, Harvard has only 1303, and Yale, 1986. In the State of New York Harvard has 976 graduates, and Yale 1417. In Pennsylvania Yale has 312, and Harvard, be it said, has three more than 312; but in New Jersey, Harvard's 23 seems small when put by the side of Yale's 140. In Delaware the number of graduates of both colleges is commensurate with the size of the State, Harvard having 2 and Yale 14. This preponderance of Yale graduates still holds good as one goes west. I have caused additions to be made of the number of graduates of the two colleges found in each of the States. In only two of the Western States do I find a larger number of Harvard than of Yale graduates, and one of these, California, is a State so far west that we seldon think of it as being west at all. The following are the facts in these representative Commonwealths:

State.	Harvard Graduates.	Yale Graduates.
Ohio	135	174
Indiana	20	25
Illinois	152	255
Iowa	25	36
Michigan	39	69
Minnesota	43	87
Kansas	20	32
Wisconsin	37	33
Nebraska	19	21
North Dakota	2	2
South Dakota	4	8
Montana	5	15
Idaho	4	4
Oregon	9	13
Washington	28	35
California	127	106
Total	669	915

In these sixteen States, Harvard has 669 graduates, and Yale 915. In the States excluding California are found 9.76 per cent. of all the living graduates of Harvard College. In the same States are found 17.47 per cent. of all the living graduates of Yale College. In fact, in proportion to the whole number of graduates, almost twice as many men have gone from Yale into these States as from Harvard.

These figures are exceedingly significant. We have long known, in a general way, that

the number of Yale men in these States and the States of the West was in some way surprisingly larger than the number of Harvard men, but I have never known until this hour how much greater the number is. The proportion in favor of Yale is, as I have said, significant to any one interested in education. Harvard College had graduated more than sixty classes before the first Yale class received its degrees. Harvard College had the start in point of time. It had also the advantage, and always has had the advantage, of a larger endowment. And yet, in that great territory between the Alleghanies and the Pacific known as "the West," representing the larger part of the domain of the country, the number of Yale graduates exceeds the number of Harvard. What is the cause of this condition?

The period covered by this survey begins, in the case of Harvard, with the year 1818, and in reference to Yale, it begins with the year 1820. It covers the period of the populating of the Western territory. Our question, therefore, may be somewhat broadened, becoming this: What is the reason that, in the populating of the States of the West, the num-

ber of the graduates of Yale exceeds that of the graduates of Harvard? It ceases to be a question between the relation of these colleges simply, and becomes a question concerning the movements and characteristics of a people.

Yale was a Congregational college. Yale is, I suppose, to-day, as much a Congregational college as any college can easily be, although the Congregational college is the least denominational of any college. Its presidents were Congregational clergymen. The ecclesiastical relations of its professors were usually Congregational. It had and has a School of Theology of the Congregational Church. Orthodoxy, as embodied in Congregationalism, was and is aggressive. The Congregational School of Theology at New Haven sent its graduates, throughout this formative period, into the West as ministers. Not a few of them were natives of the West, particularly in later years. Graduates of Yale College who were graduates of Yale Theological Seminary entered the West. Graduates of Yale College who were graduates of other theological seminaries entered the West as missionaries and ministers. The so-called "Yale Band" was among

the first evangelizing agencies which touched the great State of Illinois. A few years ago a "Yale Band," composed of graduates of Yale Seminary, entered the State of Washington. A few years before a "Dakota Band" went from New Haven into that Territory. Illinois College at Jacksonville was founded by the members of the "Yale Band." The old college at Hudson, Ohio, begun in 1826, was founded as a Yale of the West. Of those men going into many and widely separated parts of the West, every one went as a loyal son of Yale. Every one of them found it difficult, perhaps, to adjust his love for his *alma mater* with his love for the local institution of his State, to the building up of which he was giving his money and his life. Of all the colleges except the local one, Yale was the most beloved. The Yale spirit moved on the face of the prairie. The black dust of the Wabash and of the Ohio became the living soul bearing the name of Yale. The result followed under the law of cause and effect. The new West, so far as it received any college influence, became like Yale.

In this same period Harvard was not Ortho-

dox. It was Unitarian. It was able and strong and cultured. It had for its presidents men noble in character, men also who were noble in scholarship. Until Quincy was elected, it called to its chief executive office Unitarian clergymen, the memory of whom is fragrant and beautiful. Professors better qualified for college service could not be found. Harvard was in close affiliation with the best forces of Boston and of Massachusetts. But the motives in its life were not missionary. They were as little missionary as those dominating the Unitarian Church. The number of Unitarian churches in Massachusetts far exceeds the number found in all other Commonwealths. Unitarianism may be a qualitative propagandism, but it is not a quantitative one. It may have enriched other faiths, but it has not spread its own faith. Its movement has been intensive and not extensive.

This lack of religiously missionary enthusiasm was a pretty costly thing to Harvard, and possibly, also, to Unitarianism itself. But Unitarianism did not lack in certain of its adherents a missionary enthusiasm of a certain sort. This enthusiasm was an enthusiasm

social, sociological, political. Radicalism in theology led to radicalism in sociology. There is some ground for the historical statement that conservatism in theology led to conservatism in sociology. It is certainly true that Garrison, Phillips, Emerson, Sumner, Thoreau, Lowell, Higginson, Sanborn, were in more intimate alliance with the Unitarian than with any other faith. The black man of the South appealed more powerfully to these anti-slavery men than the white man of the new West. Lack of personal freedom was to them a worse evil than a lack of personal piety. James Freeman Clarke was for a time a "home missionary," but the place was rather Southern than Western,—Louisville; and his big heart and fine brain were directed throughout his chief pastorate rather toward the slave than toward the free pagan of the prairie. In this devotion all now exult. But it was a devotion which had its penalties. Harvard College was not presented to the new people of the new West.

The graduates, therefore, of Harvard College, of this time, and of its Divinity School, were not intent upon going West. They did

not feel the impulse for establishing the houses of their faith on the Mississippi. They had no visions of building a second Harvard in the swamps of the Missouri. These graduates preferred to write odes about the duty of being pilgrims and still to live beneath the graceful elms of Cambridge. The result was necessary and has become evident; Harvard failed to establish a constituency in the West when the West was in its formative period. Therefore, to-day the number of Harvard graduates in the West is far less than the number of Yale graduates.

There are, also, it seems to me, certain general reasons which have value in explaining this divergency. The impression prevails throughout the West that Yale is more democratic than Harvard; that considerations of family and wealth have less value in New Haven than in Cambridge. It is also supposed that the manners of the Harvard man are more elegant and his refinement greater. It is also thought that the *nil-admirari* principle is more influential at the Cambridge college. Repression is supposed to be the mood of the Harvard, expression the mood

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of the Yale man. The Western man is usually democratic socially. He respects nobility and refinement of personal bearing, but he is inclined to think that some Harvard students carry these elegancies into eccentricities. Repression he rather despises, admiring freedom and frankness. The falseness of these impressions held by the Western man do not at all lessen their force in deterring him from sending his son to Harvard.

I am also inclined to believe, although my belief is by no means an assurance, that in the larger part of this period under survey Harvard was known throughout the West more for its literary advantages, and Yale for its scientific. Of course, at once the names of Agassiz, and Gray, and others, may seem to overthrow the ground of this impression, but never in the popular view was Agassiz an integral part of the Harvard Faculty. When we think of the great teachers at Harvard of the earlier generation, the first names to occur to us are those of Ticknor and Longfellow. When we think of the great teachers of Yale in the preceding generation, we speak immediately of Silliman and Dana. The fame of

Yale in science was more attractive to the Western man than the fame of Harvard in literature. The materialistic tendency of life in the West found its counterpart in the scientific character of the teaching at Yale.

But a further question grows out of the general one, and one, too, possibly more interesting. I have thought that my statistics would show that the proportion of Harvard men living in the West during the last score of years would show a great increase. The figures prove that the *a priori* reasoning was right. As I have before said, in the sixteen Western States the names of which have been given, beginning with Ohio, and ending with Washington, in this period have lived 9.76 per cent. of all of Harvard's graduates; and also in this same period and in these same States have lived 17.47 per cent. of all the Yale graduates now living. But, of the classes between 1878–88, 11.62 per cent. of the graduates of Harvard live in these States, a gain of 1.86 per cent. In these same States and of the classes from 1880–91, 18.79 per cent. of Yale graduates are found residing, a gain of 1.32 per cent. Harvard, therefore, in this time, had a greater

relative gain than Yale. The proportions of certain States are possibly less significant than of all the States combined. In certain States, Yale has gained. In Illinois, for the whole period, are dwelling 5.52 per cent. of all the graduates. In Illinois, for the last ten years, are dwelling 7.15 per cent. In the same State, in respect to Harvard's graduates, there were, for the entire period, 2.73 per cent., and for the last decade 3.17 per cent. In Ohio, Harvard has increased in the last decade over the whole period from 2.45 per cent. to 2.46, in Michigan, from .007 to .008 per cent. In the same period, Yale has fallen off in Ohio from 3.80 to 3.57 per cent., and in Michigan from 1.27 to 1.05 per cent. I recognize that these differences are exceedingly slight, but a single leaf, as well as a whole tree, may reveal the direction of the wind.

Yale, however, has still a large lead in the West. The causes of this present popularity are as interesting and subtile as the reasons for the relatively greater popularity in the earlier generations. I am inclined to think that the reasons which have existed are still of force. Sectarian prepossessions are the hardest to

remove. The West is orthodox. The States of the West are filled with Congregational, Presbyterian, Baptist, Methodist, and Episcopal churches. To certain Western men the word "Unitarian" means something almost as harrowing as the word "Indian" meant to their children of forty years ago. Harvard is no longer a Unitarian college, but the *reputation* of Harvard as a Unitarian college still lingers, so hard are sectarian prejudices to remove. Further, it is to be acknowledged that many persons identify Unitarianism with irreligion. Beginning with the assumption that Harvard is a Unitarian college, they proceed to the conclusion that Harvard is irreligious. The chain of their logic has another link. From the conclusion that Harvard is irreligious they draw the further inference that it is immoral. Harvard has suffered, Harvard is suffering, and Harvard with all its wisdom of administration must for a time yet, suffer the consequences of such prejudices. And yet, as I have suggested, these prejudices are being removed. The proportion of Harvard men coming to live in the West at the present time, in relation to the number of Harvard men liv-

ing in the West in the last seventy years, is greater than the number of Yale men of the same conditions.

In the South the power of Harvard has been slight, Yale's somewhat, and Princeton's great. In the college year of 1836–37 Harvard had 233 students, of whom only 19 came from the South, including such border States as Maryland and Kentucky. In the same year Yale had 511 students, of whom 55 came from the South and also one quarter of the 55 came from the central Southern State of Georgia; at present less than 2 per cent. of the students of Harvard are from the South. These figures, I think, show the relative clientage of the two oldest New England colleges drawn from the South. In this same time about two fifths of all the Princeton students were drawn from the South. The influence of Princeton in the South at the beginning of the Civil War was very great. So many Southern men were in Princeton at the beginning of the war that there was a decided antagonism to the raising of the Stars and Stripes over the college buildings, and in the spring of 1861 the departure of the Southern students from "old Nassau" was a scene

never to be forgotten. Even in the first decades of the century, the tendency of the boys of Virginia to go from their State for their education caused a considerable degree of uneasiness. One writer asserts that he came to the conclusion that one quarter of a million dollars was carried each year from the State of Virginia for the purpose of education.[1] A large share of this amount, no doubt, went into the coffers of Princeton College. Some of the most illustrious names on the register of Princeton College are the names of the most illustrious families of the South. The name of Calhoun is not there, for that is found at Yale. The names of the Lees, Bayards, Dabneys, Davies, Pendletons, Breckenridges, Caldwells, Crawfords, Baches, Hagers, and Johns,[2] are found.

The reason of the mighty influence of Princeton throughout the South is due largely, in my judgment, to three causes: first, the location of the college; second, the ecclesiastical unity of the people of the South and of the support-

[1] Jefferson and Cabell's: *University of Virginia*, 157, note.

[2] *Four American Universities*, 99, Chapter by Professor W. M. Sloane.

ers of the college; and third, the unity of the people of certain Southern States with the founders and the supporters of Princeton. These three reasons do not require elaboration. Princeton was, of course, nearer to the South than her sister colleges by the distance from New Haven or from Cambridge, a distance much greater formerly than it now is; but this fact, although having value, is not the most significant. The commercial relations of the South were rather with New York and Philadelphia than with Boston and other parts of New England. Intimacy of commercial relations made intimacy of other relations of course less difficult. College boys go and come very much along those lines of latitude and longitude which trade follows. Down to the time of the foundation of the University of Virginia, the College of William and Mary was probably the most influential college in the South. The record of the statesmen which this college trained in the colonial period and in the generation succeeding the Revolutionary period is illustrious. The College of William and Mary was under the control of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and had for

its special purpose the training of ministers for that Church. In the Presbyterian Church was the College of Hampden-Sidney, but it was not strong. The Presbyterian Church throughout that region of the South, which was peopled by the Scotch, and the Scotch-Irish, was of great strength. In Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas, therefore, the families allied with the Presbyterian Church would naturally send their sons to a Presbyterian College, and to the strongest Presbyterian College within their command. That college was the College of New Jersey. Moreover, as has been said, the people who settled New Jersey and Pennsylvania, were in a degree of the same race with those who settled Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas,—Scotch and Scotch-Irish. They contributed of their best blood in the building up of these Commonwealths. These were the liberal colonies to which came people not only from North of Ireland and from Scotland, but also fugitives from France, Holland, and certain parts of Germany. The oneness of the race contributed toward making the chief Presbyterian College in New Jersey the chief col-

lege of the States as far south as South Carolina. The best provincial college in any one of the States would be the most attractive college for all the States.

These are at least some of the reasons which have helped to make the influence of Princeton great throughout the South. These conditions have continued in a degree to the present, although their force has been much lessened since the Civil War. The founding of a university at Baltimore, although of an undenominational character, and of one at Nashville, although not of the Presbyterian order, has also tended to attract students who might otherwise have come to Princeton. Yet, in many parts of the South, Princeton is regarded with a loyalty and affection which Harvard receives in Massachusetts and Yale in Connecticut.

In respect to the method of the growth and use of the influence which the two older colleges embody there is a deep and striking contrast. Harvard seems to stand for the principle of individuality, Yale for the communistic or collective principle. This difference runs back into the conditions of the beginning of

the century. The Unitarians had a stronger and larger following by far in Massachusetts than in the New Haven or Hartford Colony. At the beginning of the century the schism in the Congregational Church resulted in the great Unitarian movement, — a movement which represents individuality even more than the ordinary orthodox Congregational Church represents it. But in Connecticut not more than one church became in this time Unitarian, and the Unitarian denomination has always had a very small constituency in Connecticut. In the earlier part of the century in Connecticut that form of ecclesiastical government known as "Consociation," a modified Presbyterianism, had sway; in Massachusetts the "Association," which represents greater individuality of action, ruled. At Yale, throughout the century, the class system in the college has largely obtained; and in Harvard the elective system has had the supremacy in the last generation. Harvard represents rather the critical side of college allegiance—each graduate thinks it to be his right to criticise his University; but of Yale each graduate looks upon his college as his *alma mater*, and to criticise

her would be as unfitting as to disparage the one who bore him. The result has therefore been that in those athletic sports in which the individual is the more important, Harvard, on the whole, has the supremacy, but in those in which community of action is the more important, Yale has won. Harvard, therefore, has been victorious rather in field contests, and Yale in football, baseball, and in rowing. In a word, Harvard has stood rather for individuality of action, while Yale has stood for community of effort.

It is not unfrequently said that Harvard is the Oxford of the New World, and Yale the Cambridge. The reason of this discrimination lies, in my judgment, in the past, in a very simple matter. Yale in the first half of this century, as I have intimated in a former paragraph, represented with greater fullness the scientific studies for which the older Cambridge stood, and Harvard the humanistic studies which received special cultivation at Oxford. As I have before said, Yale, through the Sillimans, was holding a large place in scientific studies long before Gray, or Agassiz, or Cooke, began their work in the Cam-

bridge on the Charles. In the year 1818 George Ripley was considering the choice of a college. At that time he wrote to his father, saying:

"I feel emboldened to make the request that, if consistent with your inclinations and plans, I may receive an education at Yale rather than Cambridge. I may be thought assuming and even impertinent to make this request. But, sir, I entreat you to consider the thing. The literary advantages at Cambridge are superior in some respects to those at Yale. The languages can undoubtedly be learnt best at Cambridge. But it is allowed by many, who have had opportunity to judge, free from prejudice, that the solid branches may be acquired to as great perfection at Yale. Cousin Henry, who has had some information on the subject, says that for mathematics, metaphysics, and for the solid sciences in general, Yale is the best."[1]

The linguistic and literary training which Harvard has offered throughout the century was now at its beginning. For the year when Ripley entered Harvard was the year when Edward Tyrrel Channing became Boylston professor and began that career which did not close till the year of 1851, a career which was of priceless value in the giving of an education

[1] Frothingham's *George Ripley*, 5–6.

to the men who were, in a peculiar degree, to be the makers of American literature.

> "When it is considered that Channing's method reared most of the well-known writers whom New England was then producing,"—says Colonel Thomas Wentworth Higginson,—"that it was he who trained Emerson, C. F. Adams, Hedge, A. P. Peabody, Felton, Hillard, Winthrop, Holmes, Sumner, Motley, Phillips, Bowen, Lovering, Torrey, Dana, Lowell, Thoreau, Hale, Thomas Hill, Child, Fitzedward Hall, Lane, and Norton (and I may add Higginson), it will be seen that the classic portion of our literature came largely into existence under him."[1]

Soon after becoming president of Yale, President Dwight in an address delivered before the Phi Beta Kappa Society indicated what he regards as certain traits of the ideal Yale man.[2] The first element which he names is "a certain large-minded and fair-minded love of truth." Allied to this he suggests "manliness" or "the manly sense of duty" as a second element. A third which he names, is "the disposition to estimate both men and things according to their true value." A fourth characteristic of the Yale spirit he describes as "that union of the intellectual and

[1] *Atlantic Monthly*, December, 1896, 762–763.

[2] *What a Yale Student Ought to Be*, Yale University, 1887.

emotional elements which keeps them in due relations to each other." He adds also "the genuine Yale man is a gentleman, . . . one who has the spirit of reverence for what is good, of kindness towards others, of gentleness and self-sacrifice and honor and truth, of obedience to that great command which bids us love our neighbors as ourselves."

But I am confident that the President of Harvard College, seeking to give a picture of the elements which make the ideal Harvard man, would suggest these very same elements which the President of Yale names. In fact, these elements are not the property of Yale or of Harvard. They are the supreme purposes and principles which rule in every college. President Dwight disclaims any purpose of affirming "that the characteristics of our life are exclusively found here." Every college seeks to inspire in each student a "large-minded and fair-minded love of truth." Every college endeavors to arouse "the manly sense of duty" in its men. Every college endeavors to train students to "estimate both men and things according to their true value." Every college has for its purpose "to unite

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properly the emotional and intellectual elements of character." Every college seeks to make each student a "gentleman."

It is, I think, generally confessed that Harvard has attained a genuine leadership in American education. This leadership has been secured largely through the efficiency of its President. But previous to the accession of President Eliot, it would, I think, have been generally said that Yale was enjoying a pre-eminence. For many years before the accession of President Eliot the graduating classes at Yale were larger than those at Harvard. But about the time that President Eliot became President and about the time President Woolsey retired from the office to which he had given lustre in the twenty-five years of his administration, it was a matter of conjecture which of these two greatest and oldest colleges should become the progressive, and which the conservative, force in the higher education. Although Harvard had had a history more distinguished for making experiments, as the elder Silliman once pointed out, than Yale, yet the greater freedom from provincialism of Yale, rendered Yale a

better agency and condition for progressive educational endeavors. But President Eliot was chosen President to succeed President Hill, and President Porter was chosen to succeed President Woolsey. President Eliot had became recognized as a teacher of a comparatively new science, and President Porter had been recognized as a teacher of the oldest of all knowledges. The one was, too, essentially a man vitally in touch with life; the other gave the impression to many friends of being quite as much interested in the philosophy of the seventeenth century as in the problems of the present. Under the lead of President Eliot, who came into office some two years earlier than President Porter, Harvard sprang at once into the opening opportunites of the new education. By this very condition, Yale was almost obliged to represent the conservative tendency.

Of course, progressiveness and aggressiveness have their perils, but the conditions of the times removed these perils from the pathway of Harvard and its vigorous executive. For the means of carrying forward progressive and aggressive measures were offered

through the increasing wealth of the country, through the increasing demand for well-trained men in every field of service, and through the enlargement of the great humanitarian and scientific studies. If, from 1869 onward, with brief exceptions, the country had not been becoming richer, or if the demand for well-trained men had lessened, or if social science and political economy and the natural sciences had not enlarged their boundaries, the results might have been altogether different from what they are. In this case, the conservative policy of Yale would have been the successful one and the aggressive policy of Harvard could not and would not have won that triumph which it enjoys.

It is also significant that the older college has been the mother of three great movements in the course of this century. It may not be unfitting to say that Harvard stands as the mother of movements, and Yale as the mother of men. Certainly, these phrases are as well applied to the colleges of the new world as they are to the corresponding universities of the old world.

A movement in an American college must

be carried on under conditions quite unlike those which obtain in a movement in Oxford or in Cambridge. It lacks a substantial and permanent moving force. The English university has in its constituency a larger body of men in permanent association with the university. The men have those qualities and relations which residence as graduates or as fellows gives. They are usually blessed with more or less of leisure, and they are also in a more or less intimate touch with the life outside the university. These men constitute an excellent body for making a movement of the social, scholastic, or theological sort. The three great men of the Oxford movement were Keble, Newman, and Hurrell Froude, and these men were all fellows or tutors of Oriel. The American college has few men in permanent association and those who are are members of the teaching force. This body is blessed with leisure in only a very moderate degree. The more public movements, therefore, which we find carried on under the auspices of the American college have usually been movements made by graduates whose formal relations with their college have ceased. In a

few cases these movements have been promoted by the professors. Not so much as a corporation, therefore, but as a centre of radiating influence, has the American college been the mother of movements.

The three movements, of which Harvard may be said to be the author in this century, have had a single key-note—a larger liberty. The first was a movement for greater liberty in matters religious; the second was a movement for greater liberty in matters philosophical; the third was a movement for greater liberty in matters educational. The first is usually called the Unitarian movement, the second the Transcendental movement, and the third is represented narrowly in the phrase "The Elective System." Not infrequently is the third of these movements called by the comprehensive phrase "The New Education." The first movement belongs largely to the first quarter of the century; the second to the second quarter; and the third movement to the third quarter and the last of the century.

The movement for greater freedom in matters religious does not begin with the appointment of Henry Ware as Hollis Professor of Divinity

in 1805, but his appointment represents the beginning of aggressiveness in the progress of this movement. Other appointments followed the appointment of Ware which, in two years, says the historian of the Unitarian denomination, made Harvard "University conspicuously the headquarters of intellectual and religious liberalism in America."[1] So rapid was the progress in the next score of years, that in 1823, when Dr. Lyman Beecher came to Boston, he was able to say: "All the literary men of Massachusetts were Unitarian; all the Trustees and Professors of Harvard College were Unitarian; all the *élite* of wealth and fashion crowded the Unitarian Churches; the judges on the bench were Unitarian, giving decisions by which the peculiar features of church organization so carefully ordered by the Pilgrim Fathers had been nullified, and all the power had passed into the hands of the congregation."[2]

In this movement the graduates and officers of the University bore the most conspicuous part. Its preacher, Channing, was a

[1] *A History of the Unitarians*, Joseph Henry Allen. D.D., 188.
[2] Quoted in Allen's *History*, 194.

Harvard graduate; its most powerful apologist, John Lowell, was a member of the University corporation; Jared Sparks, the historian, James Walker, the philosopher, and Andrews Norton, the exegete, were all Harvard graduates and already occupied or were to occupy important places in the government of the University. So thorough was the identification of the College with the movement, that of seventy-seven Unitarian preachers sketched in Dr. Sprague's *Annals of the American Pulpit* sixty-seven are graduates of Harvard College. Of the graduates of Harvard who have served all churches, Dr. Sprague names two hundred and ten. Although the number of clergymen in the Unitarian Church, compared with other denominations, is relatively small, and although the time of its specific existence is brief, yet almost one third of its distinguished clergymen of the earlier period are graduates of Harvard. So intimate was the association between the Unitarian Church and the College that the College came to be known as a Unitarian College, a reputation which in recent years it wisely has been endeavoring to throw off and which it has succeeded in throwing off among

those who are well-informed, but not among those who are ignorant of the conditions.

The second movement which is closely identified with Harvard is also identified with the Unitarian movement, even outside of collegiate relations. For the names which are illustrious in Transcendentalism are also in no small degree illustrious in the Unitarian movement. This Transcendental movement was simply an episode, but while it lasted its effect was powerful in the thought and the life of New England. It was a literary as well as a philosophical and religious power. Its influence especially touched social agitations and movements for reform, but its specific duration was brief although its echoes are still heard. In its progress the presence and the power of the Harvard graduates were most significant. The seer of Transcendentalism was Emerson, and Emerson was a Harvard graduate. Its man of letters was George Ripley, a distinguished member of a Harvard class not without distinguished men ; its theologian was Theodore Parker, a Harvard student and a Harvard Master of Arts ; its historian was Octavius Brooks Frothingham, also a Harvard gradu-

ate; its critic was Margaret Fuller, who felt the influence of Harvard a great deal more than some men who were its graduates, and as much a graduate as any one could be in her time who was a woman. Of those whom its historian, Dr. Frothingham, calls minor prophets, William Henry Channing, Samuel Johnson, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, John Weiss, and Cyrus Augustus Bartol, were all, with one exception, graduates of Harvard College, and he, Bartol, was a graduate of the Divinity School; and several others had taken their professional degree as well as their first degree at the University. While this movement was in progress, the Oxford movement was also coming to its climax, and it may be said of Harvard that she was author and promoter of the Transcendental movement quite as truthfully as it has been said of Oxford that she promoted the Tractarian movement. In each case, however, it was men, not University authorities, who urged on the movement; in each case, too, certain authorities opposed the movement through ridicule or argument. It may be added that these two movements were alike in attracting and holding together

for a term of years men of pure character, noble intellect, high hopes, and rare earnestness, who trusted that they might achieve great things for humanity, some through the church and others through social reform based upon philosophical principles.[1]

The third and the last movement of which Harvard may be called the mother, is that embodied in the "New Education." This movement is sometimes called the "Elective System." It is a system which has been a necessary growth. Its introduction arose inevitably from the enlargement of the field of human knowledge. As the field of human knowledge has vastly increased, life has not lengthened, neither has the time which the average student

[1] In answer to a question respecting the attitude of certain members of the Harvard Faculty to this movement, Dr. Edward Everett Hale writes me as follows:

"The four gentlemen named, Dr. Walker, Mr. Sparks, Mr. Longfellow, and Mr. Peirce, all knew and were in intimate relations with Mr. Emerson, Mr. Ripley, Dr. Hedge, and other persons who would now be spoken of as leaders of the Transcendental movement. Of them all, Walker took the most interest in it, and did a great deal in his preaching and in his Lowell lectures, to bring the general Philistine mind into sympathy with it. To the end of his life Peirce was a profound philosopher, and believed with enthusiasm in the idea. Mr. Longfellow, I should say, was an artist in his habit of looking at such matters; and I do not think Mr. Sparks really cared much about the new tide of life which came in with Mr. Emerson's great purpose."—Personal letter of E. E. HALE, of 2d January, 1896.

can devote to preparing himself for life increased. Therefore the college authorities had put before themselves the alternative of either allowing the student to choose what he wanted to pursue or to pursue all studies in an extreme degree of superficiality. The freedom of choice was found to be the better solution of the problem. The movement has also a further condition in a proper psychology which endeavors to adjust the content and kind of studies to the human mind, in order to promote its highest development. At Harvard the new education has had a long and gradual growth. As early as 1825 "options" were introduced in the modern languages on the recommendation of Judge Story. The next score of years were a time of experiment. In 1846 Seniors and Juniors were allowed certain "electives," and in 1867 this freedom was granted to the Sophomores, and in 1884 to the Freshmen. The enlargement of the field of choice has been gradual and at the present time it is limited, except in English, only by the limits of the curriculum. The system has come to its fullest development in the administration of the present great president.

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This movement for greater intellectual freedom has spread from Cambridge into almost every college throughout the United States. It has now become an integral part of the curriculum. The width of its influence and its power are largely due to Harvard.

It is to be observed that this movement for the new education is in one respect unlike the movements for greater religious and philosophical freedom. The Unitarian and Transcendental movements were promoted by Harvard largely through its graduates, but the movement for the new education has been promoted almost entirely by those who are officers of the college. It has been a movement largely carried on by the executive head aided by the undergraduate faculty.

In the second half of the century that is now closing, several great colleges have been founded: several by the States as a part of their system of education, and several also by individual citizens. These colleges are now exerting a wide and great influence, an influence of a continually increasing power. Other foundations of great strength will doubtless be made in the future; but it may be well questioned

whether any one of these colleges, when it has been in existence even longer than two hundred and fifty years, will be able to show a more worthy list of graduates, or a record more splendid, or a service more effective in American life for the betterment of the people, than the old college in New Jersey, or the yet older college in Connecticut, or the oldest college in Cambridge is able now to show.

V.

CERTAIN PRESENT CONDITIONS.

THE higher education in the United States, like the government of the United States, is beset by two opposing movements, the one tending toward the centralization and the other toward the division of forces. We are seeing the rapid and magnificent growth of a few colleges and universities. The increase in the number of teachers and students, in equipment and in endowment, in the last ten years has been very great. We are also seeing the founding of many and small institutions.

In the present century we have beheld the graduating class of Harvard College increase tenfold, and more. The class graduating the first year in the nineteenth century numbered thirty-four, but the present classes of the Col-

lege itself are more than ten times this number and in the whole University those receiving degrees at a Commencement approach twenty times this number. At Yale a similar increase is manifest, although not so great. In the year 1838–39 Harvard College had 216 students; Yale, 411; Princeton, 237; and the University of Pennsylvania, 105. To-day the graduating classes of most of these institutions far exceed the entire enrollment of sixty years ago. In fact, the entire number of students in the twenty-five principal colleges of sixty years ago was smaller than is found in the largest university to-day. An increase in endowment, correspondingly great, has occurred. In this period several colleges have suffered a decline in their attendance. Dartmouth sixty years ago had more than three hundred students; Middlebury, one hundred and thirty-three. There have been recent years when these colleges have had a smaller number; although Dartmouth has in the present year vastly increased. The mighty growth of a few colleges attracts public notice. The great individual college becomes conspicuous. The idea has come to prevail therefore that Ameri-

can college education has become centralized, like the American government. Conspicuous, however, as these examples are, decentralization of our educational forces is yet more characteristic.

For, the present condition of the colleges in this country may be interpreted by five epithets. They are many, small, poor, sectarian, and rural. I know very well that these epithets are not to be received as entirely comprehensive, but yet they do represent certain very significant conditions of our higher education.

There are in the United States 695 institutions which confer collegiate degrees. Of these 481 are co-educational or colleges for men only; 163 are colleges for women only, and 51 are schools of technology. When one thinks of the 22 universities of Germany and of the 145 or more gymnasia; or when one thinks of the 17 colleges of Cambridge and the 21 colleges of Oxford, one is impressed with the vast number of collegiate institutions which the United States possesses. These institutions are found in every one of the States. It is possibly significant that some older States have the fewer colleges and the newer

the many colleges. Massachusetts, for instance, has 9, and Missouri has 29; Maine has 4, and Kansas has 16; Connecticut has 3, and Nebraska has 10. This induction that the newer the State the larger its number of colleges, and the older the State the smaller, is not an absolute truth, for New York has 22, Pennsylvania 29, and Iowa has the same number as New York. Indiana has only 14, and Illinois has only as many as Pennsylvania. Yet, at the least, it may be said that the newer States do contain more colleges than the older. In the entire country there is one institution for each group of one hundred thousand persons, but in the North Atlantic Division, which States are of course older, there is only one institution for every quarter of a million persons; whereas in the North Central Division there is one institution for less than one hundred thousand persons, and in the Western Division, which of course includes the newer States, there is one institution for less than every group of seventy thousand persons. Westward the course of the higher education does take its way and it grows wider, apparently, the farther it goes west.

This fact is of great significance. It is significant of the mighty grasp which the higher education has taken upon the mind and heart of the American people. It is also significant as containing the promise of the permanence of the best elements of our civilization. Even if in the case of making certain foundations the finest motives have not prevailed, and even if poverty and insufficiency of various sorts have been alarming, yet the simple fact of the establishment of these colleges in the first days of our new commonwealths, is full of precious hope of the American people sometime gaining the highest attainments and living the highest life.

These colleges, which are so many in their number, are yet small in their enrolment. Of the 695 institutions that confer collegiate degrees, 417 have each less than 100 students in their collegiate departments. The total number of students enrolled in all these colleges is slightly over 60,000. If, therefore, an equal division were made, each of these institutions would have a few less than 100 students. Of course the division is not equal. About two thirds of the colleges do actually have a smaller

number than 100 students, and the number of colleges that have more than 300 students in their collegiate departments hardly exceeds the number of our States. In the North Atlantic Division of our States the number of students in each institution is about 250; in the South Atlantic Division the number is about 90, in the South Central Division the number is between 90 and 100, in the North Central Division it is slightly over 100, and in the Western Division it is somewhat under 100. It is, therefore, evident that the normal American college is small. Its students are few.

The American college is also poor. These institutions possess in productive funds one hundred millions of dollars, and also the value of grounds and buildings exceeds by a few millions the same sum. Of these sums almost one half belongs to the colleges of the North Atlantic Division, sixty millions belong to the States of the North Central Division—which leaves a pretty small sum to be divided among the South Atlantic, South Central, and Western States. Of these sums of somewhat over two hundred millions, Massachusetts has one tenth; New York, one sixth; and Pennsyl-

vania, one fifteenth. Ohio has about one sixteenth, Indiana has about half as much as Ohio, and Illinois has an amount equal to that held by Ohio. Of these 695 institutions, 576 have each less than $200,000 in productive funds. The colleges of the North Atlantic States possess fifty-five per cent. of all the productive funds invested in the higher education. and the value of their grounds and buildings is thirty-eight per cent. of the entire value of similar property in the whole country—which clearly indicates that outside of these States the American college is poor.

This poverty of the American college is exceedingly significant, for poverty represents a lack of capacity for giving an adequate education. There was a time when a college could be poor and still give an education adequate to its time and conditions. In the middle of the century, when the Universalist churches were about to establish Tuft's College, it was insisted that the foundation should not be made before one hundred thousand dollars were raised. To-day a college in one of the older communities would not be justified in opening its doors to students if it had less than one

million of dollars in endowment. The enlarging of the field of scholarship has necessitated the pecuniary enrichment of the college. Fifty years ago Columbia College had 10 professors and 139 students; Union, 10 professors and 221 students; Hamilton, 6 professors and tutors and 92 students; Princeton, 12 professors and tutors and 263 students; Rutgers, 5 professors and 76 students. The number of professors necessary for the proper equipping of a college fifty years ago was one third or one fourth of the number necessary at the present time. A proper equipment demands large revenues. Such revenues can usually be derived only from large endowments. Therefore, poverty in endowment means an insufficient and inadequate teaching force. That, therefore, the American college is not fittingly equipped with a proper number of teachers is an inevitable and necessary inference.

The poverty of the American college becomes also significant in relation to the library. The library of the college may be called its objective brain. If the library is insufficient in number and variety and freshness of books, or inadequately administered, the education

which the college gives is insufficient and inadequate. But, an adequate number of books is supplied only through adequate revenues. Such revenues are lacking in the American college, and therefore the libraries are insufficient and usually inefficient. Forty-four per cent. of all the books in college libraries are possessed in the States of the North Atlantic Division and thirty-two per cent. by colleges of the States of the North Central Division. It is therefore evident that the colleges of the other States are obliged to be content with a bit more than one fifth of all the volumes in our college libraries. As one's eye runs along the number of volumes credited to each college, one is obliged to read such figures as these: for one college, 5000; for another, 5500; for another, 1000; for another 5000; for another 26,000; and so on. It is true that the equipment of the colleges in respect to the teaching force and in respect to the library makes it painfully evident that the American college is poor.

The American college is also sectarian, or, if one prefer the word, denominational. Of all the colleges and universities 109 are non-

sectarian and 372 are controlled by religious denominations, as follows: Roman Catholic, 58, Methodist Episcopal, 57, Baptist, 50, Presbyterian, 39, Methodist Episcopal South, 25, Congregational, 25, Lutheran, 23, Christian, 20, United Brethren, 13, Reformed, 8, Friends, 7, Cumberland Presbyterian, 7, United Presbyterian, 6, Protestant Episcopal, 5, African Methodist Episcopal, 4, Evangelical, 4, Universalist, 4, Seventh Day Adventists, 3, Methodist Protestant, 2, Free Will Baptist, 2, Reformed Presbyterian, 2, South Presbyterian, 1, Christian Union, 1, Seventh Day Baptist, 1, African Methodist Episcopal Zion, 1, Church of God, 1, New Church, 1, Latter Day Saints, 1, Unknown, 1. Of the 163 colleges for women 54 are non-sectarian, and the remaining 109 are denominational and they are as follows: Baptist, 27, Presbyterian, 22, Methodist Episcopal, 20, Methodist Episcopal South, 18, Protestant Episcopal, 5, Lutheran, 5, Moravian, 3, Cumberland Presbyterian, 2, Reformed, 2, Christian, 2, Roman Catholic, 2, Universalist, 1. The American college, therefore, it is evident, is denominational, and the leading denominations are blessed with many

colleges. This ecclesiastical condition is not surprising, for in all, or nearly all, civilizations, the priest has been the teacher and the priest was usually the earliest teacher. The relation between the discipline and the culture of the heart and the discipline and culture of the reason is intimate. Piety and education are sisters. This close relation that belongs to religion has been perpetuated in Christianity. Christianity has organized itself into denominations. It has organized itself into at least two great bodies which have special relations to us, —the Roman Catholic Communion and the Protestant. The Protestant Communion has organized itself into numberless churches. To most people Christianity appeals under the denominational name, and as a propagandist Christianity has made its progress under the denominational banner. Most persons who call themselves by the name of Christian are members of some individual or denominational body. Christianity, therefore, in organizing colleges, has organized them under the denominational relation and name. Whether this method was wise is not the question. Whether any other method was possible is not

the question; but, that Christianity in organizing colleges has organized them as denominational institutions is evident.

Historically the method is clear enough. Whenever the territory of any one of our commonwealths has been receiving settlers, Christianity in the person of its apostles has followed the settler into his new home. But it has not been Christianity free from ecclesiastical relations. The Christianity that has followed the immigrant has been denominational Christianity. It has, in rendering this service, established the denominational church. The ministers and laymen of the church have in each new commonwealth and in each new condition recognized that the prosperity of the church depends upon the having of a learned and progressive ministry. The learned ministry, it was recognized, is most easily and directly secured through the college. The older colleges in the older States could not furnish such a ministry. It is well known that the graduates of colleges usually make their homes in the parts in which those colleges are located. College men are not *as a class* pioneers. Therefore for the securing of a suffi-

cient and adequate ministry every church has founded its own college in each new State. Such, in brief, is the ecclesiastical history of many colleges belonging to each of these great churches in each of the commonwealths.

It is to be said that, though the ordinary American college is denominational, in many colleges the denominational relation does not manifest itself in the administration of the college, and much less in the common life and conduct of the students and teachers. The denominational character is more or less evident according to the emphasis placed upon its own ecclesiastical rights by each church. It would be usually recognized that the denominational character of the Protestant Episcopal college is far more evident than that of the Presbyterian college. It is also recognized that the denominational character of the Presbyterian college is more evident than that which exists in the Congregational college. It is also usually acknowledged, I think, that the older a college is, and the more numerous and rich its relationships to the great public life, the less marked are its denominational characteristics and elements.

At the present time the denominational phase is assuming a less important part in American college life. It is evident that, although Christianity does manifest itself in organic forms and relations in the college, Christianity need not manifest itself under such forms. The simple fundamental truths of Christianity are sufficient to form a foundation broad and deep for the building up of the educational structure. It is also becoming more clearly understood that the purpose of the college is not to form a severe ecclesiastical type of character, but is to form character of the finest type. The aim is to make man largest, richest, strongest, best. It is also recognized that that Christianity which is broadest and deepest and simplest appeals far more vitally and puissantly to the young man at college than the Christianity which makes its appeal to him through the denominational voice and manner and teaching. Beyond the Baptist or Presbyterian or Methodist man, the college desires that the man, its graduate, shall be a man of God. It is well content if he be a man of God, and whether he be an Episcopalian or a Congregationalist is of minor significance.

It is also generally confessed that in the ordinary teaching of the college, ecclesiastical truths have no place. There is no Presbyterian calculus, or Baptist interpretation of Horace, or a Congregational Demosthenes, or a Methodist French or a Methodist German Literature. Truth is studied in college without reference to sectarian relationships.

Therefore, as the American college is now organized, the denominational element and character has an exceedingly narrow and slight place. Such a remark is the more true usually as the college is the older and stronger and larger. Such a remark is the less true, usually, as the college has smaller resources and fewer students.

It is to be said that the State University established in each of our newer States is as free from denominational and ecclesiastical relations as is the public school system of that State. In respect to general Christian influences and conditions it may be said that the State University is as free from and as subject to Christian influences as are any public institutions of learning in that State.

There is a fifth element or condition in the

ordinary American college: it is situated in the country. As the eye runs along the names of the towns in which the colleges are located, one finds that nine tenths of these towns are utterly unknown to the reader. In many cases the college is the town and the town the college; in many cases also the college is more than the town. Every one of us is more familiar with the name of Dartmouth College than with that of Hanover; with Hamilton than with Clinton; with Cornell than with Ithaca; with Bowdoin than with Brunswick; with Colby than with Waterville; but also Williams and Williamstown, Middlebury and Middlebury, Amherst and Amherst, Oberlin and Oberlin are each equally well known. The town and the college are identified. In villages of two and three thousand people, in towns of five and six thousand people, and in small cities of ten thousand persons is found the larger number of our American colleges. Five of the colleges of Massachusetts are either in or near large cities. Half of the colleges of New York are either in or near large cities. Nine of the thirty-nine colleges of Ohio are in large cities, but the other thirty

are in small cities or villages. In general, the location of the colleges in Indiana or of Illinois and of most States impresses one with their rural character.

Advantages there are in the location of a college in the country. A rural situation tends to promote economy in collegiate administration and in the personal expenses of the students. It also fosters constant and close association with nature. It gives, too, freedom from certain social recreations and forms of amusement. These are the more ordinary statements that are urged as advantages that belong to the country college.

In behalf of the urban situation of the college it is urged that the student is able to come into association with the best life of every kind. The mightiest life of the nation pours into the city. The best preachers have here their pulpits; the best influences of art and of every form of enjoyment here centre. The association of man with man becomes more constant, more close, and more formative of character. It is also to be said that the enjoyment of nature is more intense to one spending a part of his energies and time

amidst the works of man. The contrast between the works of God and the works of man flings man more sharply and profoundly into the appreciation of natural scenes. It is further urged that the great colleges must be in a city as a rule. No college is great without a great endowment. The endowment of a college is usually, though not always, received from those of its immediate neighborhood. If, therefore, the college receives at all, it must receive from its city. The city alone has the great wealth of the nation. It is also said that in education the prevailing type is the university. A university cannot, under ordinary conditions, be equipped in a small town. It is difficult to secure the proper facilities for a medical college, for instance, in any other place than a metropolis. These are some of the more common statements frequently made in behalf of the urban location of the college.

The statements made on either side must be weighed with a good deal of care, and certain exceptions should be taken to these statements. For instance, certain statements that are urged in behalf of the rural location of a college I should at once dissent from.

On the whole, in my thought, the location of the college in the city is by far the better. The location should not be in the midst of the city, but on its borders,—so near that the great life of the town can come into the college, and the students and professors can feel its moving impulses, and so that also the students themselves and the professors can enter into this great life, helping to qualify it. The location, also, should be so near the green fields and forests, that all those delights and all those influences which belong to nature may enter into and possess the quiet or the restless soul.

This question as to the rural or urban location of a college appeared at the time of the foundation of what is now known as the University of Berlin. On the part of those favoring a situation in the country it was urged that the Prussian metropolis offered too many opportunities to dissipation, and too many means of evil temptation, to be made the seat of a school for young men. This was the judgment of the Minister Stein. Fichte who became the first rector, Wolff and others favored the location at Berlin. No one can now doubt that the University of Berlin could not have

become, in certain respects, what it is, the most important agency of education and of scholarship in the world, were it placed outside of a great city.

Such, in certain exterior and objective and material relations, is the present condition of the American college. The American colleges are many, the American colleges are small, the American colleges are poor, the American colleges are denominational, and the American colleges are rural. Such an interpretation, thus made, is hardly an object of glory. That form of higher education which America has reason to glory in is embodied in the achievements of such colleges as the older colleges of Massachusetts, of New York, of Pennsylvania, and of the strongest colleges of Ohio and of Illinois,—colleges whose leading is the finest in their respective commonwealths. In colleges of this sort we may well exult. Their triumphs are the triumphs of noble character and of scholarship. To call the roll of their graduates is to call the roll of the greatest men in the most important departments of life.

The future of the American college, small,

poor, denominational and situated in the country, is a question of great interest. I know an Ohio college of this character founded sixty years ago. It has, in these two generations, sent forth some six hundred graduates who have entered into the noblest vocations and have given best service to humanity. The college has enrolled eminent teachers. It has possessed an endowment varying from two to three hundred thousand dollars. It has received no small sum from the fees of its students. It is situated in a town of a few thousand people. One of its professors asked me:

> "What is to be the future of our college? Our number of students remains as it was. Our teaching force is as it has been for a decade or more. Within forty miles of us are three other colleges. We do not increase our endowment; we are not able to build laboratories or to buy the books necessary for doing the best work. We can not hold our able professors, and we can not call the best men to equip our chairs. The advantages and conditions, socially and scholastically, afforded by other colleges are superior to those which we can maintain. In a word, our college is small, and poor, and denominational, and rural. Has it a future?"

For many an hour he and I talked, weigh-

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ing the evidence, putting and answering questions, offering suggestions. We, as searchers for the truth, came to the conclusion that the future of the college is dark. The immediate future of the college is not dark. For decades the college can continue its small and beneficent work. But as the decades go on and the generations increase, unless there be some new power, at present unknown, coming into the life of that college, the college must become yet smaller and poorer. Its power will lessen. Its tools for doing its work will become dull. Its conditions for moulding character and promoting scholarship will become less puissant. In each generation it will come a little bit less of a college than before. "Will the college or shall the college ultimately die?" we asked, my friend and I, of each other. As to that matter we each said we did not know. We, ourselves, shall have been a long time dead before the college comes to its dissolution, for it is apparent that colleges, like individuals, do not like to die. The attitude which the trustees, who are the large conservators and the embodiment of the life of the college, would assume, is somewhat of this sort:

"This trust we have received from our predecessors. This trust they committed to us, not to yield but to administer. We feel bound both by heart and by conscience to administer it until we in turn transfer this trust to our successors. We are also prevented by our constitutional oaths from surrendering this trust to any other corporation. We represent a life and this life we are bound to foster."

The remark is not infrequently made that the great number of small and poor colleges found scattered throughout the length and breadth of the country is to become diminished; that colleges small and poor are soon to die out, others to unite and others still to pass into the stage of academies. It is to be said that such an inference is not borne out by recent history. Of the colleges now in existence and usually recognized as colleges, one dates its foundation to the seventeenth century, and twenty-two to the eighteenth. All the remaining ones have been founded in this century, and as the decades have gone on the number has increased. In the first decade were founded four, in the second eight, in the third twelve, in the fourth twenty-nine, in the fifth thirty-four, in the sixth seventy-four, in the seventh—that time of war—eighty-two,

and since 1870 have been founded the remainder. Instead, therefore, of thinking that our colleges are to become less numerous, we are obliged by the teaching of recent movements to face the probability that their number is to increase. But this fact has in itself certain elements which may be significant. The older a State becomes and the better understood are the conditions of education, the more convinced grow the people that no institution of higher education should be formed without a proper endowment. In the States of New York and Pennsylvania, before a charter can be given to an institution to confer collegiate degrees, such an institution must possess a sum of money aggregating a half million of dollars. I am convinced that the older any State becomes the more wise will it seem to the wise people of that State to have a similar law on its statute books. Ohio, for instance, has not yet come into this condition. In the session of the Legislature of Ohio, of 1895–96, a Senator bearing a most honored name, introduced a bill that no institution should have a charter giving it the power to confer degrees, unless it had property yielding an annual income of

fifteen thousand dollars. The bill met with such opposition from colleges already existing —strange as it may seem—that the honorable Senator wrote me, saying there was absolutely no possibility of its passage.

A young American scholar—who died early —writing of the higher education in the State of Tennessee, says:

> "Of the making of colleges there is no end. The curse of higher education in Tennessee is the multiplicity of so-called 'colleges' and 'universities.' Nearly every cross-roads hamlet has, not its academy or high-school, but its 'college.' Many of the schools that style themselves colleges do not possess the ghost of a college equipment, either material or intellectual. Aspiring to do what they can not do at all, they do poorly what they might do well. Their pupils, deluded into the belief that they have 'been to college,' know of nothing better and hence aim at nothing better." [1]

The condition which is so graphically described as obtaining in Tennessee is spread through more than one half of all our States. It is a condition which contains noble and most promising elements; but it is a condition which calls out at once laughter and tears:

[1] Bureau of Education Circular, "Higher Education in Tennessee." By Lucius Salisbury Merriam, Ph.D., 18.

laughter at the failure of those who arrogate to themselves great functions to know even the significance of these functions, and tears at the great harm which is thus done to the cause of genuine and high learning.

But for Americans, and especially for Americans in the newer States, the duty is clear. This duty is to promote the growth of a few great institutions. The unity of American education is to be recognized. The power of one college—Harvard—is greater than the power of ten colleges each having one tenth of the endowment and one tenth of the professors and one tenth of the students of the university on the banks of the Charles. The influence of Oxford, or the influence of Cambridge, is far more vital and pervasive and puissant than their influence would be if their colleges were scattered through the counties of England. The influence of a college grows in a geometrical ratio as its endowment and professors and students increase in an arithmetrical. It is the duty of all to endeavor to establish a few great institutions in our great country.

It is interesting to find that President Quincy, of Harvard, held a half-century ago a similar

opinion. This opinion he expressed in the last chapter of his *History of Harvard University*, published in 1840. He says:

"In every section of country, which is great either from extent, or numbers, or wealth, there is a natural ambition to concentrate within its own immediate vicinity or influence, as far as possible, all the great institutions of society; and a college or a university as well as others. Undoubtedly, some local accommodation will always result, or some local or personal interest be served, by such an arrangement. But the great interests of the public, in respect to the advancement of the intellectual power, require a conduct regulated by different principles. 'It is better,' says Lord Bacon, 'in a fair room, to set up one great light, or branching candlestick of lights, than to go about with a small watch-candle into every corner.'"

The interests of society demand that the number of the greater seminaries of science should be few; that they should be highly endowed, and so constituted as to become, if possible, the common centre of action to those minds of great power, which in every passing period exist in a community. Such great seminaries of learning are the natural central fires of science, whence intellectual light and heat radiate for the use and comfort of the

whole land. From the known laws of mental action, intellect enkindles intellect; and, of consequence, minds brought into connection and joint action at a centre disperse more and stronger rays, and send them farther, than the same minds could possibly do, if solitary, or scattered in small groups over the surface of the country.

It is without question a great and important truth, that the higher seminaries of science and literature in every country should be endowed in the most liberal spirit, and to the greatest requisite extent; and, as a consequence, it is essential that they be few; otherwise, the struggle for public patronage will be a scramble among local literary and religious factions, in which all may get something, and no one of them get enough; and the spirit which should lead the community to high intellectual eminence, degenerates into a low and mean spirit of selfish solicitation or factious intrigue.[1]

Signs abound that we are yet to see the growth of a few great colleges. Out of a selected list of forty-six colleges of New England and the Middle States the attendance in

[1] Quincy's *History of Harvard University*, ii., 452-3.

the twenty-five years between 1868 and 1893 doubled. But the attendance for the six largest of these colleges has almost quadrupled.[1] The large colleges have grown larger at a rate of increase almost twice that by which the smaller colleges have increased.

It is also to be said that a very strong objection to the development of a few and great and therefore widely separated colleges is found in the fact that colleges to a large degree make their own constituency. Many men go to a college that is found within twenty-five miles of their home who would not go to college at all were there no college within that radius. The college educates its neighborhood to the need of itself and to an appreciation of the worth of an education, such as it is able to give. This consideration is supported by the fact that more than one half of the students of Harvard are drawn from Massachusetts; one third or one fourth of the students of Yale are drawn from Connecticut; forty per cent. of the students of Amherst—situated

[1] "The Future of the College." A paper read before the Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools at Baltimore, Dec. 1, 1894, by Talcott Williams.

midway between New Haven and Cambridge,—are drawn from Massachusetts. In any argument for the development of a few and great colleges, this fact of the college educating its own constituency to an appreciation of the worth of the opportunity it gives is not to be overlooked.

It would yet make vastly for the betterment of American scholarship and of American character if we were all content with a hundred colleges and universities in this country. I know that instead of saying a hundred not a few would say fifty. I do not fail to recognize the difficulties in any such concentration and consolidation of force; but such consolidation and concentration represent that system which has the most power with the least friction, that method which brings the largest results with the smallest expenditure. I do not fail to recognize, either, the worth of personality, nor the advantages that accrue to students in solitude. It is the duty of Americans, then, first, to use every endeavor to prevent the foundation of more colleges; second, to unite, if it be possible, certain ones of those now existing; third, to strengthen the colleges already

great, well endowed, well established, and well situated—to make these not only great but the greatest possible. We should unite all the fires of our scholarship in a few central suns rather than scatter them as star dust through the scholastic heavens.

Such colleges, unlike our present ones, would have many students. Such colleges, unlike our present ones, would have large endowments, noble laboratories, great libraries. Such colleges, unlike our present ones, would not be primarily denominational, but they would be primarily, vitally, fundamentally, profoundly Christian. Such colleges would be, unlike our present ones, not situated in the country, but located on the borders of great towns, where all the mighty and best life of the nation can enter into them.

To such a result the movements of the centuries will tend. The drift of the present time may be antagonistic, but the history of England, and the history of Germany, and the history of the great civilizing movements of our own government, assure us what is to be the ultimate result.

VI.

CERTAIN ADJUSTMENTS OF ITS ETHICAL AND RELIGIOUS FORCES TO ITS INTELLECTUAL.

THAT man is a unit, is a truth having value in college instruction and life. Even if the more immediate purpose of the college be intellectual, yet the college cannot secure this intellectual purpose unless all the parts of man's nature are properly adjusted to each other. One cannot attain intellectual results unless the feelings are in a proper state, and the will also fittingly directed. If the appetites are riotous, the power of reflection is disturbed. If the desires are toward the base, the power of imagination is weakened. If the affections fail to be properly directed and of proper strength, the power of

perception is lessened. Man is one. His powers are to be kept in equilibrium. For purposes of convenience we divide and subdivide the various faculties of man ; but it is never to be forgotten by or in the college that the man who sees truth is the same man who feels its impressiveness and who chooses its duties.

These general propositions prepare the way for certain statements in detail. The training of the intellectual nature should promote the training of the ethical, and the training of the ethical the training of the religious. The intellectual man is the man who is reflective, who sees truth, who is rich in knowledge. Such a man should find it easy to do the right, and the man who does the right is the man who should find it easy to be religious. Obedience to the law of right prepares one to obey the law of God, which is the right.

Such reasoning has not always been assented to. Too often has it been thought that intellectual strength does not lead to ethical power, and that ethical power is not a stepping-stone to the acceptance of what may be called specific Christian truth. But to-day we are learning

that the best intellectual conditions promote the best ethical, and the best ethical the noblest Christian. We cannot think that the man who is low in his thoughts and base in his imaginations is the man best fitted to attain to the ethical verities. We have learned, too, that æsthetics has a pretty close relation to morals; the man who sees and who delights in the beautiful is the man who the more easily comes to see and to delight in the great law of righteousness. It may also be observed as a reverse side of the same general truth, that allegiance to Christian truth prepares one for allegiance to the ethical verities, and that holding to the ethical verities is itself a good preparation for loyalty to all intellectual truth. That change in the being of a man which is called conversion, a change which is immediately limited to or which immediately affects the will and emotions, is often a change resulting, also, in an intellectual new birth. All the parts of human nature act and react each upon the other. No enlightenment dawns upon the intellect but it affects the heart, and no effect is produced upon the heart but it may necessitate acting on the part of the will. So, also,

every act on the part of the will may result in effects on the appetites, the desires, the passions, the affections, and also, in turn, may itself cause a baptism of power upon, or a disintegration of, the intellect.

Great changes are occurring in the religious life of colleges as there are occurring great changes also in the general intellectual life. Perhaps the chief element of change in the Christian life of the college consists in the decadence of the revival. The revival has ceased to be a normal part of the life of many a normal Christian college. The revival was formerly a part of the life of the Christian college. In Yale College, in the ninety-six years following the great revival of 1741, there were "twenty distinct effusions of the Holy Spirit, of which three were in the last century, and seventeen in the present."[1] The history of Yale College for one hundred years in this respect is the history of the larger number of our older colleges. In Dartmouth College, in the space of sixty-five years there were nine revivals of religion. Prof. W. S. Tyler says:

[1] "Narrative of Revivals of Religion in Yale College," by Professor Goodrich, *Quarterly Register*, X., 310.

"No class has ever yet left Amherst College without witnessing a powerful revival of religion, and scarce a year has passed without some special interest in the church, and more or less conversions."[1]

But this passage was written forty years ago; and it must now be said that the revival has ceased to be an integral part of the life of many Christian colleges. Revivals do not occur now with the frequency or with the extensiveness of the former time.

The reason of the decadence of the revival in the American college is manifold. One cause lies in the change in ordinary society. Revivals are less frequent in the Church than they were. It is also to be said that men do not approach each other with the earnestness or the urgency of the former time in reference to what is frequently called the question of personal salvation. We no longer ask a man, "Are you saved?" Rather we now ask him, "Are you willing to do some work to help men to be better men?" The change is sociological. We have a feeling that to ask a man, "Are you saved?" is to approach him upon a very selfish ground, but to ask him to aid in some

[1] *Prayer for Colleges*, 132, 133.

Christian work is to approach him upon the noble ground of Christian altruism. It is simply what is in some places called a "consecration" service which was held some time ago at the opening of a college year at Harvard College. Men at that meeting made to each other a pledge that they would do some work to help men to be better in the new college year. And what was that pledge, but that they would devote themselves to the work to which Christ gave himself, and what was this devotion but a pledge of Christian consecration? The meeting did not seem to be a revival meeting or a consecration meeting, but it was in essence such.

Another cause of the decadence of the revival in college is the increasing prevalence of the conviction that religion is life, and that life is personal and permanent, and does not lend itself to the methods of the revival. This conviction is suggested by Bishop Brooks in an essay, read a short time before his death, in which he said[1]:

"Men who believe that natural science and political economy may be satisfactorily expounded by the pro-

[1] *Essays and Addresses*, 204.

fessor to his class of pupils believe that religion is unteachable. Some sense of the fineness and subtlety and also of the intense personalness of spiritual truth makes it seem incommunicable. It must lose its essential quality as it passes from lip to ear, from mind to mind. This misgiving shows itself in a crude way in the familiar talk of many people who, holding a true Christian faith themselves, declare that they will never undertake to teach their children to be Christians. The children must find their own faith as they grow up. They must think for themselves."

In this conviction Bishop Brooks did not sympathize ; but with its prevalence he was familiar. This conviction is probably more general and stronger in the college than elsewhere.

A further cause of decadence of the revival lies in a doubt on the part of many college officers of the truth of certain specific Christian doctrines. There was formerly a good deal of superficial believing. There is now a good deal of superficial doubting. But mixed in with the present superficial doubting is a great deal of fundamental Christian believing. Many college officers doubt, for instance, whether Moses wrote the Pentateuch ; or perhaps I may say that most college officers believe that he did not write it. But there is no doubt

among most college men that the Bible is in a special sense the book of God. There is a good deal of doubt as to certain statements which are made in many creeds; but there is no doubt among most college people as to the fundamental principles underlying the statements of the creeds. But because of the current doubt of the more evident statements, college teachers hesitate to talk personally with their students on religious subjects.

Yet the college is an agent for the training of the character of the individual man. Character is a unity. With the decadence, therefore, of the revival it is of mightily serious consequence to ask—By what means can the college train the ethical and the religious character of its men?

The answer lies, at least in part, in the truth that these ethical and Christian relations are to become normal, consistently strong, and constant. The method of training is through the ordinary means of the college. These agencies are to be made "means of grace." The common, daily intellectual intercourse offers the best opportunity for the securing of the ethical and Christian advantages which

were formerly secured by the somewhat abnormal revival.

There are at least three constant conditions or methods by which this ethical and religious training can be secured: First, through the content of studies; second, through the method of instruction; and third, through the general spirit or atmosphere of the college.

The content of certain studies offers an admirable opportunity for the giving of an ethical discipline. Literature has tremendous ethical importance, and literature represents a large part of the content of the training of a college. The noblest part of a nation's character is impressed in its permanent literature. The ignoble in literature is rotten; it vanishes. The pure, the true, the worthiest is vital; it endures. The literature of the Greek and of the Roman which we have, has lasted these two thousand and more years, simply because it is strong in intellectual truth and pure in moral impressiveness. The most lasting literature must embody the best humanity. Humanity will not treasure from age to age anything but the best. These general truths receive special illustration in English literature. The dom-

inant note in English literature is ethical. Its chief words are, as a professor in one of our colleges has said, the words Right, Duty. Goodness is made mightier than greatness, or rather, goodness is interpreted as an essential part of greatness. The life of English literature is, certain writers say, longer, too, than the literature of any other people; and this continuity impresses the reader with the truth that the rational conviction of duty is the great principle of life. Swift may be coarse and Byron shameless, but the masters, beginning with Shakespeare and ending with Tennyson, strengthen the belief in the ethical and the spiritual. English literature is serious. It is pervaded with a sense of human responsibility. It deals with questions of the mightiest import in human life and action. This sense of responsibility gives to it a sense of sincerity. The fantastic has had a short life and has held narrow sway. The long record of our literature helps also to give a perspective which enables a student to trace the conflict of ideas to partial or complete victory or to partial or absolute defeat. He thus learns the power of an idea, beneficent or malevolent,

over human minds. It is never, further, to be denied that high art is itself a moral agency. The literature of the English race is a form of art. It embodies the beautiful under conditions of sincerity and of seriousness.

Thus it is clear that the content of English literature helps to impress ethical truths upon the student. It may be added that the study of the methods of a writer is potential over a student. Every involuntary revelation of an author's own character in his composition warns the student of the subtlety of self-betrayal. The intangible but sure evidence of insincerity teaches him that there is no safety except in integrity of heart. As he sees the artifices of others fail them, he comes to hesitate to use subterfuge in the expression of his own thought or in his thought itself. He himself in his writing becomes frank, genuine, direct. He becomes a serious thinker; he becomes a serious man.

The ethical value of the content of studies, so forcibly illustrated in English literature, appears in other subjects. What can give a stronger ethical and spiritual impression to the student than philosophy? Philosophy con-

cerns itself with the most fundamental truths of the being of man—his own existence, his responsibility for himself; the relation which all the past bears to him; the relation which he bears to the future, God, immortality, freedom—these are questions of which no man can think without receiving impressions which relate most directly and fundamentally to the moral and religious nature of the individual.

Ethical lessons of tremendous importance are also among the most significant teachings of history. Obedience to the law of right as it tends to build up a people, and obedience to the law of wrong as it tends to disintegrate a nation, are the two opposite principles out of which the annals of any people may be written. Every student who reads history with his eyes and not with his prejudices may receive a tuition in ethics of priceless worth.

Even the ethical content of mathematics seems to me of the greatest value, for what is mathematics but absolute truth? It is man seeing truth as God sees it. From this perception of truth is deduced the great law of right. Intellectual accuracy is akin to moral honesty. The elder Professor Peirce once put

down upon the blackboard of a recitation-room a formula and said: "That is the formula by which God created the universe." Mathematics represents the truth of God to the mind of man.

The sciences even in their content have an ethical import. Biology through the revelations of the microscope, and astronomy through the revelations of the telescope, one dealing with what may be called the infinitely small, and the other dealing with the infinitely immense, tend to awaken such a profound feeling that they cannot but have an effect upon morals. Who can contemplate the development of life as biology exhibits it without being filled with wonder and adoration for its author; and who can think of the phenomena of the celestial system without a certain elevation of mind and heart of the noblest character?

Thus the content of a study has great ethical value. But the method of teaching or of studying has ethical value also great. The ethical value of the methods of science is as great as the ethical value of the content of literature. The late Professor Cooke said:[1]

[1] *Credentials of Science*, 119–120.

"I would that I could also give an adequate conception of the great amount of conscientious work which is expended on the deductions of science for the sole love of truth. Were it possible, I am sure that your respect for the scientific investigator would be greatly increased and your belief in his sincerity established, however mistaken you may at times deem his opinions or his judgment. Of course in the cultivation of science, as in every other pursuit of life, there is abundant room for the display of unworthy motives and ignoble passions; but I venture to assert that there is no class of men in the world among whom is found more unselfish devotion and more personal sacrifice than among the great army of scientific workers. The love of abstract truth may be a much lower motive than the love of man, but it equally calls forth the very noblest qualities of the mind. Moreover, in most cases the constancy and courage of the scientific investigator meet with no reward except the satisfaction which unselfish duty conscientiously discharged always brings; and, as Professor Tyndall has said, 'There is a morality brought to bear on such matters which in point of severity is probably without a parallel in any other domain of intellectual action.'"

The same ethical advantage is found in every scientific subject. As already said, intellectual qualities have moral value. The study of such a subject as physics has an ethical value through the development of patience caused by pursuing a tedious research and in surmounting unexpected difficulties; through

the development, also, of carefulness in planning a course of experiment, in providing for any possible contingency, in keeping a complete and systematic record; through the development of honesty, in holding the mind balanced and unbiased, not juggling with nor manipulating results, not embracing one theory or explanation more than another until all the facts have been examined and given due weight; through the development of caution in discussing results and in drawing conclusions. Physics has for its chief condition precision, and the intellectual quality of precision promotes the same ethical quality.

The ethical value of scientific studies is comprehensively described in both content and method by a distinguished teacher of science, who says:[1]

"The object which the scientific investigator sets before him is to ascertain the truth. He is devoted to it, and pursues it with unremitting toil. But this is not all. He not only seeks truth, but he must be true himself. It is difficult to conceive of any circumstances which would induce him to play a dishonest part in scientific research. He has every inducement not only to accu-

[1] Prof. H. S. Carhart, of University of Michigan, at dedication of Hale Scientific Building, University of Colorado, 9 March, 1895.

racy, but to honesty. He may unwittingly blunder and fall into error, but if he is untrue he is certain to be exposed. No discovery is permitted to go unverified. It must undergo the searching examination of scientific inquiry. The investigator must submit his data, and must seek to have his results confirmed. There is, therefore, every inducement for him to be absolutely truthful. This condition imposes upon him also the habit of conservatism and moderation in statement. He is not expected to plead a cause or to make the most of the occasion for himself. In this regard his position is in contrast with those whose profession makes them the allies of faith, but whose moderation is not always known to all men ; for their assertions are not brought to the touchstone of revision and justification, and the released word flies over the unguarded wall. The habit of the scientific investigator is to subject every question to the scrutiny of reason, and to weigh probabilities. He obeys the injunction, 'Prove all things ; hold fast that which is good.' He respects conscience, but has no use for credulity. He exhibits devotion to principle, but dogmatism, whether in science or religion, has no place in his creed. He looks not only upon the things which are seen, but also upon the things which are unseen. You may suffer me to remind you that the most noted American atheist is not a man of science, while one of the forceful books of modern times, *The Unseen Universe*, which aims to lay a foundation for belief in a future life without the aid of inspiration, was written by two distinguished physicists. Science examines the foundations of belief. It takes nothing from mere tradition, on authority, nor because it is an inheritance

from the past. It admits its own limitations and the somewhat circumscribed boundaries set to the field of its inquiries ; but within this province it seeks to ascertain only the truth. It recognizes not only the promise and potency of matter, but the power which makes for righteousness."

But it is still to be said that the general atmosphere of a college as well as the content of studies and the method of teaching may promote an ethical and spiritual impressiveness. If teaching be human, and large, and inspiring, it promotes an atmosphere in which definite and individual ethical truths become of tremendous importance. If teachers also are men of the noblest living, as they usually are, the force of example is great in drawing students up into the best ethical conditions and helping them to live the best life. The presence of such a teacher as President Hopkins, of Williams College, was of priceless worth to the students. Dr. McCosh did quite as much for the ethical and religious interests of Princeton through his presence and through the manifestation of his personal character, as through his instruction in the class-room. The power of this general atmosphere is well expressed by Prof. John Bascom :

"Carry a man onward, sweep him upward, whether by a pervasive sense of natural law or of divine grace,—will any one tell me exactly what is the real difference between them, so that the two shall not glide into each other while one's eye is upon them—and before he is aware he is earnest, reverential, devout. The wisdom that is buoyant, lifting the man that entertains it, carries teacher and taught alike heavenward. . . . Scarcely anything is shut out from a man by the form of an institution; and scarcely anything is conferred upon him by its form. . . . There must be moral elevation in our educational life, and elevation always declares itself. It is by elevation that nature ignites our thoughts, and hushes our words into awe."[1]

All ethical instruction is in a sense Christian; and all Christian teaching may properly be called the development and the blossoming of the ordinary ethical instruction.

We have in America three types of what may be called the Christian college. One type is the denominational—a college founded by a Church and the servant of that Church. Such was the original Harvard. Such are many colleges established in the western movement of the people. One type is that of a broad-church Christianity, such as I interpret Will-

[1] *Williams College Centennial Anniversary*, 72–73.

iams and Dartmouth to represent; and one type is a Christianity such as I understand the ordinary State university to embody. Now as to the best way of making the college Christian, to whichever of these three types it may belong, it is to be said that Christianity should not be a department of a college. Christianity is not so much a science as it is a life; Christianity is still an incarnation. Yet as the Old Testament came before the incarnate Christ, and as the New Testament followed his presence, so also the text-book may at once precede the Christian life of the college, and may also supplement and nourish it. The Christian college may, therefore, make and keep itself Christian first and always through the life of the men in college, and, secondly, through instruction in the content of Christianity. Courses, moreover, on theism, on the supernatural origin of Christianity, are germane to the purpose and work of the Christian college. Theology itself is also simply a department of philosophy. The Old Testament is quite as worthy of study, as embodying the history of a people which has supremely influenced the world, as many parts

of the early history of Rome. The ethical and religious teachings of Paul's Epistles, too, are quite as well worth reading for their intellectual value as the epistles of Seneca. The college, also, in a third way, should make itself Christian. The atmosphere of a college has more value possibly in the promotion of Christian ideals than specific instruction. Of course, this atmosphere is created very largely by the men in the college. It is said of Dr. Arnold that it was his ambition to compass an education which was not based upon religion, but was itself religious. And Professor Bascom, from whom I have already quoted, also finely says that the best way for a Christian college to fulfil its function in training young men to take a successful part in society is

"certainly not by an ism; hardly by a prescribed method; undoubtedly by a steady leading of all knowledge, in its ample and manifold forms, into a knowledge of man; by the constant gathering of truth into the ultimate truth of a spiritual universe; by subduing and expanding action, personal, economic, and civic, into the fellowship of man with man in righteousness; by gathering all things and being gathered of all into the kingdom of God."[1]

[1] *Williams College Centennial Anniversary*, 77–78.

The college is supposed to be a community of gentlemen. The atmosphere of the life of a gentleman pervades the college. Let it be known and felt that the typical gentleman is the highest type of the Christian. The college is not so much to teach Christianity as to be Christian. The old custom that prevailed in many colleges of giving up the regular college work for the sake of holding a revival, a custom still observed in certain colleges, is, on the whole, thoroughly bad. It tends to show that the Christian life stands apart from other life. Rather the purpose of the college is to show that all life is to be Christian, and that to follow the Christ is not to turn one's back upon one's set tasks, but to have the motive and the force of Christ in doing these tasks.

Thus I believe that the American college is to gather up and to conserve and to make forcible the ethical and the Christian. It is to accomplish these highest purposes through the use of the ordinary means. When a recently held Roman Catholic Congress passed a resolution that "in the elevating and directing influence of the Christian higher education

. . . we recognize the most potent agency for the wise solution of the great social problems now facing mankind," it was simply saying that the Christian higher education in its ordinary condition and powers was most potent for this supreme work. This work is to be done in the large spirit of earnestness, of devotion, and of love. Oxford and Cambridge were established as ecclesiastical foundations. Their ecclesiastical relations have now been somewhat eliminated. The American college was never an ecclesiastical foundation in the sense in which the oldest English universities were. The American college was and is a Christian foundation ; was and is an intellectual foundation ; and was and is also an ethical foundation. But these three aspects of the one institution are not to be separated. As the college is intellectual it promotes the ethical and the Christian purpose. As the college is an ethical agency it takes hold of the intellectual relations of man, and also of his Christian beliefs and principles. And as the college is Christian it must base itself upon the intellectual powers and also upon all ethical truth. The college of the future that is the worthiest

UNIVER
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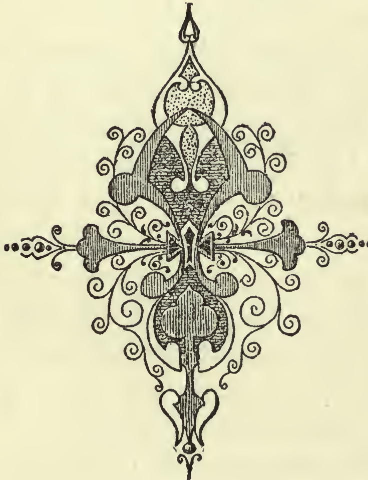
will unite in any description of itself the three epithets, *intellectual*, *ethical*, and *Christian*, into the one comprehensive epithet, *human*. For humanity is the expression of God, as it is his creation.

16



VII.

THE INCREASING COST OF ITS EDUCATION.

THE increase in the number of students in American colleges in the last two generations should be still further augmented. The period of education, too, should be lengthened for most boys and girls, men and women. Of the students at any one time enrolled in the public schools of the United States only twelve per cent. graduate, and the private academies and seminaries exhibit as low a percentage of graduates as seven. Many college classes show a decrease of one fifth, and I have known classes to summon only one half as many men upon the Commencement platform as stood together in the Freshman year. We ought to do all that can be done to have the pupils of the grammar-school enter

the high-school, to cause students of the high-school to complete the course, and to urge graduates of the high-school to take degrees at the college.

It is never to be denied that many men and women do not want a college education. It is also to be granted that if a person does not want a college course the college does not want him as a student. He would probably be hurt by the college, and he certainly would hurt the college. And yet most persons would be glad of an education if it could be had. The most evident reason which prevents worthy men who desire a college training from getting it is the cost. Mr. Benjamin Kidd says:

> "Even from that large and growing class of positions for which high acquirements or superior education is the only qualification, and of which we, consequently (with strange inaccuracy), speak as if they were open to all comers, it may be perceived that the larger proportion of the people are excluded—almost as rigorously and as absolutely as in any past condition of society—by the simple fact that the ability to acquire such education or qualification is at present the exclusive privilege of wealth."[1]

[1] *Social Evolution*, 233.

In one view of the question the cost of a college education is high. The average cost to the student per year at the better college is larger than the total income of the average American family. The cost, too, has greatly increased. I have lying before me tables which indicate the cost of education in certain respects at three such old and representative colleges as Harvard, Yale, and Dartmouth since their foundation.[1] I shall begin with the former, and with the first decades of the century.

From 1825–30 the average annual expenses of a student at Harvard were $176, of which half went for tuition and half for board and room; from 1831–40 the average was $188.10; from 1840–48, $194; 1849–60, $227 ($138 went for board and room); in the sixties the price jumped from $263 to $437, two thirds of which went for board and room; in 1881–82 the average expense to an economical student ranged from $484 to $807, the latter sum including a few more material comforts, and in recent years these last figures have been slightly reduced.

At Yale the increase of expenses has been

[1] These statements have been compiled from the old catalogues and other official statements.

nearly in the same ratio, the average for the first year of the third decade being $175, and the average for 1893 being $687.50.

Eleven catalogues of Dartmouth College which I examined mention no expenses prior to 1822, in which year the cost of tuition was $26, other expenses amounting to about $75. This scale of expense changed little until 1862, when tuition cost $51, and other expenses amounted to about $101. In 1892 the figures were higher, tuition being $90 and other expenses about $191.

At the risk of inflicting too many figures upon the reader I venture to give certain further facts in reference to the increase of bills at a few other colleges. In 1830 the total expenses per student at Waterville, Hamilton, Amherst, Brown, and the University of Pennsylvania ranged from $84 at the first named to $180 at the last; in 1893 from $275, or more, at Waterville to $335, or more, at the University of Pennsylvania. President Lord, of Dartmouth, wrote in 1830:

"Our students have just now commenced reform with an excellent spirit in regard to their diet. Several boarding-houses have been opened upon the principle of strict

temperance, and perhaps fifty or sixty young men have good living for \$1 to \$1.12½ per week. It may be understood that boarding may now be had in our most respectable families for \$1, the student consenting to a moderate, but in all respects sufficient bill of fare, and which will insure the '*mens sana in corpore sano.*'"

These facts necessitate the conclusion that every element of the cost of an education has in the last sixty years increased three or four fold.

The following notes, taken from the *College books* of Harvard, show the contrast between the simplicity of its early days and the more costly necessities of the present:

1667.—"The cook, receiving provisions from ye Steward at current prices, shall deliver the same out, to ye scholars, advancing an halfe penny upon a penny." "The Butler, receiving his beer from ye Steward, single beer at 2^s, & double beer at 4^s ye barrell, shall advance 4^d upon ye shilling."

1702.—Steward allowed to ch'ge two pence 3 farthings for each "part."

1724, Apr. 14.—Steward may charge 6 pence per *part* the current quarter.

1732, Nov. 7.—Food increased: Steward may charge 10 pence half penny for a part at noon: other meals remain the same.

1737, Apr. 6.—Provisions dear: so charged 16^d a part at noon, 10^d at night: bread to be 5^d a loaf.

1741, Apr. 15.—Dearness of provisions. Steward to ch'ge 2^s a part at dinner, 15^d at night.

1748, Oct. 19.—Particular management of Commons, and the price, left to be ordered by the members of the corporation resident in Cambridge.

1750, Aug, 15.—Prices of Commons fixed: Bread—two pence per loaf. Dinner—five pence, one farthing ("of which $\frac{1}{8}$ part is allowed for sauce").

Beer—one penny a quart. Supper—three pence, one farthing.

Commons to be as follows: "Two sizzes of bread in the morning, one pound of Meat at Dinner wth sufficient sauce & half a pint of Beer: & at night, That a Part Pye, be of the same Quantity as usual, & also half a pint of Beer, and that the Supper Messes be but of four Parts, tho' the dinner Messes . . . be of six."

Sept. 8, 1778.—Tuition raised to 40^s a quarter.

Dec. 15, 1778.—Assessment as follows: To Hancock Professor 16^s: to Tuition £5 5^s 0^d: to the Monitors 2^d: to gallery money 6^s. Also, on the Junior and Senior Sophisters, for Library £1 5^s 0^d; for Hollis Prof. Math. £2. (Reckoning is always by the quarter.)

Oct. 14, 1805.—Tuition for Seniors and Juniors $5.50 a quarter; for Sophomores and Freshmen, $4.50.

Aug. 7, 1806.—Tuition doubled—twice as much as preceding quarter.

Dec. 16, 1806.—10^c assessment on each student attending the French instruction.

Sept. 13, 1811.—Tuition increased one quarter part.

It cannot be said that this increase of cost can worthily be avoided. It is simply a part of the increase which comes from the change from living in a simple and rural community to living in a community whose relations are more or less elaborate. The college is a part of the community; it is moved by all that moves the community. The ordinary family of the community is spending several times as much money as the ordinary family of the community of two generations ago. The college-man does as the family does of which he is a member. It is also to be said that the cost of the administration of a college has vastly increased. Though complaints as to the present small salaries of college professors abound, yet these salaries have increased quite as rapidly as most incomes. At the period of the American Revolution the average salary of a professor at Harvard was £200. Early in the century the salary was $1500, and remained at that figure till 1838–39. At this time it was increased to $1800. In 1854 it was raised to $2000. In the next twelve years it was by successive increments so increased that it 1866 it was $3200. In 1869 it became $4000. The

maximum salary now paid in the College is $4500, and in the Law School $5000.

The most expensive part, in certain respects, of a college to-day is the laboratory and the library. The laboratory is wholly a new creation, and the library in its present extensive relations is also new. No less than $50,000 are spent each year in the library of Harvard University. What a laboratory costs it is hard to separate from other elements of expense. But each college is spending in scientific apparatus many times what it expended a few years ago. All this increase of cost must directly or indirectly increase the cost of an education to each student.

Yet the cost to a student for an education does not consist only of the amount of his formal fees and of the cost of board and room. The expenses which are called incidental are now in a few colleges larger than all others. Not a few college men of an economical turn find that, when they have added together the three things—the cost of tuition, room, and board—the expenditure of the whole year will be represented by this sum multiplied by two. Now there can be no doubt that the cost of an

education is keeping many men from receiving it, and the question therefore recurs, Can anything be done to open the way to boys who want to go to college but who cannot pass through the narrow financial doorway?

In answer it is to be said, first: the cost of an education to the student should not be lessened by lessening the cost of administration or of instruction, or by diminishing the efficiency of laboratories and libraries. Such a diminution would represent the diminution of the worth of a college course. It would also represent a change which the colleges themselves would not endure. Secondly: a decrease should not be secured through a decrease in the fee for tuition. The fee for tuition now represents only a part of the cost of the tuition itself. Professor Coulter, of the University of Chicago, has recently gathered together certain very suggestive facts upon this point, which are well worth careful study. From his table, which shows, among other interesting things, the cost, above fees, to the leading American universities of educating their students, I have selected a dozen of the largest institutions, and I find that the aver-

age cost each year per student over and above the fees he pays to these twelve colleges is $245.

But on the positive side it may be said, first: that the cost of an education may be lessened through the increase of endowment. This increase of endowment and the consequent increase in income would allow a decrease in the amount which the college receives from the student. Secondly: the same result might be secured by a tax laid upon the people for the benefit of the college. The State university is the result of a public tax. Should the State lay a tax upon itself for the benefit of more than one college?

In answer to the second of these two suggestions it is to be said that one university supported by the State is sufficient. Ohio has three universities which are supported in part out of the public chest. Not a few of those who are best acquainted with the method of education in this great State believe that it would be for the advantage of the State and of education if the money now given to three colleges could be given to one. Not a few colleges in each State are denominational, and

the chief reason for their existence is the denominational reason. No publc tax should be assessed for the promotion of such interests.

In respect to the method of decreasing the cost of education through the increase of endowment it is to be said that such increase has seldom resulted in such decrease. For, as a rule, every college has need of all the funds it can possess for filling up urgent needs.

But there is a method, the opposite of this, which might result in allowing a poor boy to come to college. It consists in the increase of tuition fees. As has been said, the present fee for tuition represents only a share of the cost of tuition. Why should not the fee be increased to represent the entire cost? Why should there not be a payment in money of the actual cost of instruction? Any reason which can be given for paying less than a college education costs is a reason which, I apprehend, would overthrow most economic theories. The American people have come to expect that the American college shall give an education at less than its cost. This expectation should cease. This presumption has arisen from the free public-school system. Every American

child goes to the public school without a direct expenditure on the part of the parent. The parent does not feel the indirect taxes which he pays for his child's education. It is hard, therefore, for him to pay the fee at the college to which his son or daughter goes upon graduation from the high-school.

It is also to be said that the price of instruction at the college is lower than the price at many secondary or even primary private schools. One hundred and fifty dollars is an extreme price for tuition at the college, but twice one hundred and fifty dollars is not an extreme price for tuition at certain private schools. There are moreover two special reasons for the increase of fees. The one of less force, is that not a few rich men are not willing to give their money to afford the sons of other rich men an education at less than its cost. A friend of mine with whom I was recently conversing said to me, "I can give you, if you wish, a large amount of money, but that amount of money would go for the benefit of the son of Mr. A. or Mr. B., who is perfectly able to pay all his son's fees at their full amount." The force of the reasoning cannot

be easily set aside, as the truth of the fact cannot be denied. But the special reason for this increase lies in the fact that money would thus be had for the benefit of men who could not pay for a college education. If the American college could increase its tuition fee to $500, there are not a few men in college who would be willing and able to pay this fee, and who ought to pay this fee, for the fee represents simply what the education costs. With the present endowments, and with the increase of endowments sure to be made, these payments would allow each college to offer an education to men who are not able to pay for it, at a very small cost. Thus, every poor boy in America who wants an education could receive it.

VIII.

CERTAIN DIFFICULTIES.

The college should be prepared to justify its existence, and to prove the value of its methods and conditions, at the bar of an enlightened public opinion. That its critics are so many and so alert the college should be grateful. The severest critcism that the college can be subjected to, is the simple charge that it fails to fit its students for life. This comprehensive remark includes several drawbacks which, it is inferred, the college labors under.

The college may injure men through fixing the habit of loving and doing only that which is agreeable. The college may minister to laziness. The laziness may be of a crude sort, such as belongs to Mrs. Stowe's *Sam Lawson;* but this type is far less common than that

of a refined dilettanteism. The college may minister to an indolence manifesting itself in methods and manners which are at once gentle and inane; of excellent form, but of worthless content. To do nothing, or to do nothing hard, is a special form of the agreeable. It represents our inheritance of "total depravity." The statical quality is a far more pleasant one for the ordinary human being to manifest than the dynamical. Now the college is in peril of developing in the students this quality; for the agreeable is found in indolence or a gentle dilettanteism. I do not, of course, fail to recognize that if, on the other hand, the agreeable have for its content—as it has for some natures—vigor, hardihood, daring, there can be no peril in the college promoting a love of such qualities; but, alas! too many of us are inclined to find the agreeable in soft pleasures and gentle inactivities.

The college may foster the habit of loving and doing only the pleasant by several means. The habit is promoted by the general condition of liberty which obtains more or less fully in most colleges. I am not now arguing against liberty in our colleges. Necessity is laid on us

to have it: it is the Divine method for bettering mankind. But every advantage carries with it certain perils; and I am only stating one of the results which follow present conditions. I lately asked a graduate of one of our oldest and most conspicuous colleges—a scholar of wide reputation, who himself graduated forty years ago, and whose son is now a student in the same college—if it was as good a college now as in his own undergraduate days. Instantly came the reply, "No." "Why?" I asked. "Because," he answered, "the men are not obliged to get up in the morning." The condition of liberty was too unrestrained. He also meant to say that the college was doing little to train its students to do what they do not like to do. The same condition obtains, at least to some extent, in all our colleges; and it must obtain. The advantages of the condition are far greater than the disadvantages; but the perils of liberty are, nevertheless, not to be lightly passed over.

But the old graduate also intended to convey that not only was freedom too free, but that luxury was too luxurious. If men of very small means suffer in the value of their educa-

tion through poverty, men of very large means suffer, and usually more, through too large expenditures. The ordinary college man does not spend too much: the rich one does. The rate of expenditure of the rich student may be no higher than that of his family; but, in relation to the development of his character and the discipline of his life, he frequently spends more money than he ought. Further, he consumes more time and strength in spending this money than he can afford. Luxury is not usually the nurse of scholarship. "Henry," said the old graduate above referred to, as he was visiting one of the luxurious dormitories, —"Henry, we did n't use to make first scholars on Turkish rugs."

The college is also promoting this love of the agreeable by failing to insist upon students doing a proper amount of work. It is not my intention to enter upon a discussion as to the amount of work which a college student in good health and of average capacity should do: any such estimate belongs quite as much to the physician as to the college officer. It is, however, safe to say that, while certain students work too much, four fifths of the men do

not work enough. The ordinary college adjusts its work somewhat on this basis: in each week to hold for each student about fifteen exercises, the number being seldom less than twelve or more than seventeen. The length of an exercise is usually one hour; and the character of each is such that two hours are allotted to adequate preparation.

Therefore, each student is supposed to devote to affairs intellectual nine hours a day for five days of the week. Most wise men would agree that nine hours of stiff work is enough for a college man to do in one day. Some men do more—sixty hours a week, or even a larger amount; but the number that do less, very much less, is considerable. I was recently told by a professor in a well-known college, that a student could graduate at that college by working two hours—and two hours only—each day. In these two hours was included the time spent in recitations. "But the recitations are more than two a day." "Yes; but he can cut some of these; and with a good tutor near the time of examinations he can make up his omitted work, pass the examinations, and get his degree." I myself do not believe

that the condition is quite so lax, or the ability of certain students so great, as this professor intimated. But it is clearly safe to say that there are thousands of students who, including the time spent in recitations and lectures, do not devote five hours a day to their college studies. At once the question arises, Why do not the college authorities compel students to work as (some would say) is their duty, as (all would say) is their privilege? The answer is that such compulsion would probably throw the whole body of students into a state of irritation, if not of absolute rebellion. Judging by the work done in preceding classes, as well as in colleges other than their own, students have a tolerably clear idea of how much they may be justly called upon to do. Against any attempt greatly to increase their work they would rebel; and college authorities do not like rebellion and friction. These would be as injurious as the addition of one third to the amount of work would be beneficial. It is thus better to keep things as they are.

This condition is not quite so loose as might be inferred from what I have said; for, though the work by which one may slide down the col-

lege course be slight, yet, beyond and above all requirements, many opportunities are open to the strong and conscientious man for pursuing investigation and for reading. The fields of scholarship are large and inviting to the eager student, and are not unattractive to some who do not care to pursue the regular curriculum. Enough has, however, I trust, been said to show that, in allowing its students to cultivate a love of the agreeable, the American college is fostering a real danger. Four years of such a condition at a formative period make it difficult for a man to do hard work in the years which follow the college quadrennium.

A second drawback of a college education, helping to constitute the criticism that the education fails to fit men for life, is one which the public often realizes but seldom calls attention to, viz., the training of the judgment of the student at the expense of his energy. The college teaches the student to see. His clarified and broadened vision gives him such a knowledge of difficulties that he becomes the less inclined to undertake tasks requiring energy and persistence. The college teaches the student to discriminate; and his finer sense of

appreciation enables him to estimate the nature of the perils and obstacles which lie in his way. He, therefore, becomes less inclined to exercise his power. He keeps his talent where it is safe.

The extent of this drawback will seem to some great, and to others slight. It cannot be doubted that, if certain men had had the advantage of a training in weighing evidence and in seeing comprehensively—qualities which the college specially disciplines—they would have been saved from mistakes many and momentous. The Patent Office would not need so large chambers for the storage of useless inventions. But I also find myself asking, What would have been the effect of a college training on some of the more energetic men of our time, who have been the leaders in aggressive industrial movements, or masters of large affairs? What would have been its effect on the older generations of that family which controls certain railroads running between New York and Chicago? Would the marvellous and magnificent enterprises of "Commodore" Vanderbilt have been rendered less so by a college education? Better judgment about many

things he would have had; but, would he not have had less energy? Great as is the need of good judgment in the administration of affairs in the home, the factory, the shop, the need of energy is greater. Fewer men fail by reason of a lack of judgment—numerous as these men are—than from a lack of force. More men are found sitting at the base of the mountain of some great enterprise because they are too indolent to climb, than are there through lack of wisdom how to make the ascent. We Americans plume and pride ourselves upon being the most energetic of nations; yet our energy lags behind our judgment. It is, therefore, a serious matter when the college causes her students to run the risk of losing energy in order to increase the riches of judgment.

It is urged as another drawback that the time spent in getting a college education removes the man destined for a commercial life from the most favorable opportunities for learning business. The four years between the ages of eighteen or nineteen and twenty-two or twenty-three are those in which the most valuable habits of commercial life may be most

easily learned. About one third of the graduates of certain colleges are going into business. Of the one hundred and eighty-two members of the class of 1891 of Yale College no less than seventy-one are engaged in business. These men are obliged to begin, at an age beyond twenty-one, work of a kind which they might have begun several years earlier. Have they not lost time, training, opportunity? In this relation, one urging the man who is to enter business not to enter by way of the college would probably say that, as a rule, the great fortunes of our time have not been made by college graduates; that they have been made by men of tremendous energy, of keen insight, of mighty industry, of close economy, —by men who began their careers early and have followed them with haste and without rest.

Before I pass to another rather serious drawback (as it is believed by many to be) of college education, there is a conception regarding the college man as a learner of business which calls for notice. It is commonly believed that there is a "certain condescension" in college men. Many are inclined to think that the

collegian considers the dust out of which he is formed to be a little finer than that which makes up the constitution of the ordinary mortal. For him the best things of life are none too good. His manners, gentle and refined, may be maligned on the ground of being slightly pompous. He is exclusive and seclusive. Such an interpretation is not uncommon. Some college men give ground for it, but not all. In point of fact the charge is better founded when applied to the students of certain colleges than to those of others. But it is not to be doubted that such an impression is made and that it prevents college graduates from securing a fair chance in commercial life to prove that they are neither coxcombs nor supercilious ninnies.

A further drawback is urged, with a good deal of vigor and generality of statement, that the college fills the mind with useless knowledge and trains it in antiquated methods of thought and action. In the same breath it is added that the scientific school gives practical knowledge and that its training is vital. The comparison between the dead languages and the modern is made—always to the credit of

the modern. The value of modern history and of economic science is made to appear greater than that of ancient history and of philosophy. Scientific studies are lauded as by far the most precious. The humanities are discredited. I remember overhearing, at a hotel table, a conversation between two recent graduates of the scientific school of a rich and famous university. "Mr. ——," said one, "gave several thousand dollars for any use the officers wished to make of the money. And what do you think they did with it? Why, instead of buying something useful, they spent it all in buying some mugs of the old Greek duffers." It was evident that the study of the humanites had not seriously influenced the manners nor the linguistic tastes of the graduates in question.

The drawback is not infrequently charged against the college that it trains individuality, but not social efficiency. The college tends, it is said, to remove the graduate from the ordinary concerns of ordinary men. It lessens his interest in human affairs. It develops the critic—the man who tears things apart: it does not make the creator—the man who puts things together, the constructor. It creates men of

the type represented by a certain scholar, who, being told on an April forenoon, "Fort Sumter is fired on," replied, "What do I care? I must finish my Greek Grammar." In patriotism, national and local, it develops the mugwump—the man who is dissatisfied with things as they are, but who seems powerless to make them better. To public improvements of any sort the typical graduate has a blind eye, a deaf ear, a cold heart. He represents an academic type, which is without grace or graciousness, learned without public spirit, individualistic without social relations. This disadvantage, as well as the preceding one, I state with a good deal of boldness; for whatever of foundation in fact either drawback possesses, the college should be willing promptly to acknowledge. This drawback may be called "academicity."

I shall allude to one more drawback, or rather to an application of a disadvantage to which I have already referred. For the man who takes no interest in any one of the manifold concerns of a college, the college is a distinct and positive injury. These concerns are manifold—scholastic, fraternal, social, athletic. If the student is irresponsive to each of them,

college is not a fitting environment, and must, therefore, have a deteriorating influence upon him. Was it not a former president of Harvard who used to say that it was, on the whole, good for a man to come to college, even if he did no more than rub his shoulders against the brick walls? Was it not another teacher, now living, who said that it was worth while to come to college, even if one stayed only a short time and did nothing, provided he got the college touch and atmosphere? I do not, I trust, fail to appreciate the value of the college touch and atmosphere. But, while one is getting these one may be also acquiring other things which may prove quite as disadvantageous as the touch and atmosphere are desirable. Is not one in peril of becoming pessimistic in thought and feeling, of blurring moral vision, of forming indolent, lackadaisical habits which may prove to be as confining in their limitations as the atmosphere and touch are full of inspiration? The boy who has not come to his second intellectual birth before going to college—and most boys have not—or the boy who does not come to his second intellectual birth at college, is the boy who does not re-

ceive much of value while in college. Such a boy, whether he have the free and happy nature of Hawthorne's *Donatello*, or a nature touched by the spirit of evil, without interest in any one of the many relations of the college, goes forth from the institution less well fitted to undertake the great business of life than if he had not rubbed his shoulders against the red bricks, or breathed a college atmosphere.

I have written thus far largely, though not entirely, with another's pen. I have tried to interpret certain convictions which are held more or less firmly, or which are more or less widely spread. I now wish to become judge and critic of what I have written.

The drawback of a college education resulting from promoting a love for the agreeable seems to me to be so well founded that the officers and the people should be alert to its perils. These perils are greatest for those whose environment is of the soft things of life. For the men who work hard in college and who must work hard in life, the temptation is that they will not appreciate the value of those courtesies and refinements which bear so large a part in the constitu-

tion of a beautiful character. It would be well if every man of wealth—inherited early or acquired late—could say, as said one graduate on the fortieth anniversary of his class: "I am thankful the old college made me do disagreeable things; it was the training I needed, and it has been of priceless value to me these forty years." The rule should, it seems to me, be somewhat of this sort: The college should require its students to take those studies which yield the richest educational results. (I am not now discussing the elective system, in which, of course, I do thoroughly believe.) Whether these studies be agreeable or disagreeable is an element of secondary importance. Yet their disagreeableness may, in certain instances, be so great as to render their educational value slight. In this case, to pursue them is a task hardly worth the doing; the boy had better leave college, if he can find no study agreeable. But in general no such value should, in my judgment, be attached to the pleasant or unpleasant character of studies in the early part of the student's course, as prevails in certain colleges.

In respect to the luxurious living of a certain

set of college men—I believe it is very easy to over-estimate its importance. The number of such men at the largest is but small, and they are found in only a few colleges: in most colleges they are not found at all. The influence, too, of luxury on the character of rich young men is not so enervating as those of us who have no luxuries are inclined to believe. The evil is, that men become so attached to luxurious modes of living that they cannot give them up. But this evil is not so serious for college men as for men who lack intellectual interests and resources. College men of any vigor at all are inclined to regard these soft things as pleasant enough and are glad to have them; but to be obliged to part with them is not so dire a wrench as to wreck either happiness or character. We are learning that young men of great wealth may be as vigorous and virile as poor men.

The second drawback referred to, consisting in the tendency of the college to train the student's judgment at the expense of his energy, is another actual peril; but its existence is not wide. The peril has also lessened with the increase of the relations and elements which

constitute the life of the modern student. The constant peril of the scholar is that of a lack of energy: the acquiring and the executive functions seem often to be antagonistic. But, for the student in whom energy is mightier than judgment, the modern college opens up many opportunities for the enlargement and discipline of his chief power. The various concerns of the students—athletic, social, dramatic, musical—represent fields in which he may prepare himself for winning his Gettysburgs; and it may be noted, in evidence, that some of the greatest constructive works of modern times, requiring bravest daring and the most intrepid confidence in oneself and in mankind—such as the building of railroads, telegraph and telephone lines, great bridges—have been among the triumphs of college men.

The drawback which relates to the disadvantages under which the college graduate labors in entering business is one very commonly urged. The frequency of its presentation is, however, lessening, It is lessening for the best of reasons—the power and the success of the college man in business. The simple fact is, that if the graduate begin at the age

of twenty-two to learn a business at that very point where he would have begun at eighteen, he stays at this point only about one tenth as long as he would have stayed had he begun at eighteen. The rate at which he attains skill and power in business is many times greater. When he has reached the age of twenty-seven, he has not infrequently overtaken and passed the boy who has been in business since the age of eighteen. For the sake of gaining ability sufficient for managing great undertakings, every boy who is to enter business should give to himself the best and widest training. Such a training is usually found in the college. If it is at all noteworthy that many of the very rich men of the United States, who have made their riches by their own energy and foresight, are not college-bred, it is certainly most significant that the sons of these men are receiving a college education.

As to the fourth disadvantage named—that the college fills the mind with useless knowledge, and trains it in antiquated methods of thought and action—I wish to say two things: First: One of the most valuable kinds of training which the college can give is the lin-

guistic. If to think is important, linguistic training is important. For we think in words. Therefore, thinking becomes clear, orderly, profound, as language is adequate. Language represents those methods and results of thought without which thought itself is feeble and inefficient. Therefore, training in language is of the highest value. To be able to think in, or adequately use, the English or any other language, one should know the language. He can only know his own language as he knows those languages which have made the richest contributions to its structure. Every new science, and every new application of any old science, goes to the Greek for its very name. Hence, a training in Latin and Greek is of the greatest worth. The college is *not* filling the mind with useless knowledge in requiring students to learn these, not dead, but living languages. Second: The scientific school is a professional school. Its graduate goes from its commencement, as goes the graduate of the school of law, theology, or medicine—directly to his life's work. It is not a school of liberal culture or of general training. It is to be said, and said with the utmost clearness,

that the governors of our best technical and scientific schools are beginning to recognize the advantages which the man desiring to enter these schools possesses if he has previously received a general training through the college. My friend and co-worker, President Staley, of the Case School of Applied Science, has said to me frequently and forcibly, "I wish that all students before coming to the Case School had had a regular college course." A recent commencement orator at the same school urged all students before beginning their technical studies to be college graduates. The reasons that prompt the student of law, of medicine, of theology to gain a good general education also prompt the student of technical science to secure one. It is, therefore, evident that, even in the judgment of those who might be inclined to disparage a college education, the knowledge which this education conveys is not rubbish, nor are the methods in which the college trains students antiquated. Indeed, such men are coming to recognize that a technical education, without a liberal education preceding it, may result in giving to its recipient an intel-

lectual narrowness of a type so narrow as to fail to recognize its own limitations. The narrowest narrowness is that which is unconscious of itself.

The drawback which I have called "academicity," has been common, is not uncommon, but is becoming less common. For with each year the college becomes more vital. It is more thoroughly adjusting itself to life. It is training men for service in the first half of the twentieth century. Its keynote is not individual sufficiency but social sufficiency. The whole tone of the typical commencement address is not, "Stay here in the college!" but, "Go into life!" For, as President Cleveland said at the great celebration at Princeton in October, 1896:

"I would have those who are sent out by our universities and colleges to be not only the counsellors of their fellow-country men, but the tribunes of the people—fully appreciating every condition that presses upon their daily life, sympathetic in every untoward situation, quick and earnest in every effort to advance their happiness and welfare, and prompt and sturdy in the defence of all their rights. . . . A constant stream of thoughtful, educated men should come from our universities and colleges, preaching national honor and integrity, and

teaching that a belief in the sincerity of national obedience to the laws of God is not born of superstition."

It is significant that the most aggressive and fearless of the reformers of recent years have been college graduates. It is also significant that the wisest, most vital, most direct method of social improvement bears the name of the "College Settlement."

The American college sets before itself the highest ideals. It calls into its service great personalities. It receives large material endowment. It is filled with a spirit of earnestness. Its methods are usually wise. It seeks to relate itself to its own age and place. It is a great power in American life, despite even the greatest weight which may be attached to its drawbacks. It only remains for those who love it, and who work for it—good as it is—to make it better, to increase its power for securing its highest ideals, to enlarge its material endowment, and to quicken the force of its great personalities. The duty rests on such men to make the American college a more vital and a more vigorous part of American life.

IX.

ITS POWER IN THE FUTURE.

HOW far the American college has already helped American life is a question to which what has already been said gives certain general answers. The influence of the American college has gone through all the ranges of the manifold and diverse life of America. It has helped to train, as I have already intimated, at least one third of all our statesmen, more than a third of our best authors, almost a half of our more distinguished physicians, fully one half of our lawyers, more than a half of our best clergymen, and considerably more than a half of our most conspicuous educators. So far as the influence of these leaders in national life has entered into the life of the people, so far has the life

of the college become a vital force in American character. Therefore, it must be confessed that the college has vastly influenced America. Such is the record of the past. What can the American college now do to influence the national character for the present and for the future? This is the question which I wish to consider. What more can the American college do than it is now doing to help American life?

The college has stood, and still stands, for the things of the mind. In a material world it represents that which is not material. The college can do nothing more worthy of its high quest than still remaining as the embodiment of this spiritual purpose.

In this service it is to stand for learning, for knowledge, for truth; it is also to stand for discipline, trained mental power; it is also to stand for what we may call, for lack of a better term, culture. Truth, without training, makes the mind a mere granary; training, without truth, makes the mind a mere mill without a grist to grind; truth and training make the mind a forcible agency of usefulness. But truth and training and culture make the mind

a forcible agency both of usefulness and for beauty.

There was a time when the college was inclined to consider scholarship as a piece of embroidery on the collegiate apron, as a bit of ornamentation on the collegiate sword. That time is past. The college regards scholarship as an integral part of its work and the promotion of scholarship one of its supreme purposes. The motto which the oldest college still bears on its seal, *Veritas*, will be borne also as a most precious inscription on the seal of the new college. The college will seek to save all that man has discovered and will also seek to enlarge the bounds of human knowledge. It will establish schools among the ruined monuments of the ancient civilization, as it has already established them at Athens and Rome, in order to reconstruct the life of the early and long-ago vanished nations. It will regard all that is human as its proper field for inquiry and investigation. It may be said by some in particular that the college will seek out those truths which belong to the natural and physical sciences; that the mighty movement which began in the study of

nature in the early years of the nineteenth century is to be accelerated and broadened: the field open is limitless and that constant and advancing investigation will pay. The college has the tools for investigating and the college gives to investigators that freedom from teaching which is necessary to secure the best results. Into the field of science the college which was established to train men in the humanities will enter more and more fully and ardently. Seventy-two years ago a distinguished graduate of Columbia College warned his fellow alumni against certain scientific truths as the frivolity of education. This frivolity has become the most serious work of the American college. This old world of ours has become a new world under the new knowledge of its forms and forces. So vast is to become this increase of knowledge that the university might well fear it would be swamped by the simple reports of these magnificent results. The fear would be well grounded excepting for the fact that modern scholarship has learned through cataloguing, and systematizing, and indexing, to codify and arrange these vast stores. The vast in-

crease already made can go on in vastly enlarging increments with the assurance that there is no peril of disorder or confusion.

This enrichment and enlargement is not limited to the natural and physical sciences. It touches every field of thought and of scholarship. Philosophy, history, languages, literature, mathematics, are included in these advances. In no department, indeed, is there a larger activity of the highest scholarship than in that department which is old and usually considered slow going—Latin. Latin, like so many other subjects, is no longer a specialty, but Latin is a field of specialization of several sorts: Roman Religion, Roman Literature, Roman Private Life, Roman Law, Roman Public Administration, and several other terms represent subjects for investigation which are each year receiving treatment not only in the class-room but also through scores of volumes and even through two score of periodical publications.

Now this vast increase in the scholarship of the American college is going on, strange as it may seem to say, without a high degree of scholastic supervision on the part of the

highest officers of many American universities. The scholarship of our instructors is constantly growing richer but the scholarship of the superintending bodies is declining. Walter Besant was struck at a recent Harvard Commencement Dinner by the laudation given to the men whom the College had sent into political life and by the failure to praise graduates eminent for literary and scientific services. Soon after the death of that preeminent scholar, W. D. Whitney, was held a Yale Dinner in New York City at which no allusion was made to the great man. Upon this very point a distinguished graduate of a conspicuous American college with which he has for many years been in close association, writes to me as follows:

"There is not at this moment on either of the governing boards of that University with which I am best acquainted, these boards numbering in all thirty-seven men, a single person who can possibly be said to stand for pure scholarship. Nearly all are business men or lawyers, often eminent lawyers, but it must be remembered that it was a President of that very University, and a very shrewd and worldly-wise one, who gave the maxim 'Put it down as a rule that no really eminent man ever reads a book.' So far as it is necessary to manage great busi-

ness interests, the selection could hardly be improved upon; but when we consider that these bodies have under their exclusive charge the general arrangement of studies, the selection and dismissal of instructors, and the bestowal of regular and honorary degrees, there seems something inadequate in the arrangement."

This condition which is thus so aptly interpreted arises from a serious demand for money in the establishment and administration of colleges, and also from the serious responsibility of investing the money which has been given to the college. The demand for money and the consequent financial responsibility may *not* lessen, but the undue emphasis which is placed on our having business men in our administrative bodies will presently give place to a wiser policy. It will not be wise to make our supervising bodies so entirely professional as were those of the early colleges, although this condition had one advantage in that the early American clergymen were scholars as well as clergymen. It would be well to have our governing bodies composed more generally of teachers, of authors, of editors, and of men of leisure who are sympathetic with and appreciative of the ends and the methods of scholarship.

OF CALIFORNIA

This prominence of scholarship will promote a result which the college should always bring forth. The College is to make the thinker. American life needs the thinker more than it needs the scholar. For the thinker takes the old truth and applies it to the new conditions of the present and of the future.

The college is now beset, in standing for scholarship and for culture, by two opposite forces. They are both material forces, born of a material age.

One difficulty that besets the college in the maintenance of this lofty purpose is the athletic interest. The college has not become a base-ball field, or a foot-ball gridiron, or a race-course to that extent to which the people believe it has fallen. Certain colleges are quite free from this evil drift, but in other colleges the athletic movement has become a craze, a frenzy, a madness. The origin of the movement is not hard to trace, and the origin is, in many respects, worthy. The college stands for things of the mind, but the human mind, fortunately or unfortunately, is located in a body. The mind thus placed seldom

works well unless the body is in health. A body is seldom in health without exercise. Exercise to be the most healthful must be taken in joy. One method by which joyous exercise is promoted is competition. Therefore competitive exercise results from a method of keeping the mind vigorous for its work. But exercise that is used as a means very easily takes to itself the interest which attaches to the end for which the service is used, and when exercise in college becomes an end athletics have become an evil. This movement in the college is contemporaneous with the athletic movement of the whole American people; a movement which is of tremendous significance for the health of the people of the present time and of those yet unborn. Now the college has had set before itself a very important problem in keeping athletics in the college vigorous as a means but of crushing out athletics as an end. Through athletics as a means and agency the college may still maintain its place as standing for things of the mind, but whenever athletics become an absolute good then the college ceases to be a mental and spiritual agency and takes

its place with the materialisms of a material time.

I do not apprehend that the difficulties which certain colleges meet with in the proper administration of these athletic interests are to become widespread or to remain lasting. College men are on the whole sensible fellows, and the parents of college men are on the whole sensible. We are soon to find athletics assuming their proper place in the whole work of the whole college, whose purpose is to train the whole man.

But a difficulty far more serious opposing the intellectual purpose of the college lies in the increasing luxury of college living. The age is a luxurious age, and the college cannot but be sympathetic with the age; but the college seems, in a sense, to be leading in the luxuriousness of the life of the age. The scholar has not in the past been distinguished for the elegance of his environment. The scholar has been a pretty independent being, but he has been independent not because he had much but because he needed little. The laws of begging were, in the Middle Ages, suspended in behalf of the scholars. The scholars

walked from all Europe to Paris to hear Abelard, and they begged their way as they came in pursuit of knowledge. When the magnificent Earl of Essex was sent to Cambridge, in Elizabeth's time, his guardians provided him with a side-table covered with green baize, a truckle-bed, half a dozen chairs and a wash-hand basin—the cost of all was about five pounds.[1] But to-day the furnishing of the room of many a student in many American colleges is many times five pounds.

The English and American people—the most luxurious of all people on the face of the earth—have allowed their luxurious habits to pervade their universities and their colleges. Luxury has not gone into Edinburgh and Glasgow, Aberdeen and St. Andrews, as it has into New Haven or Oxford or Cambridge. The German student, too, is still a student, like the German nation, of great economy and simplicity in manner of living. I cannot but believe that the American college should be made as little sympathetic as possible with the luxuriousness of American living. There should be one place in a demo-

[1] *St. Andrews Rectorial Addresses*, 90.

cratic country where men are measured and men are influential not by their wealth, not by the elegance of their bed-chamber or the splendor of their raiment, but by simple and sheer character. I cannot doubt that the influence of the two great ancient universities of England would have been far greater in English life if the method of living of the students had been simple, plain, severe. Oxford and Cambridge have had a tremendous influence in training men for the upper realm of the professional and social, of the theological and civil life, but neither has had a large influence in the great community of the people. I believe that one cause of the influence of Leipsic and of Berlin, of Bonn and of Munich, in the life of the German people has been the simplicity and plainness of the life of the student. I believe that the influence of the American college would be magnified and deepened in the community if the life of the student in the college were more plain and more simple. Let the living not be high, let the thinking not be plain; let there be cultivated much philosophy on a little oatmeal. I know very well that in certain colleges the life is plain, too plain; it

lies at the other extreme of the scale of luxury; it is too bare and it is barren; it is remote from humanizing and cultivating influences. Men are herded, and dwell in surroundings that have none of the comforts of home; such conditions are quite as evil as the evil that arises from luxuriousness of environment. But such barrenness is not our peril. Our peril is that increasing luxury shall result in diminishing intellectuality. Our peril is that the college will come to be the home of the rich and the dwelling-place of the magnificent. Our peril is that in this condition the college will not and cannot stand for things of the mind. But for things of the mind the college must stand. In the age of homespun of our fathers the college did stand for things of the mind; in the age of broadcloth the college must still thus stand.

The bishop of, in certain respects, the most important diocese of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America has lately written me as follows:

"If I were disposed to challenge the American college of to-day on any ground, it would be because of its tendency to descend from the loftier level of 'plain

living and high thinking,' which was the characteristic of college life a generation ago. The passion for building, endowments, material enrichment, in one word, is likely to smother the love of learning and to discourage simple tastes. It we can recover the spirit which educates in young men a love of learning for its own sake, and which teaches them that character is of incomparably more consequence than belongings, the college of to-day will do them the best service."

I have no doubt that the American college will, despite the increasing luxury of American life, still be able to maintain the scholastic ideals. I have no doubt that the American college, despite the vigor of athletic interests, will be able to maintain its intellectual methods and purposes; but the peril does exist and must be crushed. The college to bless American life in the next century as it ought must stand for things of the mind.

In standing for things of the mind the college will stand for an element or quality to which I have already incidentally alluded: I mean culture. That American life is in need of this quality, it is almost irony to affirm. That the American college can inspire American life with it, some would doubt. For culture belongs to those higher realms of

thinking and feeling which many American colleges are not able to enter. The college, primarily, must be content with giving discipline and training, so meagre are its resources, so immature are its students. And yet the better equipped of our colleges may do somewhat toward the securing of these highest purposes. Surely to the American college, standing as a type and agent of intellectual movements, the American people have the right of looking for help and light in nourishing these elements of life, which are the highest forms of the human spirit.

These elements belong to the realm of thought, of imagination. They are not a part of professional knowledge, important as this is. They are hardly a part of the ordinary and earlier studies of the college. These higher things pre-suppose the discipline and the training of the elements of language, of mathematics, and of science. They represent the spiritual and æsthetic side of all knowledge, and those relations in thought to which wide reading, keen observation, and reflection lead. Such a knowledge the American college should and does to a degree nourish. Its pro-

motion belongs rather to the later than to the earlier years. It can hardly be said that the German university fosters this idea of culture. The German university is essentially a professional school, and one does not look to a professional school for culture. The English university does foster this idea. It represents an "atmosphere" and a wide vision of the best things which man has done or aspired after.

In its ministry to the higher life of the race the college should train in particular the power of appreciation. As an associate of mine, Professor Whitman, has well said[1]:

> "This [appreciation] is the very flower of liberal culture, its finest product, and its surest sign. It includes not merely that critical judgment which enables one out of what is placed before him to choose the best, but those rightly ordered affections which dispose him to love that which is beautiful, high, and true, rather than that which is false and ignoble. As a result of education, it is a training of the judgment and the emotions, as the other elements considered embrace the training of the intellect and the will."

The appreciation is not simply intellectual,

[1] Address at Dedication of Physical Laboratory of Adelbert College of Western Reserve University, Commencement, 1895.

although such appreciation belongs largely to the field of truth; it is also emotional and frequently even volitional. It carries along with itself allegiance to the idea which is properly valued. It is in a word, love,—that "superior," as the great Emerson says, "that has no superior, the redeemer and instructor of souls."

The college may further help the life of the nation through an intelligent and sympathetic treatment of all sociological questions. There can be no doubt that the twentieth century is to be a sociological century. The eighteenth century was a theological age, the nineteenth has been a scientific one, and the twentieth is to be a sociological age. From God to nature, from nature to man, is the progress. The college is the most important agency in this progress. For this great being that we call the community is an organism of very delicate functions. To endeavor to correct any one part which may be out of order may result in harm to a dozen other parts. Therefore, great wisdom is needed in the treatment. If it is only the trained physician who should minister to the body diseased; if it is only the trained physician who should minister to the

mind diseased; it is also only one well trained who should minister to the diseased of the community in both mind and body. The man who is called the practical man is not by any means the best fitted to deal with the ills of the community. The man who is at once practical in his aims and scientific in his training is the best fitted. All the practical methods and practical agencies for benefiting humanity must rest upon scientific considerations. If they are not made thus to rest, the application of those methods may result in disaster.

One of the masters of this great subject, Carroll D. Wright, writes me as follows:

"I think that the department of political economy, as usually conducted in colleges and universities, rather antagonizes the public at large, and this has done something toward creating a more or less strained feeling between universities and the workingmen in particular. They (the workingmen) find that political economy is not adequate to the solution of the questions which they raised. Students, generally, find this true also, and that while political economy can not, and ought not be ignored, there is something deeper and more vital concerning the relations in life than political economy teaches; so ethics come in to supplement, or, rather, to complement, the teachings of political economy. To my own

mind, if colleges and universities would broaden their economic work, they would do something to aid American life as it appears to us at the present time. I would not in any way abridge the academic work of colleges, but I would extend the elective studies and bring the college into more intimate relations with the people themselves."

In one word, let the college be vital—vital in giving wisdom for the solving of the great social problem; vital in wishing that the problem be pressed home upon itself.

In the future the relation between the college and the public school should be made more intimate. Instead of the too common attitude of patronage and of jealousy should be the attitude of receiving and of giving the utmost help. In his great address given at the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the founding of Harvard College Mr. Lowell said:

"It is to be hoped that our higher institutions of learning may again be brought to bear, as once they did, more directly on the lower, that they may again come into such closer and graduated relation with them as may make the higher education the goal to which all who show a clear aptitude shall aspire. I know that we cannot have ideal teachers in our public schools for the price we pay, or in the numbers we require. But teaching, like water, can rise no higher than its source; and, like water again, it

has a lazy aptitude for running down-hill unless a constant impulse be applied in the other direction. Would not this impulse be furnished by the ambition to send on as many pupils as possible to the wider sphere of the University? Would not this organic relation to the higher education necessitate a corresponding rise in the grade of intelligence, capacity, and culture demanded in the teachers?"[1]

The fact is that the college in mere self-preservation should adjust itself to the public schools. The fact is, also, that the college in the preservation and augmentation of those great interests out of which it grows should be in closer touch with the public-school system. In particular the college should bear to the public schools two offerings. It should carry into those schools an appreciation of the value of scholarship. It should also train for those schools administrators. If the great body of the pupils in the public schools have a slight sense of scholarship—as I presume it would be usually granted that their sense of scholarship is slight—the college has resting upon itself the duty, to use the figure which Sir Walter Mildmay used to Queen Elizabeth about the foundation of Emanuel College, of "planting

[1] Harvard College, 250th Anniversary, 227–8.

acorns." But possibly more urgent than the need of scholarship in the public schools is the need of efficient administration. In the work of direction and of supervision of our public schools there is a crying call for wisdom.

The college of the future is also to have a vital influence upon religion. For, as President Eliot said, in an address given at the dedication of the site of Columbia University, "religion, in the universal sense, and the domestic relations remain, through all governmental and instrumental changes, the supreme forces in human society."[1] The question of the past century has been the question of the permanence and power of the denominational college. The college has been founded largely by denominations to promote denominational interests. The question of the new century is to be the question of the prevalence and power of the Christian college. In America the word religion will be interpreted by the word Christianity, and Christianity will, as a spiritual doctrine and as a movement, be interpreted in the most comprehensive and

[1] Columbia University: Dedication of the new site, May 2, 1896, 97.

vital way. The primary purpose and work of the college as related to Christianity will be to cause Christianity to make a proper appeal to the human reason. In the college as well as out of the college, Christianity has too often been presented as a system of unreasoned commands, as a creed without a logic, and as a doctrine without an ethic. It has too often been narrowed into denominational propagandism, or dissipated into atmospheric influences, or ossified into dogmatism. The human reason has not had sufficient opportunities under the best conditions for studying its truths or for satisfying itself of the logical worth of the evidences for its doctrines. The college should impress all men with its desire to test fearlessly every rational ground on which Christianity stands. In the college as in the world, Christianity need not cease to join itself to holy and beautiful environments, or to prove its presence by its works of love and beneficence; but it should more constantly and ardently manifest itself to the reason of man in clearer light and greater impressiveness. The college of the future will not be less, but more, Christian, but it will be far less

sectarian. It will come into the large conditions of liberty in which our oldest college has so well led the advance. Religion in this college has come to be regarded, not as a part of college discipline, but as a natural and rational opportunity offering itself to the life of youth. The college should always remember, as Professor F. G. Peabody says,[1] "that religion, rationally presented, will always have for healthy-minded young men a commanding interest." The college man of the future will be a religious man, not so much technically religious as he has been in the past, but genuinely and personally religious. He will be a Christian of the sort which is interpreted by the phrase that "the Christian embodies the highest type of the gentleman." It is still true, as said Mark Hopkins, on the fiftieth anniversary of his connection with Williams College: "Christianity is the greatest civilizing, moulding, uplifting power on this globe, and it is a sad defect in any institution of high learning if it does not bring those under its care into the closest possible relation to it."

[1] Preface to *Mornings in the College Chapel.*

Closely connected with the relation of the college to religion is the question of the relation of the college to the moral training of its students. It is plain that the college of the future cannot abdicate all responsibility for what we call the moral character of its undergraduates. The value of moral character is so evident, and the relation between moral character and the intellectual parts of one's being so intimate, that the college cannot be suffered to lay aside this duty. But the method which the college of the future will adopt for the bearing of this responsibility will be unlike the method that has been most common in the century that is now closing. The college will not attempt to train moral character through set rules and regulations. The method that has been used has proved in some places valueless and in others valuable. But it is a method ill fitted for mature American students. The method of the future will be the method of influence through personal association and proper environment. The personality of the teachers will come to have a larger value in forming the highest type of character. The college will treat the student of nature depraved, of

aims low, of intimations base, as nature treats an organism which has no relation to itself. But the man of high aims and white purity, of righteous desires and of holy loves, she will, through the power of personal association, develop into a manhood which is simply incarnate godliness.

The college is also to continue in the new century its work of making men of large and fine character. The distinguished editor of one of our oldest and most influential magazines has said: "The college youth I see are—too many of them—merely bright fellows with precocious worldliness: they seem not to have seen the Holy Grail that a man who has lovingly studied any great subject gets glimpses of. I doubt whether present American college life gives enough of this inner growth." The new college is to lay emphasis upon sheer and simple character. The old colleges did lay emphasis upon this fundamental element. If the college of the last two decades of the nineteenth century has failed to lay proper emphasis upon this most serious matter, the college of the first decades of the twentieth century will return to the earlier and worthier

purposes. The college must continue in the making of the strong and noble gentleman. As Mr. Lowell said in his great Anniversary address: "Let it be our hope to make a gentleman of every youth who is put under our charge; not a conventional gentleman, but a man of culture, a man of intellectual resource, a man of public spirit, a man of refinement, with that good taste which is the conscience of the mind, and that conscience which is the good taste of the soul. This we have tried to do in the past; this let us try to do in the future."[1] Of course such results cannot be secured in every graduate, and of course the influence of the few thousands who each year go forth from the college portals into life, and are swallowed up in its forces, is numerically slight, for the number is only as one in some four thousand. But such influences represent those forces which are akin to the forces of gravitation and light. Their power is not to be measured by their number but by their might.

This man of large and fine character—the product of the college—is to be above all else

[1] Harvard College, 250th Anniversary, 234.

a leader. The new century cries out for leadership. On the whole the heart of humanity is better than its head. Its wish to do the right thing is superior to its power of knowing what the right thing is, or of knowing how to do the right thing when it is known. The call for men of wisdom in legislation, both in the municipality and in the State and in the nation, is loud. The call for men of appreciation and interpretation of the social problems is loud. The call for administrators and directors in the public-school system and in scholarship is hardly less loud. Leaders, whose knowledge has become wisdom, whose wisdom has become conviction and whose convictions are worthy battle-cries, the college is to help to provide. The call is for men of light and for men of light who, in this light, can become men of leading. We should return to the condition which prevailed in the Middle Ages. That pre-eminent interpreter of the higher education in the Middle Ages, Rashdall, says: "Kings and princes found their statesmen and men of business in the Universities—most often, no doubt, among those trained in the practical Science of Law,

but not invariably so. Talleyrand is said to have asserted that Theologians made the best diplomatists. It was not the wont of the practical men of the Middle Ages to disparage academic training. The rapid multiplication of Universities during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was largely due to a direct demand for highly educated lawyers and administrators."[1]

As has been said, the universities of the Middle Ages were schools of the modern spirit. They put the administration of government and of affairs in the hands of men well trained. In securing these worthiest results of leadership, the college is to train men of power. At certain times the college has been inclined to emphasize too strongly knowledge as knowledge, but the college is to emphasize the fact and the method that from knowledge is to come power.

A further method by which the college may bless American life is through the inculcation and illustration of a broad patriotism. No sympathy is the college to have with that sentiment which cries, "My country, right or

[1] Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages, ii. 2, 707.

wrong." No sympathy is the college to have with that kind of patriotic love which is bought by the destruction of other nations. The college is to have the keenest sympathy with every endeavor to promote a love for that nation into which one was born, of which he forms a part, and in whose soil his own dust becomes dust itself. America ought to be the best nation of the future. In humble pride we may plume ourselves upon what has been done and upon what we are able to do. Not in vain, braggart boasting, may we recall the past or anticipate the future. For a nation that has in the hundred years of its national existence done what the American has done for civilization may be humbly proud. When we take up the book of our illustrious ones there are names which we can worthily write by the side of the names of the greatest.

There is no nobler chapter in the history of the American college than the chapter which tells in glowing phrases of the college boys who went forth from college hall to the camp; who marched from the Commencement platforms to the field of battle. One may read the record of them in the Memorial Halls at

Cambridge and at Brunswick, and one may read the song memorial of them in the Commemoration Ode. It was not alone from the college of the North that these men went forth. One reads in the catalogues of the colleges of Virginia name after name upon page after page having the simple record: wounded in The Wilderness; killed at Manassas; killed at Cold Harbor. Yes, there came from the college heart, Northern and Southern, the patriotic impulse to do loyal service for "my country."

I know very well that it is sometimes said, and very often thought, that the scholar is not patriotic; that in the comprehensiveness of knowledge he loses intensity of conviction; that in loving humanity he does not love the brothers of his own soil as he ought. One recalls the oration of Wendell Phillips delivered at the Phi Beta Kappa centennial anniversary at Cambridge, in which he arraigned the American scholar for cowardice and indifference in the nation's crisis. But the best answer to the words of the orator was the four-square tower, rising above the platform on which he spoke, that proclaimed to the

world that our oldest college gladly gave her sons, and poured out her bluest blood for the salvation of the nation. Memorial Hall, with the tablets of white marble inscribed with the names of heroes, was sufficient answer. The Shaw monument removes the charge.

In his preface to those most stirring volumes, *Harvard Memorial Biographies*, Colonel Higginson nobly says:

"There is no class of men in this republic from whom the response of patriotism comes more promptly and surely than from its most highly educated class. All those delusions which pass current in Europe, dating back to De Toqueville, in regard to some supposed torpor or alienation prevailing among cultivated Americans, should be swept away forever by this one book. The lives here narrated undoubtedly represent on the whole those classes, favored in worldly fortune, which would elsewhere form an aristocracy,—with only an admixture, such as all aristocracies now show, of what are called self-made men. It is surprising to notice how large is the proportion of Puritan and Revolutionary descent. Yet these young men threw themselves promptly and heartily into the War; and that not in recklessness or bravado,—not merely won by the dazzle of a uniform, or allured by the charm of personal power, or controlled even by 'that last infirmity,' ambition,—but evidently governed, above all things else, by solid con-

viction and the absolute law of conscience. To have established incontestably this one point, is worth the costly sacrifice which completed the demonstration."

And he continues in a further paragraph,

"And if there is another inference that may justly be deduced from these pages, it is this: that our system of collegiate education must be on the whole healthy and sound, when it sends forth a race of young men who are prepared, at the most sudden summons, to transfer their energies to a new and alien sphere, and to prove the worth of their training in wholly unexpected applications. So readily have the Harvard graduates done this, and with such noble and unquestioned success, that I do not see how any one can read these memoirs without being left with fresh confidence in our institutions, in the American people, and indeed in human nature itself. Either there was a most rare and exceptional combination in the lives which Harvard University gave to the nation, or else—if they fairly represent their race and their time—then the work and the traditions of our fathers are safe in the hands of their descendants."[1]

The American people love America. The love sometimes becomes braggadocio; but the American people in their love for America have often felt that they did not find a sympathetic

[1] Thomas Wentworth Higginson, *Harvard Memorial Biographies*, Preface v, vi.

heart in the bosom of the American college. The people have, therefore, felt themselves aloof from the college. The college should therefore inculcate love for the country; a patriotism which is broad and yet enthusiastic and vital; patriotism which is high without boastfulness; a patriotism which is as deep as the instincts of the human heart. It is thus that the American college can bless American life. It is thus that the American college can lead the people in times of national crisis into ways of strength, into ways of peace.

The American college is, therefore, to be in American life in the profoundest, widest, and highest relations. If the college look into the past—and into the past it must look—let it look, in order that it may secure a course more direct in present and future achievement. The scholar should make all antiquity a prophet for to-day, as Grote made his history "a modern political pamphlet in twelve volumes." The college should fill that dire need of the new world of wise leadership. It should train every faculty in every man into effective and gracious facility. It should cause noble character to blossom in noble

doing, as noble doing is the seed of yet nobler character. It should not dictate legislation, but it should fit men to become worthy lawmakers. It should not, as it can not, step over the threshold of domestic rights, but it should so train women that they, in wifehood and motherhood, may worthily train the generations yet to be. It should not stand blindfolded as justice and mute as the Sphinx before terrible social problems, but its eye should discover ways of relieving the increasing wants of suffering humanity, and its voice should be a bugle in clearness and a flute in sympathy, calling man to help man. Its interests should be humane because they are human.

Let the college have, or not have, noble buildings, but let it be vital. Let the students adopt or refuse adopting some academic customs or costumes, but let the college be vital. Let the college be in the city with all the magnificent and manifold life of the metropolis beating about it and beating into it, or let the college be in the country with all the benedictions and beneficences of nature speaking silently unto the receptive mind and quiet

heart, but let the college be vital. Let the college be splendid and magnificent in equipment and its laboratories commensurate with all the life of nature, let its libraries be the accumalation of the wisdom of man, but let the college be vital itself in teacher and student. Let the college also have a vitality as broad as is human life itself. Let it reach the American people as a people.

Discard Greek, but reach the people; retain Greek, but reach the people; shorten the college course or lengthen the college course, but reach the people; keep to the required system, but reach the people; introduce the elective system, but reach the people; keep out the sciences or let them in, but reach the people; bring in German methods, but reach the people; discard German methods, but reach the people. Let not the American college be obliged to offer excuses for its mere being because in its remoteness from the people it is so useless; let, rather, every American home be obliged to offer excuses for not sending its sons and daughters to the college, because the college in its abounding usefulness is so near to the home. Let the college have

a glorious past, a past of great movements like Oxford, a past of great men like Cambridge, or let the college be unknown; but let the college now be vital and broad in every part of its being. Life, Life, Life:—That let the American college stand for, that let the American college be.

THE END

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