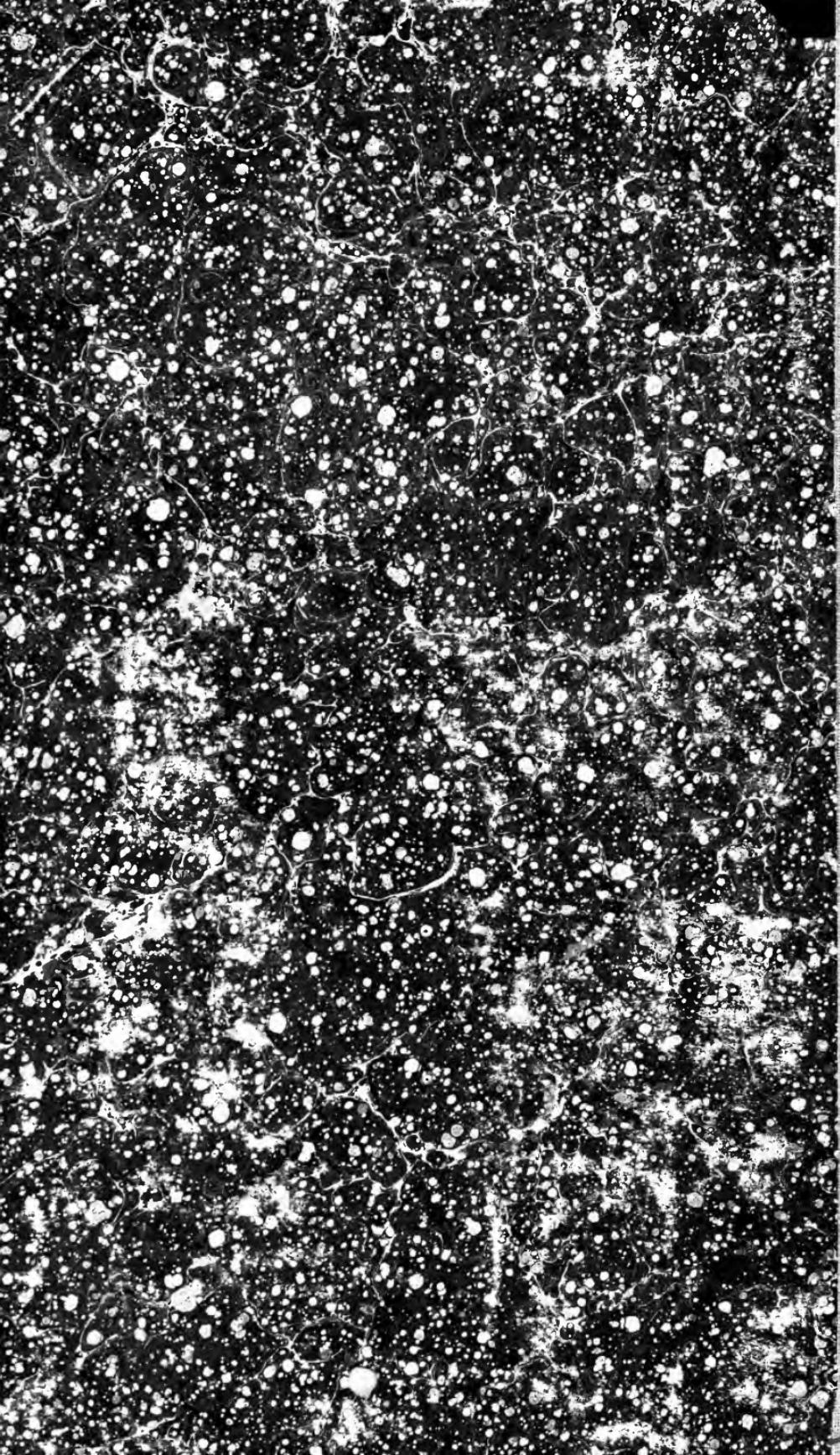
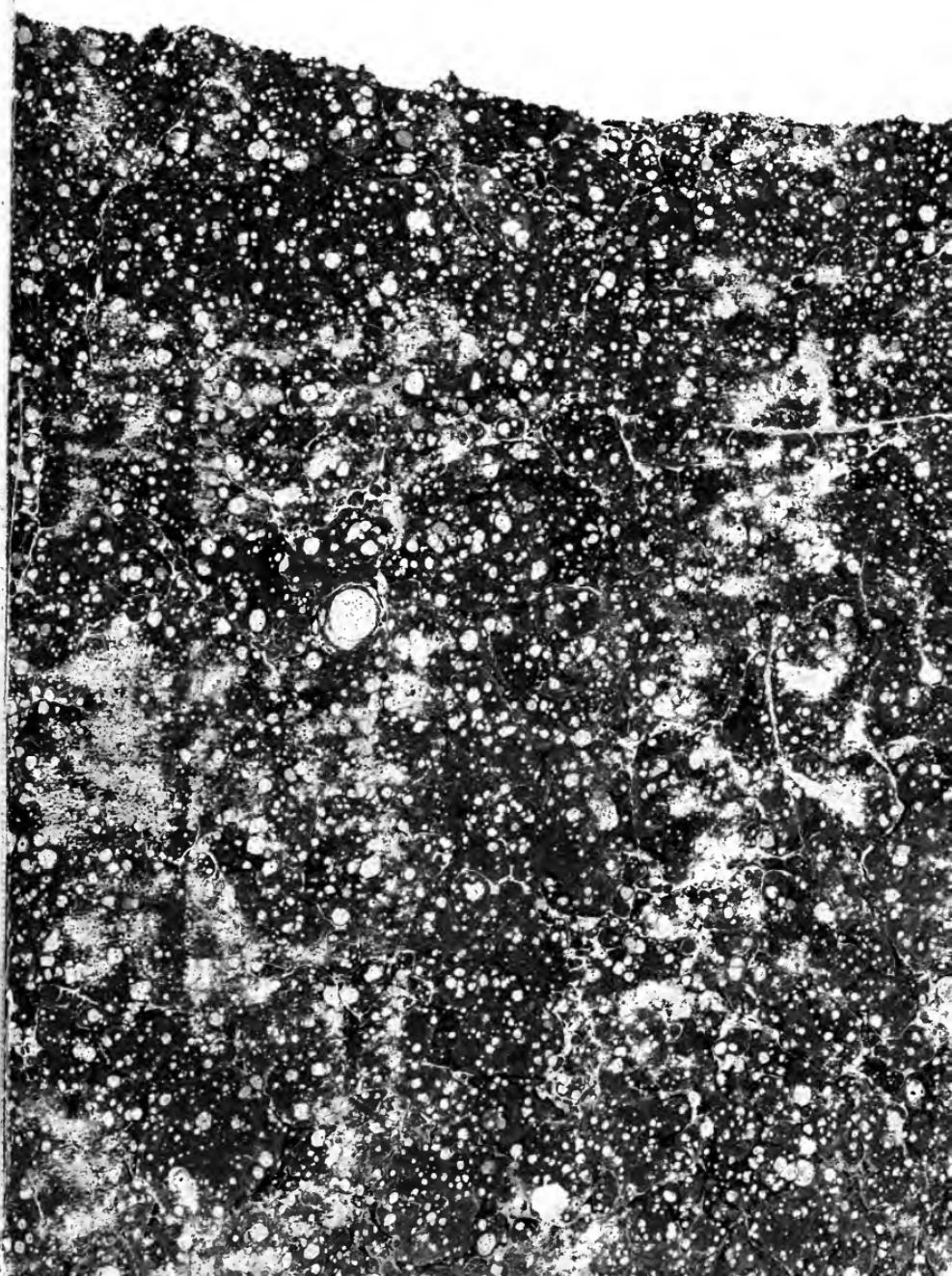


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EVOLUTION OF THE UNIVERSITY

FIRST ANNUAL ADDRESS BEFORE THE ALUMNI ASSOCIATION OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA, JUNE 11, 1889

By GEORGE E. HOWARD
Professor of History in the University of Nebraska



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EVOLUTION OF THE UNIVERSITY.

Institutional history is of peculiar value because within its sphere—by no means a narrow one—it constitutes an unusually trustworthy and unbroken record of social and intellectual progress. An institution is as truly a living organism as is a plant or an animal. It germinates, flourishes, or decays as do the ideas, sentiments, and desires of which it is the outward expression. Its phases of growth conform to natural and ascertainable laws; and the teacher of history does well when he constructs the major part of his curriculum on the solid basis of political organizations. Here, at any rate, his method may be rigidly scientific. What he loses in breadth, if indeed he lose anything, is more than counterbalanced by depth and precision. Social embryology and animal embryology present similar phenomena to the observer. And, while the naturalist necessarily treats his subject from the historical point of view, the student of comparative institutions is more and more inclined to ascribe to his branch the character of a biological science.

But while political institutions are beginning very properly to occupy a large space in the university life, there are organisms of a different nature whose history is scarcely less interesting or instructive. Among these not the least noteworthy is the university itself: a noble product of social advancement, designed at once for the cultivation of the intellect and for the expansion of the boundaries of knowledge. Indeed the importance of three or four of the early centers of learning in determin-

ing the character of mediæval and modern society is incalculable. Thus the University of Paris—to take the most remarkable example—exerted during eight centuries a vast influence on European history ; and the standard of culture in our own country is indirectly affected by the survival of that influence even at the present time. It may not therefore be entirely inappropriate to spend the hour set apart for the first anniversary address before this Association in tracing the genesis and evolution of the ideas and constitutional mechanism which enter into the general conception of that institution of which the American state university is the most recent type. The following topics will be briefly considered :

1. The Studium Generale ; or the origin and character of the mediæval university.
2. The triumph of the college over the university, notably at Oxford and Cambridge, and the influence of the English university on American schools.
3. The Renaissance of learning, particularly in the United States.
4. The relation of the state university and its alumni to the social organism.

I.—THE STUDIUM GENERALE.

Previous to the beginning of the twelfth century the only institutions of learning which existed in Europe were the cathedral and monastic schools. Here were acquired such scanty elements of knowledge as enabled the stolid monk or the ignorant and superstitious priest to administer the dull routine of his office. Through the long period of national gestation, commonly described as the “dark ages,” but a feeble ray of classic learning was able to penetrate, notwithstanding the temporary revival under Charles the Great.¹

¹ A slight tradition of ancient learning was preserved throughout the middle ages ; but, as Mr. Mullinger has shown, it was “the highest excellence of the scholar to render all profane literature subservient to the illustration of the scriptures.” The principal text books of the period were the

But at length the new nations were born, and mediæval man demanded a wider opportunity for the exercise of his physical and intellectual powers. This was first sought in the Crusades. But the most remarkable effect even of the First Crusade was the expansion of the mental horizon. Curiosity was excited and a thirst for knowledge aroused. With this general cause a second, narrower though scarcely less potent, coöperated to produce a demand for new and more efficient means of instruction : the practical need of systematic training in the learned professions.

Accordingly, in the early years of the twelfth century, associations were formed almost simultaneously at Bologna and Paris, for the purpose of securing certain kinds of instruction

Historiarum adversus Paganos Libri VII, of Orosius ; the *De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii et de Septem Artibus Liberalibus Libri Novem*, of Martianus Capella ; the *De Consolatione Philosophiae*, together with the translations and commentaries, of Boethius ; the *De Artibus ac Disciplinis Liberalium Literarum*, of Cassiodorus ; and the *Origines*, of Isidore. By Boethius and Cassiodorus some knowledge of Porphyry's *Isagoge* and of the logic of Aristotle were preserved ; by Orosius, a follower of Augustine, the mediæval theory of history was formulated : *divina providentia agitur mundus et homo* ; by Isidore was effected the "incorporation of the remains of pagan learning with the new theology;" while through the allegory of Martianus "was transmitted to the universities of Europe the ancient division of the *trivium* and *quadrivium*." The first of these courses comprised grammar, logic, and rhetoric ; the second, arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy. But the literature and culture of the period preceding the rise of universities were meagre in the extreme, and "almost exclusively possessed by the clergy." For the foregoing statement and a learned discussion of the history of education between the fourth and twelfth centuries, see Mullinger, *The University of Cambridge*, I, 1-64. The best monograph on the revival of learning under Charlemagne is *The Schools of Charles the Great* (London, 1877), by the same writer, containing also a sketch of the imperial, cathedral, and monastic schools preceding the reign of that monarch. Short accounts of the Palace School may be found in Guizot's *History of Civilization in France*, III, 30-54; Mombert's *History of Charles the Great*, 241 ff.; and Newman's *Rise and Progress of Universities*: abridged in Barnard's *American Journal of Education*, vol. 24 (1873), pp. xliv-viii. Cf. Prantl, *Geschichte der Logik*, I, 626 ff., 672 ff.; Hallam, *Literature of Europe*, I, 1-15.

which could not be afforded by the ecclesiastical schools.¹ These associations were simply scholastic gilds or spontaneous combinations of students and teachers for mutual aid and protection ; and they were evidently formed on the analogy of the contemporary craft gilds, more particularly the gilds of aliens in foreign cities,² which had made their appearance in western Europe probably at an earlier day.³

The earliest scholastic bodies of this character were com-

¹ The most important monograph on the genesis and early history of European universities is Father H. Denifle's *Die Universitäten des Mittelalters bis 1400*, not yet completed. The first volume, 815 pages, entitled *Die Entstehung der Universitäten des Mittelalters*, appeared in Berlin, 1885. Vol. I of Kaufmann's *Geschichte der deutschen Universitäten* is also devoted to the *Vorgeschichte*. An older standard treatise is Meiners' *Geschichte der Entstehung und Entwicklung der hohen Schulen unseres Erdtheils*, 4 vols., Göttingen, 1802-5. I am especially indebted to Savigny, *The Universities of the Middle Ages*, in Barnard's *Am. Journal of Ed.*, vol. 22, pp. 273-330, translated from his *Geschichte des römischen Rechts im Mittelalter*, vol. III; Mullinger, *Universities*, in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, XXIII, a most excellent general sketch ; his *University of Cambridge*, vol. I, 65-131, where the universities of Bologna and Paris are compared ; Döllinger, *Universities, Past and Present*, in Barnard's *Journal*, vol. 20, pp. 737-765 ; *The University of Paris*, in Barnard's *Journal*, vol. 24, pp. 745-776 : from Drane's *Christian Schools and Scholars*, a second edition of which has since appeared (London, 1881) ; an article entitled *Universities*, in the *North American Review*, vol. 27 (1828), pp. 67-89 ; and a most interesting account of *Italian University Life in the Middle Ages*, in the *British Quarterly Review*, July, 1884, pp. 28-46. On the University of Paris, see further Thurot, *De l'Organization de l'Enseignement dans l'Université de Paris* (Paris, 1850) ; Budingsley, *Die Universität und die Fremden an derselben im Mittelalter* (Berlin, 1876) ; and Dubarle, *Histoire de l'Université de Paris* (Paris, 1844). I have been greatly assisted in the search for material by Dr. G. S. Hall's admirable *Bibliography of Education* (Boston, 1886), comprehending in sixty major classes the more important publications in the whole field of pedagogical literature.

² Mullinger, *Universities*, *Ency. Brit.*, XXIII, 831, 833 ; *University of Cambridge*, I, 72, 77. Cf. Savigny, *Universities of the Middle Ages* : Barnard's *Am. Journal of Ed.*, vol. 22, pp. 276-280.

³ Such combinations of strangers for mutual assistance may have been the *gegildan* of Ine, 16, 21 ; Ælfred, 27, 28 ; Æthelstan, VI, 8, § 6 : Schmid, *Gesetze*, pp. 28, 86, 166. Cf. Konrad Maurer, *Kritische Ueberschau*, I, 91 ff.; Schmid, *Glossar*, 588-9.

posed entirely of foreigners uniting to resist the rapacity and violence of the citizens of towns where they gathered to hear some celebrated teacher. Thus the first of the many such associations gradually formed at Bologna was probably the so-called German Nation, while the Tuscan Nation, or that of the native students, was the last.

So it appears that the scholastic gild—a voluntary private association originally unprotected or unsupported by any civil or ecclesiastical authority—is the embryo from which were ultimately evolved those two mighty organizations, the universities of Bologna and Paris, each the fruitful mother of a numerous group of celebrated schools. They were the veritable *matres universitatum*: Bologna, the parent of universities of the democratic type—namely those of Italy, Spain, and southern France; Paris, the parent of universities of the centralized type,—those of northern France, England, and Germany. A brief comparison of the principal features of these two institutions, so far as they enable us to understand the genesis of existing elements of the university life and constitution will now be presented.

In the first place, it is important to observe that the mediæval word *universitas* was originally employed, like the word *societas*, “to denote any community or corporation regarded under its collective aspect.”¹ It thus required a modifying phrase to give it significance. In this way it was employed as the name of the scholastic gild itself. The

¹ “In the language of the civil law all corporations were called *universitates*, as forming one whole out of many individuals. In the German juris-consults *universitas* is the word for a corporate town. In Italy it was applied to the incorporated trades in the cities. In ecclesiastical language the term was sometimes applied to a number of churches united under the superintendence of one archdeacon. In a papal rescript of the year 688, it is used of the body of the canons of the church of Pisa:” Malden, *Origin of the Universities*, 13: cited by Mullinger, *University of Cambridge*, I, 71. Cf. his article in *Ency. Brit.*, XXIII, 831; Savigny, *Universities of the Middle Ages*, in Barnard’s *Journal*, vol. 22, p. 325; and Barnard’s *Journal*, vol. 9, pp. 49–55.

latter as a group of fellow-countrymen was styled a *natio* or nation ; as an organization and later as a legal corporation, it became either a *universitas discipulorum* or a *universitas magistrorum*—a university of students or masters.¹ Not until about the end of the fourteenth century—that is to say, until three hundred years from the origin of the schools of Paris and Bologna—was the term *universitas* used *alone* as a designation for the whole aggregation of nations and faculties regarded as an institution of learning. On the contrary, throughout the entire mediæval period, the term employed for that general conception—the analogue of the modern *university*—was *schola*, more commonly, *studium generale*, or “general study.”²

The evolution of the studium generale, whether of the democratic or the centralized type, passing through various stages before its exceedingly complex organism is fully attained, affords a very instructive study ; but it can here be sketched only in bare outline.

The gathering of the first nation or gild, as already intimated, arose in a secular need. At Bologna it was the lectures of Irnerius on the civil law, about 1113, which first attracted students from beyond the Alps. Later in the same century appeared the *Decretum* of Gratian—a codification of genuine and spurious canons—which gave an impulse to the study of

¹ According to Savigny, *Universities of the Middle Ages*, Barnard's *Journal*, vol. 22, pp. 274, 325—“in Paris the corporation consisted of all the professors, who possessed all the power and authority, while the students, as only the subjects of the little state, are nowhere particularly mentioned. In Bologna the students formed the corporation, and elected the officers from their own body, and to the authority of these the professors were subjected . . . Hence in Bologna the name of *universitas scholarum* was in common use ; while in Paris it was *universitas magistrorum*.”

² On the use of the term *studium generale*, see Newman, *Rise and Progress of Universities*, in Barnard's *Journal*, vol. 24, p. xvii ; Döllinger, *Universities, Past and Present*, in Barnard's *Journal*, vol. 20, pp. 738–9 ; Mullinger, *Universities*, *Ency. Brit.*, XXIII, pp. 831 f. ; Savigny, *Universities of the Middle Ages*, in Barnard's *Journal*, vol. 22, p. 325 ; and an article in Barnard's *Journal*, vol. 9 (1860), pp. 49–55.

ecclesiastical law at the same place. Thus in the very beginning, the school of Bologna laid the foundation of her distinctive character as a center of secular learning, and especially as a place for the study of the two rival branches of jurisprudence—the subject which was becoming of ever-increasing importance in the politics and commerce of the Empire.

On the other hand, the studium generale of Paris began in the study of logic or dialectics, at that time looked upon as the *scientia scientiarum*, the hand-maid of theology. Dialectics or argumentation in prescribed forms was regarded as necessary to the “intelligent apprehension of spiritual truth.” This is curiously illustrated by the use made of the book of *Sentences* of Peter Lombard, bishop of Paris in 1159, and a pupil of Abelard, the second great teacher of logic at that place. “The design of this work,” says Mr. Mullinger, “was to place before the student, in as strictly logical a form as practicable, the views (*sententiae*) of the fathers and all the great doctors of the church upon the chief and most difficult points in the christian belief. Conceived with the purpose of allaying and preventing, it really stimulated, controversy. The logicians seized upon it as a great storehouse of indisputable major premises, on which they argued with renewed energy and with endless ingenuity of dialectical refinement; and upon this new compendium of theological doctrine, which became the text-book of the Middle Ages, the schoolmen, in their successive treatises *super sententias*, expended a considerable share of that subtlety and labour which still excite the astonishment of the student of metaphysical literature.¹”

Thus in the outset the University of Paris developed a tendency precisely opposite to that of Bologna, which ultimately made her the great theological school of Europe, and

¹ Mullinger, *Universities, Ency. Brit.*, XXIII, 834; *University of Cambridge*, I, 58–62, 77–9. On the dialectics of the schoolmen, see especially Prantl, *Geschichte der Logik*, Vols. II, III.

laid the foundation of that ecclesiastical domination of thought which has exerted so vast and so disastrous an influence on the history of higher education throughout the world.

In its origin the studium generale was composed loosely of voluntary associations dependent upon their own resources. But soon it gained the protection and patronage of the civil power. This was effected for the school at Bologna by the celebrated *Privilegium* of Frederick Barbarossa in the year 1158, by which important immunities were bestowed upon the students, and a special jurisdiction upon the faculties. This instrument is the *magna charta* of the universities of Italy to all of which its privileges were ultimately extended. The studium at Paris was also patronized by the state, being styled the "eldest daughter of the king."¹ In both instances, likewise, the popes acted as patrons and supervisors, bestowing powers, granting privileges, and confirming statutes.

Let us now examine the constitution of the school of Bologna as it existed about the year 1360, when its full development was reached. There were at this time four distinct "universitates" with five faculties. First were the two schools of jurisprudence, formed about 1250 by the amalgamation of the nations or scholastic gilds into two large groups: the university of the *ultramontani* or foreigner, and the university of *citramontani*, or native students. The first of these groups was composed of eighteen, and the second of seventeen, nations. Originally each of the two universities had its own rector; but in the sixteenth century a further step towards union was taken through the institution of a common head.

At the beginning of the fourteenth century, about, 1295-1316, a third university, that of the *artistae* was formed. At first the right of the artists to chose their own rector was

¹ Savigny, *Universities of the Middle Ages*, in Barnard's *Journal*, vol. 22, pp. 276, 309. Cf. *The University of Paris*, in Barnard's *Journal*, vol. 24, pp. 746-7.

disputed by the older universities, as well as by the city ; but after 1316, this right was conceded.¹ Finally, in the year 1360, a *universitas* of theology was established by Pope Innocent VI.

For these four schools there were five faculties, composed in each instance of doctors only. The universities of jurisprudence had two faculties *in common*, one of civil and the other of canon law. In like manner the university of artistae had two faculties : one of philosophy and another of the arts.² There was also the faculty of theology. But the school of theology was formed on the Parisian model, being corporately a *universitas magistrorum not scholarum* ; so that the students for legal purposes were individually connected with the artistae. Two striking facts should here be carefully noted. The Bologna studium was a very loose aggregation of corporations, small and great. The two universities of artistae and the university of theology were always independent of the schools of jurisprudence ; while the amalgamation of the nations of law students to form the latter required four hundred years for its accomplishment ; and even then the corporate existence of the respective nations was maintained in their right of representation in the senate or great council of the rector. Again the studium of Bologna was a republic in which the students were supreme. By their representatives the rector was annually chosen ; and the senate or rector's advisory council was composed of one or two *counsellarii* elected from each nation. Members of the faculty could neither vote nor hold any office. The students were the corporation.

On the other hand the studium of Paris was a more compact organization and power was monopolized by the masters

¹ Savigny, *Universities of the Middle Ages*, in Barnard's *Journal*, vol. 22, p. 279.

² The term *Arts* comprehended the branches of the ancient *trivium* and *quadrivium* : Mullinger, *Universities, Ency. Brit.*, XXIII, 833, note 2; *University of Cambridge*, I, 77.

and doctors. Even bachelors were subjected to the liberal chastisement of the rod ; and this fact may serve as some indication of the restricted liberty of the student at Paris as compared with his sovereign power at Bologna. At Paris, about the year 1250, we find four faculties instead of four *universitates* as at Bologna a century later. First were the *artistae* or faculty of philosophy formed by the amalgamation of the four ancient nations—the scholastic gilds. This though representing the “old university”—as it was also called—was styled the “inferior” faculty, as opposed to the three later “superior” faculties of theology, canon law, and medicine. The four faculties had a common head (1300–1350 *ca.*) or rector chosen always by the faculty of arts ; each superior faculty had a dean ; each nation, a proctor. The rector presided in the congregation of the *artistae* as also in that of the entire studium. Only regents, that is masters and, of course, doctors actively engaged in teaching, could be chosen rectors, participate in their election, or vote on measures in the congregations. Thus it appears that the school of Paris, though more centralized than that of Bologna, was still far from attaining the unity of a modern university. Each of the nations and each of the superior faculties, says Mullinger, while subject to the general authority of the rector, “was, like a royal colony, in a great measure self-governed, and made statutes which were binding simply on its own members.”¹

The three degrees which still exist were introduced at a very early day—probably in the twelfth century. The title *magister* or *dominus* seems to have been given to the first lecturers merely as an honorary title. But later, when special jurisdiction was gained by the doctors, the higher degrees were only conferred by formal act.

Originally the right of the faculties to confer degrees does not seem to have rested on either the papal or the imperial sanction. Each university freely exercised the privilege as a

¹ *Universities, Ency. Brit.*, XXIII, 835.

matter wholly within its own competence. But in order that a degree, which was in effect a license to teach, might be acknowledged as valid throughout christendom, not merely in the place where it was given, the approval of some authority generally respected was requisite. Such an authority could only be found in the Pope, who thus gained the right, through his representatives, of conferring degrees. In this way at Bologna, after the year 1219, the archdeacon of the cathedral, to prevent "unworthy persons" from receiving them, began to approve licenses as the papal delegate. At Paris, in like manner, degrees were usually conferred by the chancellor of Notre Dame, since, at a very early day, the university was brought into connection with the ancient cathedral schools. It is in the school of Paris, therefore, that we find the genesis of the university chancellorship; for *chancellor* came to be the technical name of the officer who exercised the right of conferring degrees, whether he acted merely as the pope's representative, or was the elective constitutional head of the institution, as eventually at Oxford and Cambridge.¹ Consequently in its inception the office of chancellor is ecclesiastical and has but an incidental connection with the university. It was outside of the real constitutional organism; and at Paris, while the rector was the active administrative head, the encroachments of the chancellor of Notre Dame hindered the prosperity of the school. "The French kings, who had at first accorded it but dubious and precarious aid, as soon as they perceived the accession to their own strength to be derived from the new alliance, became its avowed friends, while the popes, its first and most ardent promoters, adopted towards it a policy of mistrust, coldness, and opposition; and the chancellor of the cathedral, on whom it devolved, as the

¹ So, for example, at Bologna the archdeacon of the cathedral, and at Montpelier, the bishop, who conferred degrees in all faculties, were each styled *chancellor*: Savigny, *Universities of the Middle Ages*, in Barnard's *Journal*, vol. 22, pp. 288, 319.

representative of the pontifical authority, to admit the licentiates of the higher faculty, and whose claims even amounted to a kind of perpetual presidency, ceased not, so long as his office continued to exist, to persecute the university to which he could not dictate.”¹

On the other hand, the university rectorate is secular from the beginning. Even at Paris the rector, though he could not marry, was not required to be a priest. The office of dean, it may be noted in passing, had also its origin in Paris; and it appears to have been suggested by the deanship of the cathedral. The occasion of its creation was doubtless the fact that, since the faculty of *artistae* were presided over by the rector whom they always chose, it became necessary for each of the three “superior” faculties to have its subordinate head.

It is interesting to observe, that all degrees were regarded as licenses to teach, though mere students might give lectures before taking the first degree. At Bologna the baccalaureate was very easy to obtain. If a student had merely read a whole work and heard a course of lectures, it was conferred upon him without examination;² but, according to Savigny,³ the degree of bachelor of laws was only granted after the candidate had himself lectured on a whole book of the canon or civil law or held a *repetitio*, that is a complete interpretation of a text. This degree was given by the rector, and was scarcely regarded as an academic honor. It simply admitted the student to serve an apprenticeship for that of doctor. The higher degrees were conferred by the faculties.

The degree of master, or *licentia docendi*, in its origin has its whole significance as a call to teach. It was bestowed only

¹ Mullinger, *University of Cambridge*, I, 79–80: Le Clerc, *État des Lettres au Quatorzième Siècle*, I, 262. On the history of degrees, see further Maldden, *On the Origin of University and Academical Degrees* (London, 1835); Savigny, *Universities of the Middle Ages*, in Barnard’s *Journal*, vol. 22, pp. 284–90, 319, 326; Brodrick, *History of the University of Oxford*, 9.

² *Brit. Quart. Rev.*, July, 1884, p. 38.

³ *Universities of the Middle Ages*, in Barnard’s *Journal*, vol. 22, p. 290.

after examination and a public dispute with the professors. At Paris the successful candidate was honored with the *biretta*, or magisterial cap, which in imitation of the Roman ceremony of manumission was placed on his head by the instructor under whom he was said to "incept." By "inception" was meant the formal entrance upon the teacher's vocation.¹ Thus the bachelor was emancipated from his apprenticeship.

The doctor's degree, or *laurea*, carried with it the unrestricted right to teach, either at home or in another school. It was given after a *conventus* or public examination. In the Italian universities "the day of taking the *laurea* was one of great festivity . . . The ceremony took place in the cathedral, where the bishop, professors, and city magistrates were all assembled. The laureate-elect, mounted on a horse covered with golden trappings, went in person to escort the rector to the cathedral. Everything was *en fête*; the sacred edifice was decorated as on a feast day. At the porch his promoters met him and escorted him to the professors. A discussion was thereupon opened . . . so that all might hear; but this was a mere form, the subject being the same as that on which he had already been examined. The professors put only questions that they knew he could answer and his promoters were at hand."² The election then took place and the result was proclaimed by the chancellor of the cathedral, and the whole city was given over to festivity for the rest of the day. All this

¹ Mullinger, *Universities*, *Ency. Brit.*, XXIII, 835. At Paris, before the end of the middle ages, the rule was "for a bachelor to begin by explaining the Sentences in the school of some doctor for the space of a year. At the end of that time he was presented to the Chancellor of the Cathedral . . . , and if, on examination, he was judged worthy, he received a license and became licentiate, until he was received as doctor, when he opened a school of his own, in which he explained the Sentences for another year. At the end of that time he was allowed to receive some bachelor under him. The whole doctor's course lasted three years; nor could any one take a degree unless he had taught according to these regulations;" *The University of Paris*, in Barnard's *Journal*, vol. 24, p. 752.

² *Brit. Quart. Rev.*, July, 1884, p. 39-40.

was so expensive that many licentiates or masters never tried for the *laurea* at all, as they could lecture just as well without. These were nicknamed *dottorelli*. All Bologna was feasted at the doctor's cost. "Even in early days the waste of money at the *laurea* was so excessive that in 1311 the Pope limited the sum that a man might spend to 500 pounds sterling."¹ Only doctors who actually engaged in teaching had a voice in the faculty. These were called *legentes*. At Paris, as already seen, only teaching masters, and probably doctors also, could participate in the university government. These, in consequence, were called *regentes* or regents; and so we have reached the prototype of our modern university dignitary of that name.

The mediæval doctor was a personage of great importance. The highest honor and respect were shown him; embassies waited upon him to solicit his attendance at foreign schools. Books were written to show how he ought to be approached. And if his scholarly repose were disturbed by the rude sound of the blacksmith's hammer, the offender was compelled to seek some other quarter of the town for the exercise of his plebeian calling.²

This history of academic degrees reveals the significant fact that bachelor, master, doctor, regent, and professor—for originally professor was but a salaried doctor—are all merely alumni in progressive stages of evolution; and an *alumnus* is primarily one who is called to teach. Moreover, when we consider the frank and cordial relations which existed between the mediæval "scholar" and his teacher, we perceive that the rudiments of our modern "coöperative method"—of that method of "instruction by investigation" which President Gilman declares to be the "key-note of university life"³—

¹ See *Brit. Quart. Rev.*, July, 1884, p. 40.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 40–41.

³ *The Idea of the University: North Am. Rev.*, vol. 133, p. 356. "The idea of the university, as it seems to me, consists in the *societas magistrorum et discipulorum*; an association, by authority, of masters, who are conspicuous in ability, learning, and devotion to study, for the intellectual guidance, in many subjects, of youthful scholars who have been prepared for the freedom of investigation by prolonged discipline in literature and science:" *Ib.*, p. 355.

were already present in the Italian schools. The scholar addressed his teacher as *dominus*; but the teacher called the pupil *socius* or ally.

The studium generale was, in a certain sense, a state institution. But it must be confessed that its relations to the state or to the municipality were not such as would commend themselves to us. They rested upon that "most characteristic principle" of mediæval society—immunity and class privilege. The Italian student was a favored individual. He belonged to a fortunate *caste*. He was relieved of many of the ordinary duties of citizenship. He was freed from taxes and imposts. Debts could not be enforced against him.¹ Lodgings were provided for him by the town at nominal cost. If he were robbed, the municipality made up the loss. To secure the "location" of a university at Vercelli, it was provided in the charter that five hundred of the best houses in the town should be placed at the disposal of the doctors and students at a low rental. For all save grave offences and crimes, students were subject only to the jurisdiction of their teachers and the rector—and both teachers and rector were chosen by them. Some of their minor privileges are a trifle peculiar. Thus at Turin "all comedians and dancers had to give each syndic of the university eight free passes to the theater. All mountebanks and quacks had to present each syndic and each beadle with eight vases of their specifics. All wine shops gave to the same individuals a flask of aqua vita and a pound of sweetmeats; the drapers gave a pound of sweetmeats; the pastry-cooks gave a cake on the vigil of Epiphany, whilst the tobacconists had to send a portion of their goods annually to the syndics and beadles. At the first snow the Jews in Turin had to pay twenty-five golden scudi, part of which the law university spent in celebrating the feast of St. Catherine, and the other part the artists lavished on the festival of San Francesco; the drapers likewise had to present to students

¹ *Brit. Quart. Rev.*, July, 1884, p. 36.

annually fifty reams of paper and twelve books.”¹ The universities constantly gained greater and greater privileges by encroachment on the burgesses. If the latter were stubborn, a *strike* was organized and the entire student body would march out of town, bound by solemn oath not to return until their demands were granted. And this usually occurred; for the ancient Italians were as well aware of the value of a university for the interests of trade and for the “booming” of real estate as are our worthy compatriots: though death and confiscation of property, now-a-days, might be regarded as a penalty somewhat too severe for one guilty of persuading a scholar to study in another town. But such was the law at Bologna. Even Paris was sometimes coerced by student secessions.² The importance of these privileges will be better appreciated when we consider that from ten to fifteen thousand students were present at Padua or Bologna. Many of these were men of mature age having with them their wives and children.

II.—THE TRIUMPH OF THE COLLEGE OVER THE UNIVERSITY.

The constitution of the English universities, as already stated, was modelled upon that of the University of Paris. As in the latter, also, theology took precedence over other branches. But there was one institution which was to receive an extraordinary and peculiar development in England. This was the *collegium* or college—a distinguishing feature of the Paris studium. The college was not originally an institution of learning, nor was it part of the university. It was merely a private foundation designed to afford free or cheap board and lodgings to students—a kind of endowed dormitory.

¹ *Brit. Quart. Rev.*, July, 1884, pp. 36–7.

² *The University of Paris*, in Barnard’s *Journal*, vol. 24, p. 748; Savigny, *Universities of the Middle Ages*, in Barnard’s *Journal*, vol. 22, p. 309.

This was particularly necessary at Paris on account of the vast number of foreign students who gathered there attracted by that great school of theology which was especially fostered by the popes. At first the university had no buildings; lectures being given in convents and other rooms in the *Rue de la Fouarre*—in the *Street* as it was called. As colleges were gradually endowed and buildings erected, the great majority of the students took up their residence there. By degrees members of this or that university faculty were selected and placed as lecturers in the colleges. “Sometimes nominated, always controlled, and only degraded by their faculty, these lecturers were recognized as among its teachers; and the same privileges accorded to the attendance on their college courses, as on those delivered by other graduates in the common schools of the university.”¹ They were in fact both college and university lecturers at the same time. Soon the classes of each college were thrown open to members of all the others; and even *martinets*,² that is, students of the university who had not attached themselves to any college, were allowed to attend their lectures. Thus healthy competition between the various colleges was encouraged; and the lecturers were selected on account of fitness. In this way the work of the university was largely transferred to the colleges, and a state of affairs was brought about in this particular not unlike that of an American university in its practical results. The university was absorbed by the colleges but not destroyed.

Very different was the ultimate result across the Channel.³

¹ Hamilton, *English Universities: Oxford*, in *Edinburgh Review*, vol. 53, p. 400.

² Martinet “se disait autrefois des externes des colléges, probablement comparés à des oiseaux fuyards;” Littré, *Dictionnaire*, III, 461.

³ The relative faults and merits of the “university” and “college” features of the English schools have given rise to much discussion. Already in the eighteenth century the degradation of learning at Oxford had been exposed by Adam Smith, *Wealth of Nations* (Oxford, 1880), II, 344 ff.; and Gibbon, *Autobiography and Correspondence* (London, 1869), 23–32.

There, originally, the students resided principally in "houses of community" variously denominated hostels, inns, entries, chambers, or halls; and at an early day such residence became a compulsory requirement. Here they lived at their own expense, under the direction of a "principal" chosen by themselves, the rate of rent being fixed every five years by academical "taxators."¹ These halls were at first very

But the assault upon the abuses of the college system, ultimately leading to the reform commission of 1850, was effectively opened by Sir William Hamilton in a remarkable paper entitled, *Universities of England: Oxford*, published in the *Edinburgh Review*, June, 1831, pp. 384-427. This was republished, together with a supplementary article from the same *Review* (Dec., 1831), in his *Discussions on Philosophy and Literature* (New York, 1868), which also contains other valuable chapters on university reform. The alleged advantages of the college system are set forth by Newman in his *Rise and Progress of Universities* (republished, 1856, under the title, *Office and Work of Universities*), extracts from which as well as from the writings of Smith, Gibbon, and Hamilton already cited, may be found in an historical account of *The University of Oxford*, in Barnard's *Journal*, vol. 27, pp. 801-944. For other extracts from Newman's work, see *Ib.*, vol. 24. On the general history of the English universities, consult Huber, *The English Universities*, 3 vols., London, 1843: translated from the German by F. W. Newman. This is a standard work, but now in part superseded by more recent investigations. The best short account of Oxford is Brodrick's *History of the University of Oxford* (London, 1886), in the Epochs of Church History series. Wood's *Athenae Oxoniensis*, 4 vols., 4to, London, 1813, is characterized by Dr. G. S. Hall as "a vast mine of material." For any extended investigation, Anstey's *Munimenta Academica*, or *Documents illustrative of Academical Life and Studies at Oxford*; and the Publications of the Oxford Historical Society, are indispensable. For Cambridge I am especially indebted to the scholarly work of J. B. Mullinger, *The University of Cambridge*, 2 vols., Cambridge, 1873-84, which brings the subject down to the ascension of Charles I. See also his short history of the same university in the Epochs of Church History series. The most elaborate treatment of the materials is comprised in the *Annals*, the *Memorials*, and the *Athenae Cantabrigienses*, of C. H. Cooper. For the literature relating to particular colleges, see Dr. Hall's *Bibliography of Education*, 41 ff.

¹ So at Oxford: Hamilton, *Discussions*, 409 ff. "These halls were governed by peculiar statutes established by the university, by whom they were also visited and reformed; and administered by a principal, elected by the scholars themselves, but admitted to his office by the chancellor or his deputy, on finding caution for payment of the rent. The halls were in

numerous, about eighty having been identified at Oxford, though all of them may not have existed at the same time.¹

Now the first thing to be noticed is the significant fact that these halls—being in reality tenement houses owned by private citizens but subject to university regulation—were ultimately superseded by a few colleges whose rich endowments enabled them gradually to gather within their walls nearly the entire academic population. The first English colleges were eleemosynary foundations designed for the support of needy students.² “William of Wykeham ordains that, next to his kinsmen, poor, indigent clerks are to be admitted on his foundation.” “John Balliol allowed the students on his foundation only one penny for daily food on week-days and twopence on Sundays.” Those to be elected are described in various colleges as *pauperes*, *pauperes ex eleemosyna viventes*, etc. The sum assigned for the support of members of the foundations did not originally exceed fifty shillings annually. Thus it appears that colleges were first established for the benefit of the poor and the pious; they became eventually sumptuous abodes of the rich and dissolute.³

general held only on lease; but by a privilege common to most universities, houses once occupied by clerks or students could not again be resumed by the proprietor, or taken from the gown, if the rent were punctually discharged:” *Ib.*, 409. *Hostels* was the common designation for such houses at Cambridge—*hall* there being used as equivalent to *college*—and similar statutes were enacted for their regulation. See Mullinger, *University of Cambridge*, I, 217–22, 638. Cf. Brodrick, *History of the University of Oxford*, 13, 22; and Barnard’s *Journal*, vol. 27, pp. 824–5.

¹ Brodrick, *History of the University of Oxford*, 13. But Hamilton, *Discussions*, 410, following Wood, makes the number of halls 300 at the beginning of the fourteenth century.

² The early colleges were also designed especially for the education of the secular clergy as opposed to the mendicants and other religious bodies. Such was the character of Merton, the second college founded at Oxford and the model for those subsequently established there and at Cambridge. See Brodrick, *History of the University of Oxford*, 15 ff.; and Mullinger, *The University of Cambridge*, I, 160 ff., 221 ff.

³ Sanborn, in *North Am. Rev.*, Jan., 1855, pp. 121–3. See also the testimony of Erasmus for Montaigne College, Paris: Mullinger, *University of*

As on the Continent, all graduates of the English universities had a right to engage in teaching. But the peculiar character of the college foundations was such that practically all tuition was monopolized by the fellows. "As the fellowships were not founded for the purposes of teaching, so the qualifications that constitute a fellow are not those that constitute an instructor. The colleges owe their establishment to the capricious bounty of individuals; and the fellow rarely owes his eligibility to merit alone, but in the immense majority of cases to fortuitous circumstances. The fellowships in Oxford are, with few exceptions, limited to founder's kin—to founder's kin, born in particular counties, or educated at particular schools—to the scholars of certain schools, without restriction, or narrowed by some additional circumstance of age or locality of birth—to natives of certain dioceses, arch-deaconries, islands, counties, towns, parishes, or manors, under every variety of arbitrary condition. In some cases, the candidate must be a graduate of a certain standing, in others he must not; in some he must be in orders, perhaps priest's, in others he is only bound to enter the church within a definite time. In some cases the fellow may freely choose his profession; in general he is limited to theology . . . With one unimportant exception the fellowships are perpetual; but they are vacated by marriage, and by acceptance of a living above a limited amount. They vary greatly in emolument in different colleges; and in the same colleges the difference is often considerable between those on different foundations, and on the same foundations between the senior and the junior fellowships. Some do not even afford the necessities of life; others are more than competent to its superfluities. Residence is now universally dispensed with, though in some cases certain

Cambridge, I, 367; of Lever, master of St. John's College, Cambridge (1550): *Ib.*, I, 370-1; Newman, *Rise and Progress of Universities*, in Barnard's *Journal*, vol. 27, pp. 812, 814; and Barnard's *Journal*, vol. 27, p. 829.

advantages are only to be enjoyed on the spot.”¹ Such a system, it is clear, is not admirably calculated to produce eminent scholarship on the part of the body of fellows; and in fact the least competent of them generally became tutors,² for they could receive their stipends for indefinite time without residence at the university.

Two systems, in origin entirely distinct and with opposing interests, were thus brought into existence: the old university, in which salaried professors were appointed for special departments; and the colleges, in which the fellows, if graduates, received fees for tuition. Let us now see how it was to the interest of the fellow-tutors to suppress the university, and how it was possible to do so.

In the first place only students on the various foundations, that is, those supported in whole or in part by the endowments, were necessarily admitted into any college; but since it increased the fees of the fellow-tutors, other students were allowed to attend. But the salaried university professors, in England as well as on the Continent, could not, at first, legally receive fees: tuition was free. So the heads of colleges and the fellows in the governing bodies winked at the illegal acceptance of *honoraria* by the professors in order to lessen competition. Again it was not to the interest of the fellows that the professorships of the university should be filled by men of ability; and since the salaries were often too small to attract men of talent, and since the colleges had a controlling influence in the choice of professors, it is not strange that a sufficiently low standard of scholarship was readily attained.³

¹ Hamilton, *Discussions*, 395–6.

² Hamilton, *Discussions*, 396.

³ The deterioration of learning at Oxford reached its lowest point in the eighteenth century. “Our curiosity may inquire,” says Gibbon who entered that university in 1752, “what number of professors has been instituted at Oxford? . . . by whom are they appointed, and what may be the probable chances of merit or incapacity; how many are stationed to the three faculties, and how many are left for the liberal arts? What is the

It required but one more step to complete the triumph of the college. This was effected by gaining entire control of the administration. The early constitution of the English universities varied only in details from its Parisian model. From an early period the chancellor appears as the chief magistrate. He was originally chosen by the masters ; and, as elsewhere, he possessed the right of approving all degrees. Moreover he was invested with a jurisdiction in the university analogous to that of the bishop in the diocese.¹ But the office became at

form, and what the substance, of their lessons ? But all these questions are silenced by one short and singular answer, ‘That in the University of Oxford, the greater part of the public professors have for these many years given up altogether even the pretence of teaching’ . . . The fellows or monks of my time were decent easy men, who supinely enjoyed the gifts of the founder; their days were filled by a series of uniform employments ; the chapel and the hall, the coffee-house and the common room, till they retired, weary and well satisfied, to a long slumber. From the toil of reading, or thinking, or writing, they had absolved their conscience ; and the first shoots of learning and ingenuity withered on the ground, without yielding any fruits to the owners or the public : ” *Autobiography and Correspondence*, 25–27. Cf. Brodrick, *History of the University of Oxford*, 177 ff., who summarizes the evidence for and against the University at this time ; also Smith, *Wealth of Nations*, II, 345–6, who regards the sloth of the professor as the direct result of receiving a fixed salary : “ His interest is, in this case, set as directly in opposition to his duty as it is possible to set it.” The condition of Cambridge was probably somewhat better : see, for the seventeenth century, Mullinger, *The University of Cambridge*, II, 372 ff., 432 ff., 574 ; and for later times, his short *History*, 167 ff.

¹ Both at Cambridge and Oxford the origin of the chancellor’s office is obscure. Thus, at Oxford, it appears to have been ecclesiastical in character, and to have been taken into the university constitution from *without*. About the year 1214 Mr. Brodrick infers “that no chancellor of the university existed distinct from the chancellor of the diocese, or, at least, that, if he existed, he was a nominee of the bishop of Lincoln.” From the year 1220, however, the chancellor was elected by the convocation, composed of regents and non-regents, though still “subject to confirmation by the diocesan. A century later (1322) the election was made biennial : ” *History of the University of Oxford*, 11–12. He now holds office for life. At Cambridge the chancellor was originally chosen by the regent masters and exercised an important jurisdiction. But since 1549 he has been chosen by the senate composed of regents and non-regents ; and though

length a mere ornament, all of its functions being transferred to the vice-chancellor or other deputies. On the other hand, the active headship of the ancient universities was vested in the two *proctors*,¹ who, like the vice-chancellor, were originally chosen by the masters and doctors actually engaged in teaching. Authority was thus placed, where it should be placed, in the hands of the working members of the faculties. Unfortunately, however, the primitive constitution was not lasting; and with its decay, or overthrow, power came more and more to be centralized in the college heads. A memorable step in this direction was taken at Oxford in 1569, when the Earl of Leicester, then chancellor, procured the enactment of statutes depriving the "black congregation," composed mainly of resident teachers, of the right of "preliminary discussion of university business" which they had thus far enjoyed, and vesting it in an oligarchy consisting of the vice-chancellor, proctors, doctors, and heads of colleges.² The revolution in this way begun was completed by the Laudian statutes of 1636, by which all real administrative authority was entrusted to the hebdomadal meeting consisting of the vice-chancellor, proctors, and heads of colleges, instead of the old houses of congregation and convocation³ composed of university gradu-

nominally the election may occur biennially, in practice the office is held for a longer period: Mullinger, *The University of Cambridge*, I, 140 ff., 287 ff.; II, 112; Hall, *College Words and Customs*, 61. The vice-chancellor of Cambridge was originally chosen by the regents; later by the same body from two nominees selected by the college heads: Mullinger, II, 223. He was always chosen from the college heads after 1587: *Ib.*, II, 321. From the days of Elizabeth the vice-chancellor of Oxford was nominated by the chancellor with the assent of convocation: Brodrick, 113.

¹ The office of *proctor* was analogous to that of *rector* at Paris, and the latter name was also in use for it at Cambridge.

² Brodrick, *History of the University of Oxford*, 90.

³ At Oxford the "house of congregation" was composed principally of regents; and the convocation, of both regents and non-regents. At Cambridge the houses of regents and non-regents formed together the university *senate*.

ates. But in the hebdomadal meeting the voice of the college heads was supreme. For "the same oligarchical tendency," says Brodrick, "may be discerned in the statute which converted the popular and public election of proctors by the common suffrages of all the masters into a private election by the doctors and masters of a certain standing in each college, however beneficial its effect may have been in checking the abuses of tumultuous canvassing. While the dignity of the procuratorial office was thus sensibly reduced, that of the vice-chancellor's office was proportionably enhanced. The Laudian Code legalized the practice resumed by Leicester, directing that the vice-chancellor should be nominated annually from the heads of colleges by the chancellor, with the assent of convocation."¹ A similar tendency to centralize government in the college at the expense of the university is visible at Cambridge, though the abuse of power was perhaps never quite so marked.

It was but a natural consequence of the revolution just described that students were excused from the legal requirement of attendance on the lectures of professors; indeed many of the latter ceased entirely even to offer instruction. While, on the other hand, the character of the college system was such that, practically, the entire tuition of each undergraduate was entrusted to a single tutor, who was thus expected to attempt all that the entire ancient body of professors was able to perform. There was little or no specialization. "If Oxford accomplishes the object of a university," says Sir William Hamilton, writing in 1831, "even in its lowest faculty, every fellow-tutor must be a second *doctor universalis*,

"Qui tria, qui septem, qui totum scibile scivit."²

No wonder, then, that the English universities became "hospitals for drones." Besides it must be recollected that

¹ Brodrick, *History of the University of Oxford*, 113. Cf. Hamilton, *Discussions*, 414 ff.

² *Discussions*, 395.

the conception of what should constitute a liberal education was very narrow. Much divinity ; a little history ; some mathematics, notably at Cambridge ; and a surfeit of Latin and Greek, in which, however, no advance was made beyond the point reached at the Renaissance, while the practical objects of the humanists were entirely forgotten. The introduction of the tripos was a step in advance. But the tripos is exceedingly restricted in its aim. Productive research is not stimulated ; and the real effect is to discourage aspiration on the part of all save the very few who can have the least hope of success in such competition. The mass of students are content to do as little as possible for their degrees.

Such was the character of the English universities previous to the beginning of reform legislation in 1854. Since that time several commissions of enquiry have been appointed whose recommendations have been incorporated in various acts of Parliament. Religious tests have been abolished ; fellowships have been thrown open to merit, and fellows allowed to marry. The colleges have been freed from antiquated statutes. Professorships have been increased, reorganized, and reendowed. Readerships have been created. Students are allowed to attend without being bound to reside in a hall or college. And the subjects of study have been made to bear some relation to the requirements of actual life.¹ But the results are very far from satisfactory. Speaking of the reformatory legislation, in an article entitled "Oxford after forty years," Mr. Freeman makes the following declaration : "Above all, I had not learned how wonderfully a movement whose aim was the encouragement and even the endowment of research, was by some malicious ingenuity turned about into an iron code by which research has been made well-nigh penal."²

¹ Mullinger, *Universities, Ency. Brit.*, XXIII, p. 853.

² *Contemporary Review*, May, 1887, p. 611. The surviving faults of Oxford are discussed in an instructive article entitled *Oxford and its Profes-*

But that which more nearly concerns us at present is the fact that the English college is the direct prototype of the first American schools. The three most important foundations of the colonial period, which eventually became the models, directly or indirectly, of nearly all our higher institutions of learning, were in aim and organization reproductions of Cambridge or Oxford colleges,¹ with such modifications as new environment, peculiar religious ideas, and isolated position, rendered necessary. Unfortunately the principal defects of the English system were perpetuated. Thus the English universities were state institutions placed in subordination to a church establishment. Harvard, Yale, and William and Mary were in character practically the same. Each was chartered by the state—by the colonial assembly or the British government—for religious purposes. By a fortunate circumstance, however, Harvard was not placed in dependence upon the Puritan clergy; not from any sympathy with secular education, but because in 1638 the theocracy was at its meridian and it was inconceivable that the clergy should not control the college. With the fall of the ecclesiastical despotism and the gradual spread of liberal ideas, Harvard has been able to emancipate herself without violating the letter of her charter; and thus, at length, she has become a foremost leader in the American renaissance of secular education.

sors, in the *Edinburgh Review*, October, 1889, pp. 303–27. See also the severe criticism of Professor Thorold Rogers, in the *Contemporary Review*, December, 1889, pp. 926–36; and the reply to his article, in the same *Review*, February, 1890, pp. 183–6. On recent progress in History at the English universities, see President C. K. Adams' *Address: Papers of Am. Hist. Association*, IV, 48 ff.

¹ "The other colleges which were founded before the Revolution, viz.: New Jersey College, Columbia College, Pennsylvania University, Brown University, Dartmouth, and Rutgers College, 'generally imitated Harvard in the order of classes, the course of studies, the use of text-books, and the manner of instruction:'" Hall, *College Words and Customs*, 289. And these colleges, in their turn, became models for many of those subsequently founded: *Ib.*, 289–90.

Yale, as is well known, originated, 1698, in a protest of the Congregational clergy against the latitudinarian tendencies of Harvard. By the charter the establishment of a "Collegiate School" was entrusted to ten men, "all reverent ministers of the gospell," who out of their "zeal for the upholding and propagating of the Christian protestant religion, by a succession of learned and orthodox men" had petitioned for the establishment of a school in which youth "may be instructed in the arts and sciences," and "fitted for publick imployments both in Church and Civill State."¹ The college of William and Mary was founded for similar pious objects.²

A second characteristic of the American schools was inherited from the mother country. I refer to the narrow sphere assigned to higher education. As in England, divinity, mathematics, and the dead languages—the principal elements in fact of our traditional "classic course," until a few years ago the only honorable part of the American curriculum—were the chief objects of collegiate study. A premium was put upon the acquisition of Latin and Greek at the expense of the mother tongue. By the "Laws and Liberties" of Harvard, adopted before 1646, it is provided that "scholars shall never use their mother tongue, except that in public exercises of oratory, or such like, they be called to make them in English."³ In short, from the English colleges we have inherited that scholastic spirit which has prevented our schools from entering into their proper relation to society. Hence it is that the college professor, even yet, is too often the last man whom the people think of consulting on practical questions.

¹ *Connecticut Colonial Record*, IV, 363.

² H. B. Adams, *The College of William and Mary*, 17.

³ Quincy, *History of Harvard University*, I, 517. "This law appears upon the records of the college in the Latin as well as in the English language. The terms in the former are indeed less restrictive and more practical: 'Scholares vernacula lingua, intra Collegii limites, nullo pretextu utentur:'" Hall, *College Words and Customs*, 285.

III.—THE RENAISSANCE OF LEARNING IN THE UNITED STATES.

But if the constitutional organism and the chief defects of the American college have come down to us through Oxford and Cambridge from the studium of Paris, that vitalizing influence which is beginning to effect a wonderful transformation in it is our own late inheritance from the Italian Renaissance. Two things the world owes to the humanists, particularly to that glorious band who gathered at the court of Lorenzo de' Medici : the enfranchisement of thought and the secularization of learning. On the one hand, they broke the chains of scholastic logic ; on the other, they went back two thousand years to drink from the fountain of Hellenic culture. The humanist unlike the schoolman was filled with a deep respect for human nature, with a pious reverence for all that man at any time had achieved in thought. Hence he worshipped Plato and Cicero because he believed that only in the best works of antiquity could the best products of the human mind be discovered.¹

From Italy the seeds of the New Learning were carried to Oxford and Cambridge by Erasmus, Grocyn, and their comrades, and the foundation was laid of such classic culture as these schools now represent.² But until the present age the impulse then given to secular education in England was interrupted. The troubles of the Reformation period and the proscription of thought during the Tudor despotism well-nigh depopulated the universities. In France, likewise, until the age of Voltaire, religious bigotry stifled the voice of the

¹ On the work of the humanists in the universities and schools of Italy, see Burckhardt, *The Renaissance in Italy*, I, 293–302; Symonds, *Renaissance in Italy: Revival of Learning*, 114 ff.

² See Seebohm, *The Oxford Reformers*; and his *Protestant Revolution*, 74 ff.; also Mullinger, *The University of Cambridge*, I, 379 ff., 473 ff.; Brodrick, *History of the University of Oxford*, 68 ff.

Renaissance in flames lighted by the Inquisition. Even in Italy, in the sixteenth century, the Revival degenerated into a blind worship of the classics. Nothing can be more disgusting than the vain pedantry and the so-called *Ciceronianism* of the age of Dolet and Scaliger.¹

But the humanists had already borne the torch of learning beyond the Alps into the ancient home of the English race. Here Conrad Muth, Reuchlin, Erasmus, Melanchthon, and Ulrich von Hutten adopted more enlightened and more critical methods than those even of the Italian scholars.² But in Germany, as in England, the effect of the Reformation was disastrous. "The fierce bigotry and the ceaseless controversies evoked by the promulgation of Lutheran or Calvinistic doctrine," says Mullinger, "converted what might otherwise have become the tranquil abodes of the Muses into gloomy fortresses of sectarianism . . . For a century after the Reformation the history of Lutheran theology becomes almost identified with that of the German universities."³

A new era began, however, with the foundation of the University of Halle in 1693. This has been well named the "first modern university." Here Christian Thomasius—a name which should be held in veneration by every scholar, aided by his rival and antagonist, A. H. Francke, emancipated learning from the double thraldom of theology and classicism. He demanded that education should be secularized, and that it should include within its scope the elements of modern culture. Thomasius was the first professor in Germany to lecture in the vernacular instead of the Latin tongue.⁴ The move-

¹ Much interesting matter on this point may be found in Christie's *Etienne Dolet, the Martyr of the Renaissance* (London, 1880), pp. 188–220, *passim*.

² See the interesting lecture of A. W. Ward, *On Some Academical Experiences of the German Renaissance* (London, 1878).

³ Mullinger, *Universities, Ency. Brit.*, XXIII, p. 844; *University of Cambridge*, I, 407 ff.; II, 102 ff.

⁴ Mullinger, *Universities, Ency. Brit.*, XXIII, p. 847.

ment begun at Halle extended itself, first to Göttingen, then to other schools, until finally the present incomparable system of German universities was produced. And it is under the influence of American scholars educated in Germany that higher education in this country is being transformed. "Thus," remarks Symonds, "Italy, after receiving the lamp of learning from the dying hands of Hellas in the days of her own freedom, . . . in the time of her adversity and ruin gave it to the nations of the North."¹ Borne thence across the sea, let us add, it is with justifiable pride that we behold it receiving its warmest welcome in the State universities of the Western world.

IV.—THE RELATION OF THE STATE UNIVERSITY TO THE SOCIAL ORGANISM.

The revolution in higher education which is rapidly taking place in this country may be briefly described as a tendency towards bringing the schools into closer relation with the social organism.

This appears in several ways. The student is no longer, as in ancient Italy, the member of a privileged class, with interests hostile to those of the community; neither is he required to live apart from his fellow men in hall or cloister. On the contrary, while devoting himself mainly to the duties of his academic life, he remains a member of the social body. He may exercise all the rights, while sharing all the burdens, of the ordinary citizen. He thus remains in sympathy with mankind, and does not forget that his business as a student is to fit himself for the performance of social duty. So also the university teacher is anxious above all things to free himself from pedantry and cant, and to remain in touch with humanity. Men of affairs, it is true, still entertain a deep distrust of the opinions of college professors on political or other practical

¹ *The Revival of Learning*, 544.

questions in which society is deeply concerned. And it must be admitted that history too clearly justifies the distrust. Happily, however, sentiment is undergoing a change in this regard. In Europe the gravest international problems, the most delicate political or diplomatic business, is often entrusted to this or that celebrated professor; and the higher work of administration is largely handed over to specialists trained in the schools. In this country there is a slight tendency in the same direction, which will increase as fast probably as scholars show that they are deserving of confidence.

Again in our best institutions the relations of the student to his teacher are becoming such as are favorable to the development of manliness and independence of judgment. The four or six years of academic life are beginning to be, not a time for the acquirement of unpractical dogmas and habits of mental helplessness, but a real apprenticeship for life's [✓] duties. The student is once more *socius* or confederate of his ^r teacher. He learns by investigation. But it is in the immense increase in subjects of study that we are able to see most clearly that the university is adapting itself to the requirements of society. While the classics and other branches of the old curriculum have been retained, and, subjected to the comparative method, are made vastly more productive than ever before for culture and general social good, a multitude of new subjects have been introduced. Instruction preparatory to nearly every industry and profession is provided. But it especially interests us here to observe how much attention is given to those questions which concern the state and the community at large. Administration, finance, constitutional history, constitutional law, comparative politics, railroad problems, corporations, forestry, veterinary science, charities, statistics, social problems—a crowd of topics, many of which a few years ago were unheard of in the schools, are in many places being subjected to methodical treatment.

Now, unless I greatly misapprehend the nature of the crisis which our nation has reached, it is in the absolute necessity of

providing the means of instruction in these branches that we may find a very strong, if not unanswerable, argument in favor of the public support of higher education. The bare statement of several well known facts will enable us to understand the crisis of which I speak. We have fairly entered upon the third great phase of national development. The first phase closed with the Revolutionary War and the birth of the nation. The second was the creation and settlement of the constitution, terminating with the great Civil War and the reëstablishment of self-government in the South. During this period our material resources were explored, population and wealth were increased, and society became complex. We now find ourselves face to face with the momentous and difficult questions of administration. Henceforth the state must concern herself with the economics of government and with the pathology of the social organism. The fact is that in the science of administration, municipal, state, and local, we are as a nation notoriously ignorant. Beguiled by the abundance of our resources, we have allowed ourselves to become awkward and wasteful in nearly every department. But the growing discontent and misery of the people admonish us that the time for reform has come. Henceforth taxation and finance, the tariff and corporations, labor and capital, social reforms and the civil service, must absorb the attention of statesmen. But all of these things are precisely the problems which can be successfully solved only by specialists. No amount of experience or general information will enable the legislator who does not know how to gather and classify social and economic facts, or at least who does not comprehend the nature of the evidence afforded by such facts, to frame *wise* or even *safe* laws on these subjects. Hereafter only men carefully trained in the schools can safely be placed at the head of state departments.

But as a matter of fact the ignorance of the average American law-maker in statistical, administrative, economic, and social science is incredibly profound. And how really for-

midable is the danger which threatens us on account of unskilful tinkering with the delicate mechanism of society, we cannot fail in some measure to appreciate when we reflect that the biennial volume of legislative enactments is constantly increasing ; while, at the same time, a greater and greater portion of such enactments relates to what has hitherto been regarded as the proper sphere of individual liberty : to the most complex interests of industry and commerce. Undoubtedly there is a growing tendency, for good or ill, to extend the domain of state interference and regulation.¹ The state, therefore, has urgent need of citizens thoroughly trained in the science of polities. If she is justified in the maintenance of common schools in order that every man may be fitted for the intelligent use of the ballot ; she is also justified in the support of higher education, for her very existence may depend upon it. This may prove to be the only safeguard of our republic. Indeed, it would seem that the statesmanship of the future must proceed from the school of political science. Already a number of our foremost universities have shown a wise appreciation of the requirements of the age by providing excellent facilities for the study of finance, administration, and kindred topics. And this is especially the obligation which society imposes on an institution supported by the public bounty. To afford the most ample means for the acquirement of a thoroughly scientific political education, in every department, is the primary duty, the highest office, of the state university. Such is her relation to the social organism ; and from that relation the place of this Association in the social order is an easy deduction. It is your privilege to see things as they really are and not as they seem to be ; to perceive the truth and defend it. Sometimes it may be your duty to lead the

¹ See the suggestive article of Dr. Albert Shaw, *The American State and the American Man* : *Contemporary Review*, May, 1887, pp. 695-711 ; and Mr. Roosevelt's *Phases of State Legislation* : *The Century*, April, 1885, pp. 820-31, in which he gives a remarkable picture of the ignorance displayed by certain classes of members in the legislature of New York.

oppressed people against the strongholds of organized corruption and licensed greed ; more frequently you will be called upon to defend the misguided masses against themselves. For there is a part which it often requires more heroism to choose than to be the champion of unpopular reform : it is to be intelligently conservative in the face of popular indignation. Fifty years ago Tocqueville declared that the Bar was the conservative element which would guard this nation from the peculiar dangers to which a democratic republic is exposed. History has on the whole justified that statement. But in the phase of development upon which we have now entered, it will be the body of college alumni, and especially the representatives of the broad practical education afforded by the state university, which must constitute the conservative force of society.



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